

THE  
Secret History  
Of the Late  
MINISTRY;  
From their ADMISSION, to the  
Death of the QUEEN.

S H E W I N G,

- I. That every Step taken by Them, tended demonstrably to bring in the PRETENDER.
- II. A full Account of the TREATY of PEACE, and the fatal Consequences thereof to the *Protestant Religion*, and *Liberties* of all EUROPE.
- III. The Wicked and indefatigable Endeavours of a Corrupt PRIESTHOOD, to Subvert our *Ancient Constitution* both in CHURCH and STATE.

W I T H

Impartial CHARACTERS of the *Late*, and Present  
MINISTERS.

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*O fortunatos nimium, bond si sua no'rint  
Angligenas !*

*Interdum Pax est Pacis fiducia nunquam.  
Nec quicquam gravius intenditur, quam cum  
Deorum Numen pretenditur Sceleribus*——

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L O N D O N:

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THE  
SOCIETY

OF THE  
MINISTERS

FROM THEIR ADMIRATION  
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T H E

# INTRODUCTION.

**A**S much as Prefaces and Dedications are in Fashion, the following Essay should have appear'd abroad in the World as naked as it came into it, if the Delay of the Publisher, and the happy Difference of the Circumstances of Time and Affairs had not oblig'd me to alter that Resolution; for he who writes only for Truth need not puzzle his Brain to find out Embellishments to adorn it; a plain and simple Dress renders it both more amiable, and more easily discernable; as the native genuine Beauties of a modest Virgin have infinitely more Attractions to all Men of good Taste, than all the artful borrow'd Decorations of a Prostitute.

Whilst they, who make it their Business to propagate Error and Falshood, are always forc'd to dress'em out with all the Tinsel Ornaments of a concerted and sophisticated Eloquence, and thus making up the Defects and Deformities of the Subject with the Beauty of the Disguise, arrive, at most, but to Appearance and Plausibility, and are solicitous no further than to make that pass for Truth, which in effect is nothing less, whilst by the Leudest of all Prevarications they labour only to deceive and impose on the Ignorant and Credulous, which are ever the greatest Part of Mankind.

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I therefore think my self oblig'd to acquaint the honest and judicious Reader, that the Sketch of this Piece was rough drawn above two Years ago, and more than half that Time since it was prepar'd for the Press. Whoever shall give himself the Trouble to peruse the Work without Prejudice or Passion, will easily be convinc'd, that the Boldness of the Truths, the Freedom of Sentiments, and the Severity of Reflection upon all the perfidious Authors of our late Confusions and Misfortunes, whether Priest or Layman, made it of the last Danger both to the Author and the Publishers, to send it abroad in such a Conjunction; however, as I evidently foresaw that it was morally impossible for Things to continue long in the unnatural and violent Situation they were in, I put it into the Hands of the Printer time enough to have had it appear in the World before the Death of the Queen, whilst the Administration of Affairs was yet in the Hands of the late inglorious Ministry; but the Multiplicity of Business, in which he was pre-engag'd, made it impracticable for him to finish it now, and is the principal Reason of troubling the Reader with the present Introduction, which I think wou'd have been unnecessary had it been earlier publish'd.

The general Design of it is to show, that every Step of the late Ministers, from the Time of their fatal Admission to Power, tended demonstrably to bring in Popery and Slavery into these Nations, in the Establishment of their despicable Pretender. The principal Parts that compose it are three, to which the Mottos in the Title Page are respectively applicable.

*First*, Our original Constitution consider'd, as immemorially founded by the Consent of a free People, upon legal Power and Prerogative in the Prince, and



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and legal Obedience and Subjection on the Part of the Subject; in which I have endeavour'd to set in a proper Light the Nature and End of all Civil Government in general, with an Application of it more particularly to that of our own.

*Secondly*, The important Affair of the late scandalous and dishonourable Peace, with the infamous Manner of transacting it, and the fatal Consequences of it to the Protestant Religion and Liberties of all *Europe*, and more particularly those of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

And *Thirdly*, The wicked and indefatigable Endeavours of a corrupt and mercenary High-Church Priesthood to subvert our ancient Constitution both in State and Church, by abusing the Power of their Character to seduce and impose upon the simple and credulous, by reducing them under the most favourable Dispositions to receive the terrible Yoak of Bondage and Superstition, as the only proper and infallible means to arrive at their one general End of introducing their belov'd Pretender. How far I have succeeded in this Design, I leave to every disinterested Reader to form what Judgment he pleases.

I was very early and fully appris'd of the dangerous Situation we were likely to be reduc'd to, and of the terrible Evils that hung over our Heads, from the Establishment of Men of such Principles; if they were Men, in the Administration; for there is nothing the most terrible and destructive to a free Nation, namely the Loss of Liberty and Religion, which ought not rationally to be expected and dreaded, when such prostituted Wretches of High-Church Distinction, whether Clergy or Layman, have secur'd Power enough in their Hands to reduce those Principles into Practice. But that which most fully

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convinc'd me of their pernicious Design, and mov'd my Zeal for my Country to undertake this Work, was an Insolence of theirs in *Dublin*, where I then happen'd to be, I mean the Revival and Re-printing *The Memorial of the Church of England*, which had several Years before been so justly and solemnly condemn'd to the Flames by the most August and Illustrious Assembly in the Universe, an *English Parliament*.

A Fact of that Notoriety committed in the Face of the Sun, and in Contempt of the Supream Authority of the Nations, usher'd into the World with all the Pomp and Formality of Subscription, cou'd be consider'd only as the pure Effect of a harden'd Impudence, which we have since been but too fully convinc'd, will boggle at nothing however dishonest or detestable to carry on the villainous Designs of betraying their Country: What was there left in such a Case for rational Men to imagine, but that these Insolents were reviving the same Principles to carry on the same execrable Design, for which that Pestilent Book was first calculated?

I must acknowledge, that in my Opinion, of all the Pamphlets that ever came to my Hands, this of the *Memorial* is both the most virulent and most artful; it has at first Sight all the Appearance of good Sense, sincere and tender Regard for the Nation and Church, and plausible Reasoning, dress'd up in all the Gaiety of a popular and insinuating Style, necessary to impose on, and gain the Affections of such as want Discernment enough to discover the Sophistry and Wickedness of the Design; which was to insinuate into the Minds of Men chimerical Dangers to the establish'd Church, tho' it was never under a better Security than at that Time; to detract from the Merit and Political Vertues of the

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the ablest and most faithful Set of Ministers these Nations were ever blest with, by the most palpable and notorious Lyes and Calumnies that Devils and worse Men were capable of inventing; and in like manner to traduce and misrepresent the *Dissenters*, so considerable a Part of the Strength and Security of the Nations, as the only dangerous Enemies, and irreconcilable Contrivers of the Ruin and Subversion of the establish'd Church; and all this with such a Fury and malicious Bitterness, as cou'd only be the Result of Men, void of all Shame, Religion, or common Humanity. For what End all this? Even no more or less, than by rendring the former suspected and odious to the People, and by creating and fomenting invidious Jealousies and Animosities between the latter and establish'd Church-Men, the more easily by their unnatural Divisions to render 'em all the Prey of a *French* Power, and their Darling Popish Pretender.

As so audacious an Attempt was the first and principal Motive to engage me in the following Undertaking, I found my self under a Necessity of tracing that unhappy Author thro' all the Mazes and Detours of his pernicious but sophisticated Wit and Policy; which Design as necessarily led me to the Defence of that glorious Ministry, he had so infamously depreciated, and which I have attempted with a hearty good Will and Sincerity of Intentions, tho' with a Capacity I acknowledge infinitely inferior to the Merit and Nobleness of the Subject; and in like Manner that of our dissenting Brethren from the Violence and Injustice of his Calumnies, which their Vertue, Fidelity, and Firmness to the establish'd Government both in State and Church, upon the Foot of the first Glorious Revolution, have sufficiently demonstrated to the World to have been as false, as they were malicious and inveterate, and to defend



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and justify a great Community living under the Sanction, and according to the Tenour of the Laws, in my Opinion is but the Duty of every honest Gentleman, who has any Notion of Religion, or common Sentiments of Humanity.

If in exposing and detecting the Variety and Malignity of his Errors, I may in the Opinion of some be thought to have dwelt longer upon a Subject than the Nature of it may seem to have deserv'd; I have only for my Excuse, to desire such Persons to reflect, what terrible Consequences and what pernicious Influence that virulent Pamphlet had in these Nations, from the Time of its malevolent Birth to the Day of its Execution, and how much it contributed to facilitate, and still continues so to do, the Measures of those High-Church Traitors, to render their native Country, so famously distinguish'd for her Liberty and Valour, the Contempt and Reproach of all the neighbouring Nations; and further to consider (that if there be any Thing valuable in this Life after the loss of Honour and Liberty) how near it was brought by those execrable Principles to the most miserable of all Servitudes, that of a Spiritual Tyranny.

I have always look'd upon that invenom'd Pamphlet, as a sort of an inexhaustible Magazine, from which all the prostitute Hirelings of the late predominant Faction have drawn their Batteries of Scandal and Defamation, the common Topicks with which they have all along endeavour'd either to undermine or beat down the goodly Fabrick of our excellent Constitution, re-establish'd by that ever memorable and glorious Revolution brought about by our immortal Deliverer King *WILLIAM*. During the Reign of that Great and Glorious Prince, how was he perplex'd and imbarass'd by the Principles and Practices

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etices of these very Wretches, who enjoy'd their All under his auspicious Influence and Protection.

In that succeeding for eight or nine Years, whilst those excellent Ministers were in the Management of Affairs, tho' they were constantly bless'd with a stupendious Train of Successes both at home and abroad, next to Miracles; what was there eternally in the Mouths of these sanctify'd Hypocrites, without any Sense of Religion in their Hearts, but *the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord! The Danger of the Church!* Whilst for these four last Years, tho' Popery and Slavery, principally by their Means, were visibly rushing in upon us as a Torrent, they have been as silent upon the Article of their Church's Danger, as those who were overwhelm'd in the general Deluge.

Now that God and the People have call'd a prudent, just, a valiant and religious Protestant Prince to the Re-establishment of the Peace and Tranquility of these lately distracted Nations, who has Wisdom to discern, and Courage to Defend and Maintain the true Interests, the Religion and Honour of a free and noble People; out of the same corrupted Fountain, are drawn the same pestilential Vapours, which form the common Roar of their *Church's Danger* in most Corners of his Dominions. Whether *Calvin* or *Luther* it imports little, tho' their Doctrines, in respect to us, are as peaceable as their Authors, who have been so long in their Graves; with these Wretches the Establish'd Protestant Churches of these Nations can never be, or flourishing, but under the Influence and Administration of a *French* and Popish Hereditary-Right Pretender.

'Tis for these Reasons that I thought it worth my Pains to detect and expose the artful, dangerous

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ious Sophistry of this unhappy Author, both to expel the Poison from those who have already imbib'd it, or by way of Antidote to prevent the Infection from others. I am not insensible how difficult a Thing it is to make Impressions upon the Minds of Men, grown, as it were callous, by a Familiarity with successful Wickedness, and fear'd into an habitual Hardness and Obstinacy. Conviction is not always the Result of sound Reasoning and close Argumentation; a Man may talk to such with the Force and Eloquence of an Angel from God, and be laugh'd at or despis'd for his Pains; when Honour and Conscience are either asleep, or wholly abandon'd, Reason, and even the most Divine Religion, are but a dead Letter.

Nothing so much encourages Traytors, as when they conceive they may act their Treason with Impunity; and all those are such, without Distinction, who either endeavour to subvert an Establish'd Government themselves, or labour to betray it into the Hands of a Foreign Power to subvert. Nothing but the Power of God can soften an obdurate Heart, and nothing can effectually contribute so much to restrain the Insolence of a Traytor, as the Certainty and Severity of legal Punishment; and if I, weak as I am, may be the Instrument in the Hands of that adorable Providence, of opening the Eyes or Hearts of the former, or by my Insinuations, may remind my Superiors in due Season to inflict proper Punishments to restrain the Insolence of the latter, I have either Way my End, which is eternally the Peace, the Interest and Honour of my Country; and I heartily wish that the Success may fully answer the Sincerity of my Intentions.

I have, in the Prosecution of this Work, consider'd the Occasion, the Reasons, the Progress of the



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the former never to be forgotten *Revolution* ; and defended the Principles, with the precious Memory of the Glorious Instrument of it (in the Hands of God) King *WILLIAM*, against the blasphemous Revilers of 'em both ; nor have I been wanting, after my manner, to defend the Merit and Vertue of a Noble *Englishman*, the Object of the Admiration of all the World, and even of his Enemies abroad, tho' he has been so basely treated by his ingrateful Countrymen at home, the Renowned Duke of *Marlborough*, the successful, the consummate Commander, whom, after he had carry'd the *English* Valour to a Pitch of Glory unknown to all former Ages, Heaven has restored to the Bosom of his dear Country, to finish, under the Auspices of his Great and Valiant Master, the Glorious Work of *Europe's* Liberty and our own : Nor have I been unmindful of our other gallant Countrymen who shar'd with him the Toils and Honours of the War. In the Sequel, I have taken in all the remarkable Incidents that happen'd either at home or abroad, that I thought proper to illustrate the general Design I have already mention'd, and were consistent with the Nature of an Historical, as well as a Political Essay.

In the Conclusion, I have expos'd the traiterous Doctrines so industriously propagated by their High-Church Priesthood, solely for the End of introducing the Pretender, and that too after a manner, as will sufficiently convince my honest Countrymen, that as I am sure to meet with no Quarter from 'em, I am as sure never to give 'em any, whilst they continue in the State of Enmity to the Honour and Interest of their Country, and the establish'd Religion.

This is the Plan of the ensuing Work. I am only to acquaint the Reader, that the whole was writ  
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and finished in a Retirement, where I had no Help of Books, and but very few Publick Papers, except those I have taken Notice of ; and on that Consideration, I have only to desire every honest Gentleman, who will give himself the Trouble of perusing it, to make Allowance for such Faults or Errors as may possibly occur in it, as Errors proceeding from a Defect of Memory or Inadvertency, rather than of Malice, or a concerted Design of imposing upon the Publick, which is a Baseness I am not capable of ; and if there were nothing of poor and execrably wicked in it, yet for the sole Reason that it has been, and continues the constant Practice of High-Church, which every honest *Englishman*, who loves his Religion or Country, must naturally despise.

I have but one thing more to desire of the judicious Reader, which is only so much Indulgence, as to distinguish betwixt the Time this Piece was writ, and was design'd to be made publick, and the present wherein it last appears ; and with this Mark of his Goodness, I flatter my self that he will believe, that the Author, as he never despair'd in the worst of Times, had no ill Foresight or Judgment in the Issue of Affairs, since all, or most of the Events, have since happen'd as he foresaw and foretold 'em ; which I am proud to acknowledge is a general Satisfaction to me, in respect of the Publick, and a secret Pleasure in regard to my Opinion and Sentiments, and humbly submit the whole to the Animadversion of all true Lovers of their Country.

To conclude, we are once again in a fair Way of being happy, and if we are not wanting to our selves, and being happy for ever. God has, on his part, by a wonderful Train of Miracles, confounded all the traiterous Devices and Measures of His, and our Enemies ; we know the Rage and Confusion they  
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are in at their miraculous Disappointment ; we know that the Spirit of the Faction will still be secretly kept up and fomented, and we very well know too by whom ; as there will certainly be no Means neglected to embarrass and confound us again, we have only to be upon our Guard against 'em ; for tho' their Malice and Envy never sleep or dye, yet Heaven be prais'd they are disarm'd, they are impotent ; and as we have no longer any Reason to fear for the Event, we leave to 'em the agreeable Reflection of being the most infamous Betrayers of their Country, and the terrible Remorse of being superlatively wicked, without Success.

What have we to fear ? We have a Noble and Valiant Protestant King at the Head of us, to go in and out before us, and fight our Battles. We have his eldest Hope blooming in Glory, from whom a Great and Noble Free People may justly expect all those Blessings that are usually the Result of Vertue, Wisdom, Justice, and a consummate Valour. We have a Princess, in whom Beauty, Vertue, Majesty and Sweetness, equally contend for the Pre-eminence ; Young, Amiable, and with all the Graces capable of engaging the Hearts of her Enemies, and of commanding those of her Friends, the Happy Mother already of an Illustrious Offspring, and may she be of many more Heroes for the Honour of these, and of Queens to bless the neighbouring Nations ; and good Heaven grant that there may never be one wanting of this Illustrious Family to sway the Imperial Scepters of these Nations, 'till Time shall be no more.



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A Glorious and Beautiful Prospect ! To the Eternal Contriver of it be Eternal Praise ; this is our Hope, this is our lasting Security. But if we can ever be so wretchedly wanting to our selves, as to suffer those Slaves to insult us again, who have so lately brought us to the very Touch of Popery and Slavery ; if Care be not taken either to restrain or punish their Insolence ; if we shall again be the Sots to hug the Vipers in our Bosoms once more to sting us to Death and sure Destruction ; if we shall again suffer our selves, our Religion, and our dear Country to be betray'd by designing Sycophant worthless Knaves, or viler hypocritical canting High-Church Priests, we of these happy Nations deserve of all Men living to be most miserable in this World and the next.

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WHEN our Liberty, which is the most valuable and precious Blessing of civil Society, (of which after the expence of so many Millions, and so much noble *English* Blood, we had Reason to think our selves secure) is openly attack'd by Men of Principles destructive of all Order, and the very Foundations of all Just political Constitutions. When the Charters of the Metropolis and other Places of our Neighbouring Nation, are (by a barefac'd Violation of their original Right in the Elections of their supreme Magistrates) insulted and subverted by Strangers, who are either Ignorant of, or profess'd Enemies to the true Interest of our Country, in order to place such supple Mercenary Tools in those Honourable and Important Stations; as are either Fools enough to do the infamous Drudgery of cunning and designing Knaves in the Ruin of their native Freedom, or wicked enough to betray it. When the most glorious and successful Revolution by which alone we enjoy the Happiness of our Lives, Estates, our Liberties and our holy Religion, is every Day revil'd, and branded with the Odious and Reproachful Terms of Sedition and Rebellion by Men of such Principles as in its beginnings oppos'd, and if they had Power equal to their Will wou'd have prevented, and who are at this instant employing their utmost Wit and Artifice (in what they Esteem a favourable Conjunction) to sap and overturn it, in favour of their belov'd Prince of darkness an impotent and abjur'd Pretender; when I say the Mask is at last thrown off, and these audacious Attempts are endeavour'd to be Executed in the Face of the Sun; 'tis time for us my honest Country-men, to awake and rouse out of that fatal Lethurgy, our common Enemies suppose they have either frighted or lull'd us into, to exert our good Sense and Courage in the Defence and Preservation of those invaluable Treasures we have so dearly purchas'd, and to let those Enemies know, that as we wanted neither in the Commencement to joyn with our immortal and glorious Deliverer, to free our selves from the Tyranny of the Father with his infernal Train of *Jesuits*, *Jacobites*, and worse Apostate high Church-men; so to their Confusion they shall find that we retain them still, that they are naturally Inherent and Born with us, and which we will never fail to employ with our utmost Vigour, and immoveable Firmness, and Resolution against their dear Prince his pretended Son, with all his renegado Strength of High-Church Traytors who maintain and support his Interests.

We shall no longer suffer our selves to be Deluded and Fool'd out of our Senses and Liberties by Mercenary canting Priests, who neither know their own true Interest, or that of the State; and who wickedly Debauch the People with slavish Doctrines, destructive of all the firmest and most sacred Bands of just and regular Government; but shall oppose to all their devilish Designs and

Machinations those honest Means that God and Nature, and Reason have put into the Hands of all free and generous People, who have Virtue enough to dare to defend and preserve their natural and established Liberties. They have once already put us upon the Necessity, and instructed us in the Right use of them, which I trust we shall never forget, but transmit them with the Blessing and Happiness we have purchas'd by them, to our latest Posterity; and if their Ignorance were not as extream, as their Malice is incorrigible, they would not a second Time push on the Interests of an abdicated *Pretender*, who seems to be abandon'd by God and all honest Men, and once more involve these Nations (happily resettled in Peace and Tranquility, upon the solid Basis of the late *Glorious Revolution*) in Blood and the last Confusions; which yet by the Help of that adorable Providence, which has hitherto so visibly assisted us, in the just Defence of our Liberties, and our own Virtue and Courage, we question not shall terminate both in his and their Destruction. That *Englishman*, who upon such an Occasion and in such a Conjecture, does not vigorously exert all his Capacities and Powers to oppose so unjust and villanous a Design, is either a Driveter or a Coward; and that *Englishman*, who can so far prevail with himself in the sole Prospect of Preferment, or any other Considerations distinct from the publick Good, to prostitute his Honour and Conscience to chime in with the Measures of the profess'd Enemies of his Country, who are employing all their knavish Arts and Cunning to betray it, is a Traytor, who we doubt not shall in the End receive the Reward that seldom fails, as it is justly due to so infamous a Treachery. Weak and ignorant People, who may possibly be misled and deluded by a crafty and designing Priest, or others, may in such a Case deserve our Pity and Compassion; but wilful hardened Knaves who act against the Sights of Reason and Conviction of Conscience, as they deserve the utmost Contempt of their Fellow Subjects, so do they deserve the utmost Severity and Animadversion of the Laws.

In the Year 1704, when the Church was not only in the most flourishing, but the best establish'd Security it ever has been since the Reformation, and the State in the Hands of a wise and religious Prince, together with a Ministry of equal Capacity and Integrity, to support and maintain 'em in their Happiness, and a renowned General abroad, giving a Beginning to the most glorious Successes against the common Enemy of *Europe*, without whose Suppression, it was impossible for us to reckon upon any lasting Security, either to the one or the other; Rage and Disappointment (two laudable Principles of so hopeful an Offspring) gave Birth to an infamous *Brat*, christen'd by the Name of the *Memorial of the Church of England*, humbly offered to the Consideration of all true Lovers of our Church and Constitution; the whole Design of which (in the sole View of a certain Project which shall hereafter be more largely enquir'd into) being to debauch the weak and unthinking Part of the People, which is ever the greatest, by advancing a Train of the most impudent Falshoods that Hell or Malice could invent, thereby



thereby to insinuate into their Minds, the terrible Notions of Danger to the establish'd Church, under the Administration of a religious and gracious Queen and a faithful Ministry, that shall be mention'd with Immortal Honour, by all true Lovers of their Religion and Country for their Fidelity, Merit, and rare Capacities, to all succeeding Generations.

It was not to be wonder'd at, that a Monster so deform'd in its Composition, and so unreasonably brought to light, as a portentous Omen and Forerunner as it were of some extraordinary Calamity, should alarm the whole Nation. The *Jacobites* and *High-Flyers*, to give the World a Specimen and Taste of their Honesty and good Sense, extol'd it to the Skys as a Master-piece of Wit and sound Reason; for when a Set of Men are bewitch'd to the Interest and private Caprices of a Faction, tho' never so pernicious and opposite to the Honour and Liberty of their Country, there is nothing that can be said or writ in Favour of them, but what is immediately cry'd up for something extraordinary, especially if dress'd up in a popular and plausible Style; however, upon an impartial Examination, it may appear to be absurd, ridiculous, or injurious to sacred Truth, or the real Interest of the publick Good. It must doubtless be confess'd, that it must at the Bottom be but a wretched Cause, that needs to be maintain'd by the most impudent of Lies and Calumnies, yet it is most certain, that whatsoever is founded originally upon Falshood and Error, can never be supported by any other Means. 'Tis as true that they are but miserable Efforts and Productions of Wit, that receive all their Merit, from the vain and noisy Applause of abandon'd and profligate Hirelings, who labour all they can to effect the Ruin of their Fellow Subjects, because they will not run headlong into all their wild and enthustick Notions, and Schemes of Government both in State and Church, and who have consequently the good Fortune to be distinguish'd from 'em by the sole Merit of their Vertue, their Honesty, and their inviolable Attachment to their Country.

But unluckily for these awkward *High-Church* Politicians and their Abettors, there happen'd to be far greater Numbers of honest Men in the Nations, than they were willing to believe or allow of, of too much good Sense, Judgment and Integrity, to suffer the State to be deceiv'd or impos'd on with the false Appearances of things, how plausibly soever shuffled together by such wretched left-handed Policy-Mongers; or the establish'd Religion, to be warp'd by the Fire of an intemperate and hypocritical Zeal for the national Church, which they knew had been erected upon the solid Foundations of Reason and true Piety, which yet the others by their ungodly Articles, were incessantly labouring to undermine and subvert; such who love what is Sterling in Reason and Religion, as well as in their Coin, and cannot be prevail'd to accept of their Tinsel for pure Gold; such who search hard after Truths, and know it when they find it, and having obtain'd it, know as well how to defend and maintain it, as so invaluable, but rare a Commodity deserves. At the Head of such Men as I have been describing, were Her Majesty and both Houses of Parliament then sitting, who were so scandaliz'd

at the unseasonable Insolence and Presumption of a Libel, of which the false and malicious Insinuations, appear'd so groundless and derogatory to the Honour and Administration of the Sovereign, and the indefatigable Endeavours of both Houses, to preserve the Nation and Church in their establish'd Security, that they came to a Resolution by a great Majority, which pass'd into a Vote, and to which Her Majesty was pleas'd to signify Her Assent and Approbation in her Speech from the Throne, which made it not only criminal but penal, to insinuate or affirm, that the establish'd Church was in any Danger in the happy Situation of Affairs the Nation was in at that Time. Inquiry was thereupon made after the Author, and a Reward of 200*l.* propos'd to whoever should discover him, and 50*l.* for the Printer; but this proving ineffectual at that Time, since the Father cou'd not be brought to Punishment, the Spawn was by Order of both Houses, deliver'd to the Executioner, to be publicly burnt with all the Marks of Reproach and Infamy it deserv'd. This is a short Account of a pestilent and scurrilous Libel, which had its Birth from the ingenious Brain of an Apostate disgusted Physician, and its honourable Exit from the Hands of the common Hangman.

From that Time it had long lain lurking in private Hands, and secretly infusing the Infection of its Poyson amongst weak and undiscerning Persons, for whose Seduction it was principally calculated; such who either wanted Penetration to dive into the pernicious Design of it, or Judgment to distinguish Truth from the appearances of it, when dress'd out and disguis'd with much Artifice, and a certain Air of popularity, on purpose to impose on the Understandings of the unwary and credulous, and to keep alive the drooping Spirits of a *Restless and implacable Faction*. One wou'd reasonably have believ'd, that a Libel so solemnly arraign'd and condemn'd to so ignominious and deserv'd a Punishment, by the supreme Power and Authority of a Nation *then in their Senses*, was never in likelyhood to have rais'd up its Head and appear'd again in Publick; but there is nothing so certain, as that Impudence and Malice have no Reserves or Limitation, in a sort of Men who have sold themselves to Ruin, and betray their Country, since Vertue, Honour and Conscience, which are the only Restraints that are known to keep Men within the Knowledge and Practice of their Duty, which such are intirely forfeited and lost; like those profligated Women, who having once bid Adieu to all Sense of Modesty, which is ever the surest Guard of their Honour, boggle at nothing to gratifying the Fury and Lewdness of their Inclinations.

Yet to the great Surprize of all honest sober Men, this Monster has been dragg'd out of its Grave of Infamy, and brought again to light as it were in Triumph, by Men of the same Principles and Designs with him who first gave it a Being; a young Phoenix in the Frontespiece arising out of the Flame and Ashes of the former; a fulsome Dedication to his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, a Preface giving an Account of the Life and Death of the deserving Author, the Reasons and Occasion of first publishing it to the World, together with the Defence of a cer

tain learned Council of another *insolent Incendiary* and *Offender*, I mean *Sacheverell*, so very impertinent and foreign to the Libel before us, that it is difficult to guess at a Reason, why these ingenious Revivers shou'd subjoyn it, unless it were to convince the World, that there are no Incoherences or Absurdities, however gross and disagreeing in all other Respects, which they will not advance and unite, when they tend to one general End of betraying their Country. For in the Year 1711, which they in their Frontispiece with their usual Modesty, call the *flourishing Year of the Church*, and I the *fatal One*, and which shall be ever memorable to Posterity, for the noble Courage and Firmness, with which the honourable House of Protestant Commons of that Kingdom defended their Liberties from the growing Incroachments of Arbitrary Power, out comes this trayterous condemn'd Libel, with a List of all those reverend and worthy Persons, the Subscribers, to the Incouragement of the reprinting and publishing of it, young unfledg'd Accademiciens, Porters, Clerks, Pimps, Parsons, Fiddlers, and Buffoons, who made it their Glory thus publickly to fly in the Face of the supreme Authority of the Nations, and by an Insolence without Example, endeavour'd to disturb the Peace and Tranquility of their Country, in Contempt of the Legislative Power, which had thought it worthy so severe a Censure and Punishment. How far they have oblig'd the Duke of *Ormond* their Lord Lieutenant by their fulsom Dedication of it ; I don't pretend to determine, but if one may venture to guess of the Love he has for the Liberty and true Interest of his Country, by the considerable Actions he has formerly perform'd for 'em, and the noble Share he had in the Revolution, there will, I think, be but little Reason to believe, that he could be well pleas'd with the Attempt they have made him to engage in the Patronage, as well as Guilt of so infamous a Libel, the whole Scope of which, is calculated for the Reproach and Subversion of that miraculous turn of Providence, the glorious Instrument of it and all those great and honest *Englishmen* who continue to defend and support it ; for it seems to me to be so insolent and barefac'd an Insult both of his honour and judgment, that no sort of Men cou'd have been guilty of, but such who had not themselves shook off all Sense of Modesty, moral Honesty, or good Manners.

And I cannot here but take notice, especially of those of the Subscribers as call themselves Clergy-men, how shamefully they in this instance forgot themselves and acted inconsistently with their Principles and the Doctrines they have so strenuously propagated ; for when Men in their Pamphlets and Sermons preach up such or such principles, of the Truth and Equity of which they wou'd have the World believe they are convinc'd, and yet in their Practice act directly contrary to 'em, the properest Character they can reasonably pretend to is that of frontless Prevariators and Seducers of the People ; we have ever thought that Men pretending to certain Principles, which ever do or ought to carry their Evidence and Demonstration along with 'em, ought firmly and constantly adhere to and square their Actions according to these Principles, at least till they



are convinc'd by the strength of sound reasoning that they have been in the wrong not only in all the ordinary Evenements of common Life, but more especially in those more important ones, on which the Happiness and Tranquility of the Government under which they live, intirely depend; this I am sure is the universal Practice of all disinterested and vertuous Men or who desire to be thought so in the World; but they who either out of Consideration of their own private Advantage, or to carry on the Interests of a Faction in which they may be engag'd in direct Opposition and to the manifest ruin of the Commonwealth, and by preaching one way, and practising another, can prostitute their Honour, their Conscience, their Understanding, may indeed obtain and deserve the Character of cunning designing Knaves and thro'-pac'd Politicians, but they will never be esteem'd otherwise by the honest thinking part of Mankind than as corrupted mercenary Tools, wretched Politicians immoral Men, and worse Christians.

They who thro' natural weakness or incapacity, or for want of the Advantages of an Ingenious and liberal Education, are unable of themselves to judge of Affairs of Intricacy and Importance, and are seduc'd and misled into Errors by Men of more Learning and insight, but less honesty are in a great measure excusable, and are without the reach of this Imputation; but the Guilt of those of better Parts and Qualifications, who wilfully imploy 'em to impose on, to Debauch, and delude a weak and credulous People into a participation of their wicked Designs of enslaving their Country; as it is arriv'd to a Degree of Infamy that will hardly admit of any Aggravation, I freely and heartily bestow it amongst 'em with all the severity 'tis design'd, with this one further terrible Reflection which they cannot be ignorant off, that they shall one Day give a severe Account of themselves and Actions before the most dreadful of all Tribunals, that can never be impos'd on, or deceiv'd. All Degrees of Men in that Kingdom where this notable Scene was open'd, are very well convinced that every Man of that number of Subscribers of the Gown, is a vigorous assertor and defender of their dear and ador'd Idol, *Sacheverell's* commendable Doctrine of unlimited and unconditional *Passive Obedience* in all Cases whatever, without Exception; let these Men then but seriously Reflect how directly by this bare-fac'd Attempt, they ran-counter, to a Doctrine they so strenuously and avowedly profess, and incessantly labour to imprint upon the People, and I leave it to their own Modesty and Good Sense, if they have a Grain of either left, to determine what Sentiments all thinking honest Men must necessarily conceive of Persons of so leud Prevarication; for here we think is one of the boldest Instances of Disobedience and indeed Contempt of the higher Powers that this Age as yet but young in Wonders, or the last in which that slavish Doctrine was first published, ever produc'd. An infamous and traitorous Libel Sentenc'd, Condemn'd and Executed by the Authority of the Legislature which is the only Supreme Power in ours, and every well constituted Government; which Judgment of theirs as it is upon Record and not only a palpable Dissent and disapprobation both

the Author and Design of the Libel, but an evident Prohibition of it, ought to have had the Force and perpetuity of a Law, till it had been revok'd or annul'd by the same Power; yet in the Space of a few Years there have been seen a Set of Men who have dar'd to reprint, and publish this infamous Libel in an open Contempt and Violation of the Supream Authority, and therefore in manifest Contradiction to that darling Doctrine of Obedience to the higher Powers they have all along so industriously endeavour'd to propagate; this is what we call acting in Practice against Principle with a witness, and giving the World a notable Evidence of the Candor and Sincerity of their belief in this formal Instance of their Contempt and Disobedience to the higher Powers that Men can be capable of giving, whilst at the same Time they endeavour by all means in their Power to banter and perswade us that their slavish *Passive Obedience* is the Genuine Doctrine of their Church; nor will it avail 'em at all to assert as they always have and continue to do, that the Sentence pass'd upon that Libel was obtain'd only by a Faction, as with their usual Modesty and probity they are pleas'd to call it, an Enemy both of the State and Church; an Assertion so rude and violent is not at all surprizing from Men of their Front and Principles, yet it is a Superlative Aggravation of their Guilt and Insolence, for no others wou'd dare to fix so Odious a Character upon an Act of a great Majority of the most August and venerable Assemblies, not only of Europe, but of the whole Universe with their Sovereign's Royal Assent and Approbation at the Head of 'em.

'Tis frivolous to the last Degree what these bold Defenders of this irrational and slavish Doctrine in the height they carry it, and for which they quote the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Affirm, that it is practicable only to Crown'd Heads, in whom alone they Place that Authority which claims such an Obedience and which they are pleas'd to say the Word of God mentions, and intends under the Character of the higher Powers. The Apostle who liv'd in the Time of Emperours and those Pagan too, wou'd doubtless, if he intended to have particularly ascrib'd the Power of claiming such an unconditional Obedience to them alone who were the most absolute and Arbitrary Princes upon Earth, yet we no were find him mentioning either Emperours, or Kings, or any other sort of Supreme Magistrate to whom it was more peculiarly due exclusive of all others; but as it was a Doctrine that was equally to affect and influence all sorts and Degrees of Men, speaks only indefinitely of the higher Powers, and that too in such general Terms, as Plainly manifests that the force and morality of the Doctrine of *Obedience* in a just and rational sense as useful to Mankind in civil Societies, is equally applicable and due to the Supreme Power in any and every Form of Government, when it is once determin'd where it shall be lodg'd, whether in a despotick and absolute, or in a mix'd and limited Monarchy, or in a Commonwealth, and is as equally false and pernicious, as they preach and apply it to all. If any Man of their Faction who thinks himself concern'd shall undertake to prove that by the higher Powers the Apostle speaks only of Kings and crown'd Heads, or any one Person

Person under any other Denomination, to whom alone the Obedience he mentions, is and ought to be solely practis'd, he shall not fail of having an Answer in due Season according to the Merit of his Performance, in bar only of railing, which I shall not take for Argument, or think it worth my while to Answer; In the mean Time I give him and all of 'em to understand, that in a mix'd and limited Monarchy constituted as our own is, and consisting of Kings, Lords, and Commons, all and every of 'em under certain Restrictions and Regulations of fundamental Laws, we neither understand nor acknowledge any other higher Powers as Supreme then the Legislature.

I have not undertaken to Answer the particulars of a Libel has made some Noise in the World, and done more Mischief, not so much by the Soundness and Strength, as the Art and Sophistry of the Reasoning, and the plausible Appearances of Truth dress'd out with all the Tours and Fineness of a Man confessedly of good Parts and Abilities; it has been sufficiently exploded by a Sentence as just as severe; yet I shall not omit to take notice of the principal End and Intention of it as far as is necessary for my own Design, as of the chiefest Topicks he makes use of to carry on the main End of cajoling those of less discernment and Capacity than himself. And here I cannot but previously observe, that the Prefacer to this second Edition, whoever he be, and who professes a singular Kindness and Friendship to him, has in my Opinion done him a great deal more Injury, than the most profess'd of his Enemies cou'd have done; or at best is but one of those over officious Friends who act with more Zeal than Judgment, and in the warmth of their Inclinations, do the Man they Design to elevate above the common Libel, more disservice than good; of the Truth of what I say I think he has given us a sufficient Evidence in the following Words. In the Year 1704 being disgusted at his Disappointment of being made one of the Commissioners of the Sick and Wounded, as was promis'd him, and dissatisfy'd at the rejecting the Bill to prevent *Occasional Conformity*, and the Disgrace of some of his Friends who were Sticklers for it, enter'd upon the following Memorial in concert with Mr. *Poley* Parliament Man for *Ipswich* &c. Now if I am not very much mistaken, the Disappointments a Man meets with in the Expectations of Preferments he has been made to hope, and which possibly he thinks he deserves; the Disgusts he conceives at the ill usage of his Friends, and the Chagrin that naturally arises from the turbulent and vindictive Situation of Mind such Passions ever place him in, are no very commendable Motives and Reasons for forming a Design, and carrying on a Work intended for the publick good and service of his Country; nor can there reasonably be expected that calmness and sedateness of Temper and Reason so necessary in Productions of this Nature from a Man who confesses himself in a Rage; his Anger naturally boils over into Partiality or Invectives, which we are apt to believe are no very decent or proper Qualities in an Author who endeavours to establish an Opinion of being a true Patriot; for when a Man writes purely for the Truth, he do's or doubtless ought to endeavour all he can to divert himself of those Passions which may by



and incline him to Favour or Affection ; otherwise let him pretend what he will, he writes not for the publick good, but to carry on the private Interests and Designs of a Faction, which as they are ever separate and distinct, always act and tend directly contrary to it. 'Tis true that a weak or unwary Reader is liable to be infected so deeply with the Poison of an artful Discourse, that it may be too late to seek for a Remedy ; he may be impos'd on and deluded into an Error that agreeably flatters him with an Appearance of Truth, till he is in Danger of being lost and ruin'd in his Reputation, his Honour and his Fortune ; there may be indeed a secret Pleasure for a while in being well deceiv'd, yet it is still Deceit, and in all Deceit there is ever a very strong Tincture of knavery and dishonesty ; and whatever Satisfaction a Man opinionated of himself may Fancy in embracing a plausible Error, it will never counter-balance the Loss of the Honour of his Judgment, or the repose of his Conscience, nor remove the Reproach of being a Fool, or something worse when he comes to be undeceiv'd.

But when an Author employs the Parts and Abilities that God and Nature have given him, and a liberal Education improv'd, purely to impose upon the credulous, and seduce the Weak and less discerning only into the Interest's of a Faction ; when such a Man against the Lights of Reason and Conscience advances the most gross and and notorious Falshoods in the Place of Truth, and wicked and groundless Calumnies to promote the Interest he may have espous'd which was evidently the Case of this Gentleman, he may indeed in a great Measure succeed and gain his Point with such, but he is a shameless deceiver. He may debauch over great Numbers to his Faction, which 'tis true may increase but do neither Honour or Service to it, for Fools who are led by the Nose by the Artifices of every sly or crafty Impostor are of little Strength, and less Credit ; but he is an immoral Villain, he may by his Wit and Cunning, under the false Pretence of serving his Country, bring the Minds of Men into Dispositions which tend directly to the Ruin and Destruction of it, yet he is at best but an artful infamous Traytor for his pains ; this indeed has been the Case of Multitudes who have been incapable of discerning the Malice and Poison of this Author's Intentions thro' the plausible Veil he has drawn over 'em, but with Men of Sense, of Honour, and Understanding, there are but slender Impressions to be made by Work begun and finish'd upon a Principle of Rage, and the Spleen of Disappointments.

If Doctor *Drake* was the unhappy Author of this Libel, as is confess'd, at least of the Church part of it, all the World who knew him are willing to acknowledge that he was a Gentleman of Wit, great Parts and Capacity ; and if he had had the good Fortune to have employ'd 'em on a Subject worthy of 'em, he might doubtless have made as considerable a Figure in the State as in the Commonwealth of Learning ; nor is it very probable, that if he had not been disappointed in his Expectations of Preferment, we should ever have had this infamous Production of a Wit capable of much more honest and nobler Performances. Frailty and Passion are the Conditions of

Human

Human Nature, and are rather to be pitied than expos'd; but when they get the mastery of a Man, when they gain the ascendant over his Vertue and good Sense, they render him not only in the last Degree unhappy but contemptible; but if they rise yet higher and arrive at such a Pitch as to prevail with him to prostitute his Honour and Conscience to their Gratification, or his revenge, they fix an odious and detestable Character on him who otherwise might be justly admir'd for a thousand commendable Qualities. Wit and good Sense are of the last pernicious consequence in the Hands of such a Man, when they want the ballast of Judgment and Integrity to direct 'em; they are a two edg'd Swords in the Hands of a Fool or Madman; as they always make a Man respected and esteem'd who possesses 'em in any eminent Degree, and employs 'em upon just and serviceable Occasions, nothing renders a Man more odious and detestable who debates and profanes 'em to evil ones; as on the one Hand he is qualify'd by 'em to do his Country the noblest and most important Service, which is the preservation of its Honour and Liberty, when they are rightly exerted; so on the other, when they are wholly subservient to his Passions, and prostituted into the Tools and Instruments of Malice or Revenge, he is capable by their assistance to bring the worst of all Evils upon it, which is Slavery, and by so wicked a Design destroy the Merit of all his excellent Qualities in what Degree of eminence soever he may possess 'em; I have purposely dwelt a little long upon this Reflection in respect of this unhappy Author, because it is equally due and applicable to other of his Successors, who upon the same Principles and Probity are vigorously carrying on the same laudable Design of betraying their Country; the Incomparable *Sacheverell* who before his Queen at the Head of the noblest Jucature in the Universe solemnly appeals to God for his Innocence, that ne never intended any Thing to the Prejudice of Her Majesty's Title and Interest, tho' we know that he drinks the Pretenders Health every Day of his Life; the Illustrious Examiner so famous for his integrity and veracity that he would not advance a Lye to save a bleeding Church and Nation from inevitable ruin; the Reverend and Renown'd Author of the conduct of the *Allies* whom his *High-Church* Friends have kick'd into the Deanery of *St. Patricks*, tho' but four Years ago he wou'd have quarrell'd with any Man shou'd have dar'd to say he was not one of the staunchest Whigs in *England*; the vertuous and modest *Rabbi Higgins* so celebrated for his Piety and Morals, tho' a noble Peer in *Ireland* in his Charge against him a very little while ago, was ready to prove such Crimes against him, as were fitter to be heard from the Mouth of Witnesses than mention'd in writing, all of 'em Men of good Parts and Learning; I purposely omit a numerous Herd of other Vermin as not worth mentioning; all of 'em who have sacrific'd their Honour to their Ambition, and that of their Country to the poor Consideration of Preferment; but 'tis their consolation that they have rendr'd themselves immortal, for we must know that there is an Immortality of Infamy and Dishonour, as well as Vertue and true Glory, which they have taken a world of pains to secure in imitation of a certain

certain Prototype of Antiquity, a very good Friend and Brother Incendiary of theirs, I think they call him *Erostratus*, who burnt down to the Ground the famous Temple of *Ephesus* for no other Reason that we know, but to be talk'd of in after Ages for a Villain of the first Magnitude ; but to return,

What his very zealous and discreet Friend the Prefacer in regard to him says upon the following Occasion is, as I think, as little to his Credit as the former ----- At the Beginning, says he, of her present Majesty's Reign in the Year 1702 he writ a Book intitl'd *The History of the last Parliament*, which being thought by the House of Lords to reflect on the Memory of the late King *William*, he was conven'd before 'em, and order'd to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General, who brought him to a Tryal at which he was acquitted, the Year following ; we very well remember who was Attorney-General, and what sort of People at that Time had the Management of Tryals &c. but by what Favour or Interest soever he happen'd to be acquitted, I believe there is no body who is not of the same Principles with the Doctor and his judicious Prefacer, that will not readily pay so much deference to the Judgment of that Illustrious Judicature, as to believe that they had very good Reasons to order his Prosecution ; and his being acquitted at that Time was no more an Argument of his Innocence, than the Sentence and Execution of a right Noble Lord and Patriot a Member of their House, and others, in a former Reign was an Argument of their guilt.

But there is a wondrous Energy in Truth which will force a way to Light thro' all the Dark and artfull Disguises devis'd to stifle or conceal it ; what Necessity was this trifling Prefacer under to mention the Circumstance of his Friends Reflection upon that great King, which he knew would not fail to throw an Odium, and in a great Measure discover the malicious inveteracy of the dead Author in the Opinion of all true and honest *Englishmen* ? Is he Knave enough himself, to forget, or think that we ever can be so wretchedly ingrateful not to retain as long as we live, and we hope our Posterity after us as long as the World indures, a just and precious remembrance of the Obligations we lie under to that Triumphant Monarch ? Or that we can ever think otherwise than with the utmost Respect and Veneration of a Prince, who under God reinfat'd us in the Possession of our Lives, Estates, our Liberties, and our Religion, and left us in the perfect and peaceable enjoyment of all Things most dear and valuable in this World to Englishmen and Freemen, when they had been basely betray'd by *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and *High-Church* Men, who as they had reduc'd their native Country then by their infamous Doctrines to their fellow Subjects to the very Brinks of Slavery and Arbitrary Power, are playing the very same Game over again by the very same Doctrines, Principles, and Practices reviv'd and propagated by their *Sacheverell's*, their *Drake's*, their *Lisly's*, their *Hicke's*, their *Tilly's*, their *Hereditary Right-Mongers*, their *Prefacers* and the rest of the contemptible Rabble of *High-Church* Traytors, who are subverting and unraveling what our Glorious Deliverer had establish'd upon so sure and solid a Foundation



dation as by the help of that Providence we adore and trust in, nor Hell, nor they, nor *France*, nor their darling outcast, shall ever be able to renverse.

What Service was reasonably then to be expected for the true Interest of one's Countrey from the Pen of a Man who dar'd blaspheme the Name and Memory of a *Prince* to whom we owe our all? He that is not contented with the happy State and Condition of our original Freedom he left us in, owes his Obedience somewhere else; and it is evident beyond a Doubt that that *Englishman* whether of High or Low Church who is not satisfy'd with the Establishment of the present Government upon the Foot and Principles of the late Happy and Glorious Revolution, can have nothing else in view but the restoring the *Pretender* whom the Nation has been at the Expence of so much Treasure and noble Blood to banish and expel for ever. 'Tis in vain for 'em to daub over their black and impious Designs with the varnish of their false and hypocritical Zeal and faithless Professions to her Majesty; for they who disallow and deny the Right of our Great Deliverer to the Imperial Crowns of these Nations as founded upon the Consent and Donation of a free and willing people (which is not only the best, but only just Title that all Monarchs ever have or ever will hold their Crowns by) can never have any sincere Regards to our Gracious Queen who holds it by the same Title. For tho' no body that I know of in the least questions her Majesty's just Pretensions to the Crown by a right of Succession, I mean of those of *Low-Church* Principles; yet since these venerable *High Church* Priests, and others, by their cursed Doctrines and Practice had, not long ago given occasion to break that Line of Succession, and happily, tho' against their Intentions, gave the Nation an Opportunity of exerting their original Right of disposing of it, and for the Merit of his Services setting it upon the Head of their Immortal Deliverer; Her Majesty by the glorious share She had in the Revolution has given the World sufficient Evidence of her belief both of the Necessity and Justice of it; and since by such a Conduct She has approv'd and justify'd the Rights of Her People upon that important Conjunction, and acknowledg'd the Equity of King *William's* Possession of the Crown by their donation, I think it is evident that Her Majesty believes She claims and injoys it by the same Authority, which recogniz'd and confirm'd Her Right by Succession in case of failure of his Issue, by the Addition of a Parliamentary Right, which as a solemn Act of the whole Legislature, is no more than the Consent of the People; especially since according to the traiterous Doctrines of the Modern Assertors of *Hereditary Right*, which in their wise Opinions no Power upon Earth can alter, much less abrogate, our Gracious Queen has no more Title to the Crown she wears, I mean in right of Succession, than I have; for upon their Supposition that the *Pretender* is the legitimate Son of the late King *James*, with a Title by Divine Right which no human Power can dispencc with, (which to prove is the sole End and Design of these impious *High-Church* Sicophants,) according to them Her Majesty in plain English is no more than a down right

Usurper,

Usurper, nor ever can be esteem'd otherwise whilst that Pretender, or his Children, if ever he have any are upon the Face of the Earth. 'Tis therefore evident that these double *High-Church* Pretenders to Loyalty and Affection honour her indeed with their Lips, but both she and all the World have good Reason to believe that their Hearts are as far from her as *St. Germain's* or *Bar-Le-Duc*; as long as she is continually by an unpresided munificence conferring Riches and Favours upon them and their Church, they are the most supple, affectionate and most obedient of her Subjects; but the Moment she withholds 'em or shall refuse to run into all the extravagant Measures of their belov'd *High-Church* Priests! There is an End both of Gratitude and Allegiance; wondrous happy indeed must that *Prince* needs be whose Subjects Fidelity and Affections are founded only upon private Interest and Advantages they may receive from his Munificence! And there is but too much Reason to believe that to most of those reverend Hypocrites, who are of Sentiments contrary to the Principles of the *Revolution*, in respect to the Queen, the Words of the Devil to God in regard to *Job* will be found but too justly applicable—*Stretch forth now thy Hand and touch him but with one of thy Fingers, and he will Curse thee to thy Face.*

I shall but slightly touch upon the other good Offices the ingenious Prefacer has done his Friend in other parts of his Preface, as what he contributed to the Publication of a Pamphlet intitl'd *Commendatory Verses upon the Author of Prince Arthur, and King Arthur of ever phagmatick and unpoetical Memory.* The Trap that was laid for him by the Booksellers of *London*, which shew'd that they believ'd him of mercenary Disposition. His *Mercurius Politicus*, which is full of such rude and violent Reflections upon the Establishment of the State and Church, and the glorious Finisher and and Supporters of the *Revolution* as more than enough demonstrate him to have been of a Spirit and Principles diametrically oppositeto 'em, for which says his worthy Friend, he was bound over, and being try'd was then only acquitted upon a Flaw in the Information, upon which our then Governours brought a Writ of Error, which being depending to the Day of his death, joyn'd to the ill treatment he receiv'd from some of his own Party, flung him into a Fever, of which he dy'd after a short Confinement to his Bed, not without violent Exclamations against the rigor of his Prosecutors. ---- A very towardsly and commendable Account that one Friend gives of another, Oh *High-Church! High-Church!* Just going out of the World to appear before a Tribunal where they tell us a Man must never hope for Pardon and Remission of his Sins but by Repentance, of which the principal Parts are Sorrow and Contrition for 'em, Retitution, and forgiving all those Injuries we may have receiv'd here. This was performing the last Offices for his Friend with a Vengeance, fixing a Character upon his Memory, which gives the World Reason to believe that he liv'd an ill Man and dy'd a worse Christian; but the Man was all of a peice, and Truth in spite of the Devil will out; Disgusts and Disappointments of his hopes

hopes first gave Motion to a heated and overweening Fancy, and they cou'd not fail to give Birth to something out of the ordinary course of Productions of the Brain ; a niggard and scanty Fortune which expos'd his good Sense and Conscience to sale ; the ill success of his own and Friends Designs, and the unkindness of some of his own Party kept a weak and irresolute Mind without Courage or Honour in a continual State of Vexations and cruel Anxieties ; and the guilt of having abus'd and misapply'd his excellent Parts to so poor and wicked an End, as imposing upon the Publick scandalous and notorious Falseshoods and Calumnies, which he cou'd not but be conscious were such, usher'd in Rage and Despair to put an End to a forlorn and disastrous Life.

Happy for him if his false Friends would at least have permitted him to have rested quietly in his Grave, and spar'd the Reproach they have brought upon his Memory, which otherwise might have lain conceal'd, or for ever been forgotten, the best peice of good Fortune that can befall a Man who leaves nothing behind him that may deserve to be well spoken off, or commendable ; but restless and implacable Spirits of his own Temper and Principles, have disturb'd his Ashes and incapable to furnish Matter of their own to carry on the same belov'd Design, reviv'd him from the Dead to scatter the Dangerous Poison he had so artfully prepar'd ; yet guilted as it is, 'tis still but Poison, the Varnish does but hide, but not prevent the Danger of Infection. The People must be deceiv'd at any rate, no matter what the Means ; let but the Church be believ'd to be in Danger, we neither know from whence, by who, or for what, ill imports not whether these Fears are justly founded on rational Apprehensions of real impending Evils, or only meer chimerical ones, 'tis all one for their Purpose, there's the Point gain'd by crafty cunning Knaves, who under the specious cover of providing for the Church's safety, are forming Schemes that tend inevitably to overturn and extirpate all Religion and civil Government amongst us, as I hope sufficiently to prove was the sole Design both of the Author and Revivers, to all who are not either wilfully blind or harden'd in their Prejudices beyond Conviction or Remorse.

It evidently appears to every Man who read this labour'd and admir'd Memorial with Attention, and without Prejudice, that the whole Design of it at the Time it was first publish'd, was to foment and increase the unhappy Divisions amongst us, and by that Means to weaken and divide the Strength and Force of the Nation, the more readily to dispose Things into such a Scituation, as with the greater Care and Hope of Success to accomplish a Project which they have been so long a forging, and which they cou'd never reasonably expect to bring to the desir'd Issue, but by the total Renversement of the Revolution Establishment; I mean the restoring the Title of their belov'd *Pretender*, which King *James* by his malic'd Ministration had abdicated, and the Nation with the unanimous Consent by a most solemn Act of the whole Legislature had abrogated and annull'd for ever ; for it is past all doubt that what ever Powers their *Pretender* may be supported with from abroad, yet both he and his

Friends



Friends here are well enough convinc'd of the Impossibility of their ever succeeding in such a Design unless he could be secur'd of a considerable Strength, both to invite him in, and joyn with him when he shall attempt it: This is so undeniable a Truth that we know very well that his best Friends lay it as a much surer Foundation of their Hopes of succeeding, than on the Assistance of his foreign Troops, how formidable soever; for a Nation of that Strength, Riches, and Valour as ours, cannot possibly without the greatest Difficulty and Danger be invaded; but we have found by too fatal Experience that it may with much more Ease be betray'd by Numbers of domestick Traitors into such a State of Weakness and Confusion as may open indeed a fairer Prospect to their View, and force the honest Part once again under the Necessity of freeing themselves from the Curse of Slavery they intend them.

'Tis in this sole View that both this *Memorial* and all others of the same Strain and Tendency, have been industriously writ and publish'd to divide and weaken us, in order to render us less capable of defending our selves from the open Attempts and Incroachments of our Enemies; for whilst there are these unhappy Heats, and Jealousies, and Animosities amongst us, the surest Game our secret homespun Enemies have to play, is to augment and aggravate 'em; 'tis confess'd indeed that by such base and villain Artifices they can hardly fail of some Degree of Success, that is, by their Specious and plausible Insinuations to debauch over to their Interests great Numbers of weak and credulous People who are capable of looking no further than the Outside and Appearances of Things; or a worse Sort of Men, who by their Vices and Profusions have dissipated the Estates they possibly may have been born to, or such who never had any, and both in Prospect of re-establishing their old broken Fortunes, or acquiring new ones in the Confusions and Ruin of their Country. We are but too well assur'd by melancholy Experience, that this has always been the Practice of our mortal Enemies the *Jesuites*, since that cursed Race of Men have had the Address to insinuate themselves into most of the Courts and Councils of Europe; and we are as fully convinc'd that ever since the Reformation, but more especially since the late happy and glorious Revolution, they have never fail'd of meeting with great Numbers amongst us who have blindly run into all their fatal Measures in Concert with 'em to carry on the Noble and laudable Design of enslaving our native Country. We have hitherto, at least till of late, had the Reputation of being a wise, honest, and valiant People; Ten Thousand Michiefs on the Villains have taught the World to think otherwise of us! But it is impossible to concieve, unless by such as have had the Experience of it in their Conversation abroad, how contemptible these faithless *Jesuites* speak of us, who they can so easily debauch to act the Parts of Fools or Knaves upon so important an Occasion as the Preterbation of our Religion and Liberties, which, as they are the only Bars while they remain in their Intire, to the Introduction of *Popery* and *Slavery*; 'tis eternally their Interest to undermine and subvert, and are so happy in a free and *Protestant* Nation

as to find great Numbers of corrupt and mercenary Wretches, as freely joyn Hands with 'em to finish so detestable a Work.

This will be evident to every thinking disinterested *Englishman*, who will but employ a few Minutes of his Time to reflect upon the Triumphs and Rejoycings of the *French* Court and Army, upon the prospect of the Advantages they propos'd to reap from the Disorders and Confusions wrought in the Kingdom by their infamous Tool *Sacheverell*, and others of the same Stamp; they knew well enough the Danger, nay the impossibility of insulting us whilst we continu'd united; but they could no longer stifle or conceal their Joy and the Hopes of succeeding in their Attempts, by reason of the unhappy Divisions such mercenary Traitors had brought us into. 'Twas this alone that made the Marechal *Villars* boast the Beginning of the Campaign following the Negotiations at *Gertruydenbergh* to the Magistrates of *Dunkirk*, that his Masters Affairs were taking a new Face, and that he doubted not but to convince the World that he was not reduc'd to so low and despicable a Condition, as we and the rest of the Allies conceiv'd him to be in; yet notwithstanding our pernicious Divisions, which were the Foundation of their Hopes, and the glorious prospect of Advantages they had promis'd themselves from 'em, the Success at that time by no means answer'd the Gasconade, however fatally it has done since: And our successful and invincible General, with his yet uncorrupted English Troops and those of our noble Allies, continued to make the vain-glorious *Frenchman* turn his Back and fly before him, or suffer their strongest Towns to be shamefully taken before his Face, at the Head of a more numerous Army than our own, without moving a Step, or daring to strike a Stroke to relieve 'em, tho' of the last Importance to his sinking Country and Courage.

'Twas this Prospect alone, which was the Occasion of their shameless Tergiversations, while they were with the utmost Pomp and Solemnity of the publick Faith fooling all Christendom with the Expectation of a general Peace during their tedious Negotiations at *Gertruydenbergh*; no Body can doubt, who is but little acquainted with the Situation of the *French* Affairs, and the miserable Condition of their ruin'd and exhausted Country at that Time, but that however hard of Digestion the Preliminaries seem'd to be, they wou'd have been readily swallowed, and a lasting Peace, safe, honourable and advantageous, been concluded upon the Terms of the victorious Allies, if the unhappy Divisions of our own Country, fomented into a Flame by mercenary Priests hir'd to its Destruction, had not given Birth to their Hopes of better Success than they cou'd ever have expected from their baff'd and dispirited Armies; we had been too long in Possession of beating 'em even upon the most difficult and disadvantageous Circumstances to leave 'em any Reason to rely upon the Courage and Bravery of our Troops, as little to be depended upon in a Day of Battle, as their Faith and Sincerity in the Negotiations of Peace; yet from this fatal Period of our domestick Confusions spread amongst us by these perfidious Emissaries they conceiv'd the first Dawn of Hopes of an  
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advantageous Change in their Fortune and Affairs ; it was from that disastrous Scituation of ours alone, and the Prospect of a more easy Peace, in a Juncture that with much Reason they judg'd more favourable and propitious to their Interests, that all their Hopes at that time of recovering themselves solely depended ; they saw with Joy, as the delicious Fruits of their Bribery and our domestick Treachery, a glorious Ministry in whose Hands the Administration had been carry'd on for so many Years to their own and Country's immortal Honour, and who were equally Proof against their Flattery and Pensions, were no longer to be a Bar to the Designs of their Ambition ; they saw an unhappy Nation, which had ever been a Cheque to the Insolence of their Pretensions, divided amongst themselves, and upon the point of cutting one anothers Throats ; and however meanly we had Reason to think of their Courage, we had too good an Opinion of their Sense to think they would not improve and make the best Use of a Conjunction so very favourable to their Interests and Designs ; they were too sensible both what bloody Confusions and Alterations to their Advantage the Pretender wou'd occasion, if they could have sent him among us at a time when they found he had so considerable a Number of professed Partisans, not to profit of the Opportunity if they had been able ; and if we had him not here at that time, we are solely indebted to the Inability and Want of Power our Noble General and his victorious Troops had reduc'd 'em to, than any thing else ; for 'tis evident that whilst he had that glorious and fortunate Commander in Head, ready to force his Way with a conquering Army into the Bowels of his Kingdom, he was in no Condition to spare his Forces to execute such an Enterprize, who even behind their impracticable Lines were not sufficient, or able to defend his own Country ; tho' I believe at this time o'th' Day there's no honest *Englishman* in his Senses who does not firmly expect a Visit from him, as soon as the Pope, the Devil, and the most Christian Turk can contrive it.

In the last Glorious Reign wherein our wondrous Deliverance was wrought, and the Memory of the Benefits and Blessings of it were, or I am sure ought to have been, fresh in the Thoughts of every honest grateful *Englishman*, these same restless Spirits, who were offended with the Success of it, imploy'd all their wicked Arts and Endeavours to clog the Progress of a wonderful Turn of Providence they had not Power to prevent, and render it, as much as lay in their Power, ineffectual in its Consequences, by framing Difficulties in giving the necessary Funds to carry on an important War ; without which all that had been done wou'd have been of little purpose, whilst the common Enemy of our and Europe's Liberty was left with a Power sufficient, in Concert with Traytors at home, to unravel and overturn what had with so much Glory and good Fortune been begun : Funds to carry on so full and necessary a War given which prov'd always defective and insufficient, which was the first and principal Occasion of the heavy Debts the Nation has since labour'd under ; our Councils



frequently betray'd to the Enemy, which gave 'em an Opportunity to render ineffectual the best concerted Measures, and defeat us of those Successes which otherwise, humanly speaking, it was hardly possible they could fail of ; unnatural Heats, Jealousies, and Animosities industriously scatter'd and fomented amongst the People, principally by those Men who call themselves, and we are very sure ought to be so, the Messengers of Peace, which engag'd the Kingdoms in a more pernicious and destructive War at Home, than that abroad ; yet by the Blessing of God upon the Vertue, Valour and Wisdom of a Prince immoveably bent to leave us in the Happy State and Possession of our Native and Original Freedom, together with the Firmness and Fidelity of those noble and generous Patriots who adher'd to him in so excellent and commendable a Design, all the malicious and traiterous Attempts of his and our Country's Enemies prov'd fruitless and abortive ; these were the blessed Fruits of the hypocritical Zeal and Principles of our High Church Friends at that Time in Relation both to the State and Church during a Life and Reign, that shall be the Blessing as well as Admiration of all succeeding Ages.

But Faction as it is infernal never dies, as the Devil who is the Father of it never sleeps ; the same Artifices with the same restless Impatience are still carry'd on, and to the same execrable purposes of sacrificing all that is good or valuable in Religion, or civil Government, to the Establishment of a Popish Pretender, tho' they are assur'd that by the Help of *French* Power he will not fail to govern us by Maxims of *French* Policy and *French* Religion, tho' the great Consolation and Happiness doubtless of a free and generous Nation born and nourish'd in Liberty, and the wonderful Security and Support of the establish'd Church founded upon Protestantism. It may be indeed allow'd to these very zealous and discreet High Churchmen, that in the late Reign there might at first have been some Colour, I say only Colour, for Reason we are sure there never was any, for their Apprehensions of some Danger to their Church, during the Administration of a Prince born and brought up in the Discipline and Communion of *Calvin* ; yet his constant Adherence and Continuance in the Profession and Practice of the Doctrine and Form of Worship of the Church of *England* to his dying Day, his leaving our Religious Queen to succeed him in the Throne, his Care for the Security and Establishment of the National Church and Religion as by Law provided for in the estimable Blessing of the Succession of the Illustrious Protestant House of *Hanover*, together with the wholesome Laws during his short but glorious Reign, made to perpetuate the Blessings of Religion and Liberty to his People, as they ought to have stopp'd the lewd Mouths of Calumny and Detraction, so were they more than sufficient Evidences of his sincere and tender Care for them and will be with all thinking honest *Englishmen* eternal Testimonies of a Goodness that had nothing more at Heart to his last Moment, than the lasting Peace, Happiness, and Security of a great and noble Nation, whom God had appointed, and the People chosen for their Head.

But from the Commencement of the Reign of our Gracious Queen who suck'd in the Doctrine of the Church of *England* with her Milk, who has given 'em so many glorious Instances of her Belief and Affection to it, and equall'd the Perfection of its Doctrines with the Purity of her Practice and Manners, to the Shame and Confusion of the most Zealous Pretenders of Profession; in such a Reign I say where Piety and Truth, where Justice and Mercy, the brightest Jewels as well as best Security of a Throne, concenter'd and walk'd Hand in Hand together, till these Wretches for secret Ends pervert-ed 'em and broke the golden Chain: What Reason had these furious and designing Zealots, these restless High Church Hypocrites, to entertain the least Notion of Fears and Apprehensions of chimerical Dangers to their Church, if they had form'd no other Designs in their wicked Heads and Hearts but her real Security or the Honour of a Princess they pretend to adore? If their Malice and Wickedness were not as incorrigible as their Love to true Religion is false and hypocritical, Shame and Confusion would be their Portion for so barefac'd and groundless a Suggestion: What Occasions were there in such a happy and glorious Situation, incessantly to scatter their infamous and malicious Pamphlets amongst the People, stuff'd with such virulent Principles and Doctrines as tended only to poison all Government and all Religion, if they did not hide under the sacred Veil of the most pure Religion the flagitious Design of bringing in an Impostor, who by the very Principles of his Superstition must be necessarily understood to mean nothing less than the utter Destruction of our establish'd Church? Have these Men of wondrous Conscience and Judgment so soon forgot the deplorable Condition these Nations were in, by the impious Cant of their Predecessors and selves, reduc'd to under the Bigotry of the Father, to be in love with the Establishment of a suppositious Son of the same Principles and Profession? Shameless Prevarications! Barbarous Ingratitude! Execrable Treason! Yet whom have they not blasphem'd? What Pains have not these False Zealots taken to render a noble, wise, and generous People not only a Prey to their most mortal and irreconcilable Enemies, but the Reproach and Scorn of all the neighbouring Nations? And oh that Heaven has permitted 'em to be so far successful in their Wickedness!

Yet this has constantly been the unwearied Practice of a restless and implacable Faction ever since the Revolution, and continues to be so at this Day, who in all their publick Writings, Sermons and private Insinuations among the People, preach up and propagate Doctrines and Principles as are utterly inconsistent with all civil Government, and more particularly our own, but which, it must be confess'd, most admirably tend to accomplish the End they propose to themselves, that is, the reducing the People into Dispositions all out with the happy Constitution they are under, wherein they enjoy all that can render a gallant Nation either great and flourishing at home, or formidable to their Enemies abroad, in order to substitute another, which must inevitably not only ruin the Reputation they had once with so much Glory establish'd with

with their Neighbours and Allies, but with the Loss of their Religion and dear bought Freedom, subject themselves and their Posterity to the infamous and insupportable Condition of Slavery and Arbitrary Power; this shall be the unavoidable Consequence of the Dominion of a *Popish Pretender* forc'd upon us by the Assistance and Power of a Tyrant who has ever aim'd at the enslaving of all *Europe*, who as he glories in having reduc'd a great and noble People of his own, originally as free as we are, into the despicable Condition of Slaves, contends for nothing more than with the Help of our domestick Traytors to reduce us to the same miserable Degree of Servitude, who are the principal Obstacles to all his ambitious Designs, when a huddel'd up and infamous Treacherous Peace shall have given him time to breath and recruit himself into an Ability either to accomplish 'em himself in his own time, or his Grand Children to finish the noble Work of Slavery in some of theirs.

Yet this Design of theirs, how detestable soever in it self, which they so industriously push on under the false Pretext of Love and Zeal for their Religion and Country, wou'd at least appear abroad in the World with something a better Grace; if the Arguments they make use of for that Purpose had any real Foundation (as they pretend) either upon the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, of Reason, or the nature of civil Government: When Propositions of this kind are modestly advanc'd and endeavour'd to be prov'd by Strength of Reasoning to such a Degree of Light and Evidence as are necessary to create Conviction, all rational unprejudic'd Persons are oblig'd either to give their Assent to 'em, or prove 'em false by better Authority, and a superiour Force of Argumentation; but if instead of such Proofs and Authorities, in an Affair of such Consequence as our well being in this World, and our Salvation in the next, we meet with nothing but gross and shameless Prevarications, manifest Falshoods dress'd up and disguis'd only with the plausible Appearance of Truth, with nothing but a frivolous and artful Sophistry to gild 'em below the Character of Men of Wit, good Sense, or Probity; they must excuse us if they do not take such false Coin for current Sterling, if we do not swallow the Hook so poorly baited, if we not only refuse our assent, but endeavour to expose in their proper Colours such dangerous Effects to the Contempt and Infamy they merit, and labour for the publick Good of the Nation, both to undeceive and redress those who may possibly already be misled through Weakness or Inadvertency, and to preserve those who may still remain sound and uncorrupted from the Danger of Infection. In this View I do not despair in the Course of this Essay to make it appear to all such as are not harden'd in their Obstinacy, or perverted in their Judgments, that the whole Scope and Intent of the Author of this infamous *Memorial*, his ingenious and learn'd Revivers and all others of the same Kind, is solely calculated for the laudable Design of bringing in their dear *Pretender*, by the Means Principal of the unnatural Divisions they so industriously foment amongst us, and that all the Arguments by which they endeavour to enforce their Doctrines upon us are false, sophistical and groundless, tho



must acknowledge for the Honour of their Authors, that Arguments drawn from a Spirit of Malice, Calumny and Error are of all others the most proper to sustain and propagate the Designs of a Book conceiv'd in Spleen and Disgusts, and born in the Rage of Disappointments.

I think that every Man who seriously reflects upon the happy and flourishing Posture and Condition of the Affairs of these Nations at that time, in Relation both to the State and Church, will easily conclude that a Libel of such malignant Tendency as *The Memorial* cou'd proceed from no Body, but one who either envy'd the Happiness we enjoy'd, or one who was hir'd by Expectation of a Reward to employ the utmost of his Capacities to subvert and destroy it; the two principal Topicks he makes use of for that End are Scandal and Calumny, very worthy both, such an Author and such a Design; the Church for which the religious Physitian was so deeply concern'd, to use his proper Words, was by his own Confession—in all Appearance in a flourishing Condition, in perfect fair Weather, with all the splendid Appendages of her Dignities and Preferments; but yet for all this fine shew of Health and Tranquility, there was a pestilent hectic Fever lurking in her Bowels, which if not timely cur'd wou'd infect all the Humours, and at length destroy the very being of it—A very terrible and dangerous Scituation indeed! Yet notwithstanding that wise Gentleman's Knowledge of Futurity and deep Skill in Physick and Prediction, the Church continu'd safe and sound in the same healthful and flourishing Condition for the Space of seven Years following, which is something longer, according to the Rules of his Art, than is allow'd to a pestilent hectic to domineer in a Body without destroying it, and by the Blessing of God without the Help of his Prescriptions wou'd have continu'd so in the same Hands it was then to the Ends of the World; but there was a certain Design which had been long a forming, and which cou'd never be brought to Perfection unless the People cou'd be debauch'd into a Belief of the Danger of the Church; and since it was impossible to find any real Dangers on which to found their Conviction, they were to be sham'd off with the chimerical Fumes of visionaries, and bigotted and corrupted Mercuries for such.

The Sum of all this frantick Gibberish is no more than this, the happy Settlement of these Nations upon the solid Basis and Principles of the Revolution, was a Burthen intolerable to a Faction that had employ'd all their Endeavours and Artifices to oppose and prevent it; and when, thro' their Impotence, they found themselves unable to effect that, their Malice set on work all the wicked Arts they cou'd devise to blacken, to ridicule, and brand it with the innumerable Imputations of Sedition and Rebellion, thereby to render the Blessings of Providence of no Effect, which had been pour'd in upon us by a wonderful Train of Successes, next to Miracles: But unluckily, for these excellent Patriots and Lovers of their Church, there were at that time a sort of Men in the Administration of the publick Affairs, who were not only some of the principal Contrivers,

but who continu'd constant and strenuous Supporters of that wonderful turn, which they had the good Fortune, under God, and the Wisdom and Valour of their great King, to the unspeakable Happiness of these distracted Nations and their own immortal Honour, to accomplish : Now we may believe, at least, it may be suppos'd, to be the Opinion of every honest *English* Man in his Senses, that those noble Lords and Gentlemen, who had at the utmost Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes been the principal Actors in rescuing their Religion and Country from the inevitable Evils of Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power which then threaten'd 'em, might with the utmost Justice be entitul'd to a sincere and disinterested Affection to the Liberty and Happiness of both, which they had with so much Glory preserv'd. Men in their Senses seldom run the Hazard of sacrificing their Lives, Estates, and Families, with what ever else is dear and valuable in the World to precarious and imaginary Expectations; nothing but the real and solid Good of their Country's Freedom, and the Preservation and Security of their Religion, is capable of inspiring generous free-born *English* Men, who know the Merit of 'em, with the noble Resolution of hazarding all Things to perpetuate such precious and invaluable Treasures to after Ages; nor shall they be refus'd by their greatful Posterity (who shall peaceably enjoy the Blessings of their noble Toils and Dangers, however ingratelfully they may be treated here) all the just Tribute of Acknowledgment and Admiration that are due to the uncommon Vertue of Men who dar'd to oppose the Current of Tyranny and Slavery, that like a Deluge was preparing to overwhelm 'em.

These great and worthy Men then were the principal Obstacle to the traiterous Designs and Pretensions of a Faction, which has been ever labouring to overturn that goodly Fabrick the Wisdom and Vertue of the former had erected and long preserv'd, and whom Heaven for the Punishment of our Sins in some measure has suffer'd to succeed; yet is their Work not yet finish'd, and by the Blessing of God upon our Vertue never shall; two principal Points therefore were necessarily to be gain'd; the Removal of the late Glorious Ministry, and the discrediting the Dissenters; and therefore to facilitate the Execution of the Designs of the Faction, Means were to be found out to deprive the one of the Administration of Affairs, and to render the other odious and suspected; those great and incomparable Ministers and the whole Body of Dissenters must be blackned and misrepresented as the worst and most dangerous Enemies, from whom all the dreadful Evils that threaten'd no less than certain Destruction to their Church were suppos'd to derive; for without this they could form no reasonable Prospect or Hope of the Success of their Enterprize. 'Twas equally then against the former as the known Bulwarks of our Religion and Liberties, the latter as a formidable Force entirely opposite to their Design in Hand, that the Faction's Engineers pointed all their Batteries of Malice, Scandal, and Detraction. Strange Method in such who pretend to love their Country, and to be animated with the Zeal and Spirit of Religion, to endeavour the Conservation of 'em by Practices

Practices unbecoming 'em both as honest Men and Christians ; but with these it imports not what the Means are, so the Work of Darkness be done. They knew full well, that generally Mankind (to their great Credit and yet but truly it is spoken) are much more readily inclin'd to receive evil Impressions than good ; a certain secret Guilt, arising from the general Corruption and Pravity of the Mind, makes every wicked Man believe, or at least wish, that all Men were like himself, that under the Shadow of the universal Contagion, he may more easily conceal his proper Imperfections ; hence it proceeds that such Men take a secret, but malicious Pleasure, to see Men of more Merit and Vertue than themselves impudently aspers'd and malign'd ; they naturally hate an Excellence in others, which is a Reproach of the Want of it in themselves ; they rejoyce to see 'em loaded with Reflections which they are conscious they in no manner deserve ; nor is there any surer way to tarnish the Character of a Man of however uncommon or elevated a Vertue in any eminent Station, than boldly to calumniate him ; some of the Dirt that's thrown at him will certainly stick ; do but once deprive him by such Means, however unjust or dishonourable, of that sort of Reputation which is founded only upon popular Opinion (for there is another more valuable one establish'd upon Innocence and the intrinsic Merit of Vertue and Honour, which no Malice can reach or affect) and it will no longer be a difficult matter to tumble him from his Post and Dignities, and possibly render him the Sport or Contempt of a People, who but a few Hours before admir'd and ador'd him for a thousand excellent Qualities. Hard Condition of great and honest Men ! If it were not for the secret Pleasure and Satisfaction that arises from the Conscience of having well discharg'd ones Duty to his Country and Religion, there's little else to engage a Man who has any Thing to lose, in the Service of the one or the other ; yet the subtle Villain gains his point, and leaves the poor disgrac'd to the Consolation of his Innocence and Philosophy.

To begin with the Dissenters, whom they insult with all the indiscreet and fiery Zeal that seems to be much rather the insult of Rage and Fury than of a temperate and rational Regard for the Interests of true Religion. I set not my self up for an Advocate either of the whole Body, or any Class of 'em, as such ; but but I set up for an Advocate of Truth and Justice : I can look on, and consider 'em as my Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Christians united with me under the same Bonds of civil Society, and the same Principles of our common Faith, without branding 'em with the odious Characters of obstinate Schismatics, or persecuting 'em for being so. I can bewail their Error of Separation, in such as do it purely for Conscience-sake, from the establish'd Church, and heartily pray that God will in his good time dispose their Hearts to return into her Bosom, without exposing my self into a Judge to condemn or punish 'em, much less by false and wicked Calumnies endeavour to render 'em odious to the Government under which they demean themselves with the same Fidelity and Allegiance with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects. I



know no Religion that obliges me to treat 'em with Asperity and Contempt, or with the violences of a bigotted resentment because they don't believe exactly as I do, or conform to all the Externals of the religious Worship of a God, we equally confess and adore; but I am sure that on the contrary I am peremptorily commanded, by the only Authority under Heaven that can influence my Conscience in such Matters, and which I shall ever prefer before the Institutions of the wisest and most Religious of Men, to love my Neighbour as my self, nay to forgive and love even my Enemies, and to pray for those who persecute and despoightfully use me. This refin'd and exalted Degree of heavenly Charity, is what ever Man who makes profession of the Christian Religion is indispensibly oblig'd, at least to endeavour to arrive at; and if such a State of absolute perfection, by Reason of the Disobedience and Rebellion of the Passions with the Frailties of self-love which inseparably attend the human Nature, is with great Difficulty, if at all practicable; yet I am very sure that he who does not exert his best Endeavours to approach as near it as is possible, shall give but a very lame and imperfect Account of his Faith at the great Day of Retribution; but I think I may with much greater certainty maintain, that they shall be in a much more terrible and deplorable Condition, who giving vent to all the Impetuosities of Rage and Revenge, shall persecute their Fellow-Subjects and Fellow Christians with the utmost violences of Cruelty and Oppression, because possibly they may have it in their Power to do so.

This is a Truth, that there is not a Man of that furious *High-Church* Spirit can be insensible of, and I leave it to the World and their own Consciences to determine, what Mercy such Men may one Day reasonably expect to meet with, who know not what Mercy and Forgiveness are here; when they shall think fit to reflect how willfully they contravene a Divine Command, the most solemnly and positively enforc'd under the severest Penalty of any in the whole Book of God. Whatever the Faults or Errors of the *Dissenters* in general, or particular Sects of 'em, may be, there is nothing more certain than that Methods of Violence and Cruelty will never redress 'em; 'tis but too much the Nature of Man to be exasperated by severe and rugged Usage, and to express and return with the like Asperity their Resentments of it; Charity and good Manners will always work upon good natur'd and ingenuous Dispositions, and the Conversion and Punishment of obstinate and harden'd ones is only the Work of a Power superior to Human: I hope and believe that the Breach between them and the establish'd Church is not irreparable even by the ordinary Methods of human Prudence, and if it cannot be totally heal'd up, it may questionless be lessen'd by Measures of Charity, Complaisance and good Manners; but I am very sure that it will be widen'd and render'd incurable by those of Pride, of Rigour, of Contempt and an uncharitable Haughtiness; and this one Thing I will pretend to maintain, that there have been greater Numbers of 'em banish'd from the Communion of the establish'd Church by such unchristian Practices than possibly will ever be

be retriev'd by preaching, tho' attended with never so much strength of Reasoning, or probity of Manners. If they fail in that Respect, which is questionless due to the National Church, if they carry their Folly further, and make Attempts to the Prejudice and Subversion of it; if they can so far forget themselves and their own true Interest, which a wise and prudent People cannot reasonably be supposed to do, as to fly in the Face of the Civil Power, and to create Disturbance and Confusions in the Commonwealth which cherishes and protects them; 'tis the Business of the Legislature only to find out, and apply proper Remedies to the Disorders, and by what Methods they shall think fit to reduce 'em to better Manners, and restrain 'em within the limits of their Duty to both; But who made thee a Ruler and a Judge over 'em? By vertue of what Commission, except that of his own Arrogance or Self-conceit, shall every intemperate *High-Church* Bigot, who is pleas'd to be offend'd, take upon him to brand a whole considerable Body of Men with the infamous Imputations of *Schismatick*, *Fanatick*, or *Republican*?

Sometimes the whole Body of *Dissenters* are huddl'd together, and the Zealous Author sets himself loose in all the unbecoming Violence of an Enthusiastick Madnes against 'em, as the most bitter and irreconcilable Enemies, who have actually laid the Ax to the very Root of the establish'd Church, in order to affect the utter Subversion of it; sometimes he is pleas'd to separate the *Presbyterians* as the wisest and more moderate of 'em, and treats 'em with a little more Respect and good Manners than the rest: Yet this is no more than a Fit, and affectation of good Humour, and lasts but a little while, and the Danger to the Church is soon after to be apprehended as much from them as upon any of the others. One would be glad to be inform'd, for what Purpose he gives himself the trouble to tell us that the *Calvinists*, and *Lutheran* Churches abroad will not suffer any Communion distinct from themselves, to arrive at a rivalship of Power with 'em in the Places they are establish'd, who doubts it? And, how does it appear that there has ever any Design been form'd legally to put 'em upon a level in Authority or Priviledges with our establish'd Church at Home? *Church-men* have in all Ages given the World but too many fatal Instances of their jealousy of Power when any other have set up for a Participation of it; and of their Abuse of it, when they have engross'd it to themselves, to the Destruction even of that Secular Authority to whose mistaken Zeal and Simplicity they were first indebted for it; but what have we to do with *Rome*, or *Geneva*, or *Amsterdam*, or *Germany*, or *France*, to seek for Presidents, or take Example by? Unless it be to inform us how wretched a People must they who are under the Government of Ecclesiastics. Our wise and pious Reformers, wou'd to Heaven they had been wiser, and left Power to ours, have fram'd a Communion and Confession of Faith, and Discipline very different from 'em all, choosing what they esteem'd good and profitable for Edification, and rejecting the Errors, the Vanities, the superfluities of some, and the nakedness and

and barrenness of others ; of which they compil'd a beautiful, yet venerable Syſtem of Religion and manner of Worſhip, which we are ſatisfy'd comes nearer the Primitive Purity and Perfection, than that of any Church under the Sun, and which we doubt not ſhall ever continue ſo without the Fear or Jealouſie of any Rival, nor be increas'd otherways in her Numbers, than by ſuch as ſhall be charm'd and attract'd into her Boſom, and Communion by the excellent Purity of her Doctrines, and Primitive Candour and Integrity of her Manners ; which as ſhe has ever been ſince the Reformation ſubordinate, and dependent as a primary Part of the Conſtitution on the ſupreme Civil Power and Authority ; ſo we hope for the future Good and Happineſs of theſe Nations, ſhe ſhall always continue ſo, whatever wicked endeavours our *High-Church* Enthuſiaſticks in their luſt for Power ſhall make uſe of to hoist her above 'em, or rather to make her independent only, to make themſelves, like their dear Brethren of the *Popiſh* Superſtition, exempt from all ſecular Jurisdiction ; which ſupreme Authority, as it has in all times hitherto preſerv'd the Church, as in her legal Honours and Immunities, ſo within the limits of her Duty ; ſo it is not to be queſtion'd, but that the Legiſlature will always exert the ſame Power to curb the Insolence of thoſe unhappy Sectaries that are ſprung up amongſt us, when ever they ſhall ſo far forget themſelves, as to fail in their Reſpect and Duty to the Civil Government, or National Church.

As much as I am ſcandaliz'd at the Insolence of the Author, I cannot but do him Juſtice, where I think he deſerves it, and commend him, where he ſays, and ingenuouſly acknowledges, on a Suppoſition of a ſtruggle of the different Sects for the firſt Place of Power and Authority : That, whichever of 'em ſhou'd ſucceed in ſuch a Deſign, the others would not fare ſo well, or meet with the ſame good Treatment that they all of 'em do now from the eſtabliſh'd Church ; than which there can be nothing more certainly true, if underſtood of the Primitive Purity and Genuine Spirit of Chriſtianity, that eminently diſtinguiſhes her from all others, as it is profeſs'd in the true National Church of *England*, excluſive of what its reverend *Partiſans* are pleaſed to call their *High-Church*, of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more at large in the ſequel of the following Diſcourſe ; from which Conſideration I think it evidently follows, That it can never be the Intereſt of any one Sect to pretend to uſurp the Place of the eſtabliſh'd Church, or the others to ſuffer it if they ſhould ; and I think I may, with great Reaſon, pretend to perſuade and convince our own People, that it is much leſs the Intereſt of the *Presbyterians*, than any others, (be- cauſe they have much more to loſe) to pretend to ſet up for the eſtabliſh'd Church, upon the ſubverſion of that which is at preſent ſo for to carry on ſo great a Deſign as totally to change the Form and Manner of Worſhip of a Religion once eſtabliſh'd by the Authority of the Laws, and continu'd by a long Preſcription of Time, there ought to be neceſſarily Means employ'd proportionable to ſo great and daring an Enterprize ; and I am firmly perſwaded that nothing but the immediate Power of God, or by his Permiſſion, the whole Su-



preme Legislature of a Nation are capable of performing it ; I am very much mistaken if the *Presbyterians* can pretend to be ascertain'd of the Co-operation, and Permission of the former, without which it is impossible ; and they are too wise and judicious a People to imagine that they can ever be Masters, or in full Possession of the latter, without which it is utterly impracticable ; they are a People that very well know their Interest, and their Condition too easie and secure under the Indulgence and Protection of the Laws, to hazard either of 'em, in the bare hopes of succeeding in so Chimerical and Precarious an Undertaking, by which, if they should miscarry in the Execution, they might justly draw down upon themselves, if not the Vengeance of Heaven, at least the Indignation and Resentments of a whole offended Nation, which might probably terminate in their final Extirpation, by the Effect of a terrible Persecution which the audaciousness of the Attempt, and the exigencies of the State may make both Just and Necessary ; nay, if they should be so far infatuated as to form such a Design, a Man must have but a very despicable Opinion of every Branch and Member that composes the Legislature, who have the Power and Strength of the Nation in their Hands, if they did not employ their Wisdom and Valour either to prevent, or vigorously to punish an Attempt, that must necessarily reduce all Things into a State of the last Confusion and Disorder, and dissolve the whole Frame of our Laws, which are all calculated to maintain the Government, both in the State and Church, upon the Foot and Principles of the present Establishment.

'Tis true indeed, what he says only to fix a Mark of Odium upon the *Presbyterians*, that what has been, may be ; but it is false Reasoning to affirm that what once has been, shall be again. 'Tis as certain that in the Confusions, which from the Year Forty, to Forty Eight, on which he lays a wonderful stress, turmoil'd these unhappy Nations, the Sectaries of all Classes had a principal Share ; and without all doubt, aim'd at a total Subversion of the Government, both in respect to the Civil and the Religious Constitution, and in a great measure by a strange sort of fatality, which no human Wisdom has hitherto been able to account for, succeeded in their Design ; yet the Frenzy lasted but for a short time, which sufficiently demonstrated both the natural Vigour and Robustness of our Constitution, and that the Difficulties which are inseparable from Attempts of that Nature, to overturn an ancient settled Government, are next to insuperable : Since the first false Step that is made (like an Error in the first concoction) is very rarely, if ever redress'd, but leads 'em on into the unavoidable Confusions of Councils, which seldom terminate but in the abortion of the Design, and destruction of the Conspirators. 'Tis very well here worthy of Remark, That in that disastrous Time of *Forty One*, wherein that terrible Calamity began to break out, that *House of Commons* was compos'd, for the greatest Part, of Gentlemen of as distinguish'd Characters for their Zeal for the establish'd Religion, and the true Interest and Happiness of their Country, as well as for their great

Parts

Parts and Abilities, as possibly any that ever had the Honour to sit within those Walls before, or since ; and it was their firm and immoveable Love and Fidelity to both, which animated 'em to excel their Wisdom and Courage to make a stand against the Encroachments of an unfortunate Prince, who was actuated by the violent Counsels, and furious Zeal of the very same *High-Church* Principles, which are made use of to involve us in the same dismal Calamities at this Day : This was one of the Principal Occasions of those Misfortunes, which so miserably harra's'd these Nations for so many Years ; their attempting to stretch the regal Power and Authority beyond the limits which the Laws prescrib'd, justly alarm'd those generous Patriots to stand up in the Defence and Maintainance of their immemorial Liberties so openly violated. Who ever is but moderately acquainted with the Tragical History of those unhappy Times, which I have not undertaken to write, may be inform'd by what villanous Arts those Noble Commons were worm'd out of their House by the Heads of the prevailing Faction ; they in Process by the *Independents*, and those by their own *Rump* and the perfidiousness of *Cromwell* : A wonderful Scene indeed of the most surprising Evenements that possibly was ever open'd to the World, carry'd on with as much Craft and Dissimulation, as unnatural Heat and Violence thro' all the Mazes and various Fluctuations of Frenzy and Ambition, which at last brought on the Murder of that unhappy Monarch, and with much more Reason and Equity the Fate of his Two Principal evil Councillors *Laud* and *Strafford*, and in the end terminated in the Infamy and Punishment of the principal Traytors.

Such End have always had all such wicked and ill grounded Designs to overturn an ancient well regulated Government, tho' push'd on and manag'd with all the Cunning and Malice of Hell or wicked Men, and such End may they ever have ; yet as all great and publick Calamities carry their Instructions along with 'em, and make or ought to make Men wiser, we may draw this useful instructive Piece of Knowledge from our own, *viz.* That the Superstructure of our ancient Government is erected upon such solid natural Principles of Reason, Equity and Justice, in which the just Prerogative of the Prince, and Original Liberties of the People are so admirably poiz'd, both equally limited and restrain'd by the Wisdom and Excellent temperament of the Laws, the whole constituent Parts of so strong and vigorous Stamina, as render it next to impossible for any Power merely human, tho' assisted by the most refin'd Craft and Malice of wicked Politicians to alter, much less to subvert ; unless for the Punishment of our Sins we are totally abandon'd of Heaven, which I hope, with every honest *Englishman*, shall never be our Case : And tho' we have dearly bought this Experience and Knowledge of our Strength, from the late and some more modern Distasters, I think the very Consideration of the innate Force and Vigour of our Constitution, supported by the Wisdom, Integrity and Courage of those who may be intrusted with the Management of it, may be esteem'd a just Security to thinking reasonable Men that humanly speaking, we can never be liable to the like dreadful

Confusion

Confusions again; tho' we very well know, that there are not wanting among us, great Numbers of Men of the same Principles and restless Spirit, for introducing *Arbitrary Power*, who are all this time employing all their Arts and Industry for its Establishment, in which if they succeed, they will inevitably reinvolve us in 'em.

Two Ages ago we were all in these Nations of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; the Wisdom, Piety and Courage of our Forefathers under our enlighten'd Kings, by the Blessing of God, brought us out of the *House of Darknes* and *spiritual Bondage*, and it is to be hop'd, and I think reasonably believ'd, that we shall never be so wretched as to return into our *Chains of Ignorance and Slavery*, inseparable from the Possession of the most impure and corrupted of all Superstitions; yet no Englishman in his Wits can be ignorant how near we were brought to our former Captivity by the furious Councils of Papists, Jacobites and High-Flyers, and their *Sin-bant enslaving Doctrines*, in the late Reign of a bigotted despotical Prince, ambitious to Madness of *Arbitrary Power*, together with the restless Indeavours of vast Numbers of Men among us at present, of the same Principles and Doctrines in Favour of a suppositious Pretender; yet we must be infatuated beyond the Reach of Hellebore, if after the Re-establishment of our holy Religion and civil Liberties by our happy Deliverance from the Tyranny of the Father, we suffer our selves again tamely to be either cajol'd by crafty Priests, or hector'd by designing Bullies out of such inestimable Treasures, let their Endeavours be what they will for the Establishment of the Son. Nor do I at this Time make any other Use of this Instance, than to shew the Impossibility of changing an ancient well constituted Government, by any other human Means than the Consent of the whole Legislature; that being visibly the Design of the late King *James*, and the Usurper *Cromwel*, of the former, to introduce a Form of *Arbitrary and Despotick Dominion* in the Prince, in the Place of an Authority limited and circumscrib'd by fundamental Laws, which is the most fatal Change can be made in a Government; and of the latter, to change the Face of Monarchy into that of a Commonwealth, with this Difference, that the one would have establish'd Presbytery in the Room of Episcopacy, and the other Popery, which in the Opinion of all honest Men is infinitely worse; and tho' the Difficulties in the Attempts made 'em equally impossible in the Execution, yet they both terminated in the same end, that is, in the Infamy and Destruction both of the one and the other.

That Englishman, whether of High or Low-Church, who has the Happiness to be born and educated in the most pure Religion, and the most desirable political Freedom under the Sun, and is sensible of any real and imminent Danger that threatens to oppress or subvert either the one or the other, and does not employ all the Capacity of his Mind, his Body or his Fortune, either to repel that Evil if it has happen'd, or to prevent it if it be only impending, is a Traitor both to God and his Country; but that Englishman, who upon false or groundless Insinuations and Surmises, either of Men disgusted by their Disappointments, or mercenary Tools who are hired



red to carry on the Interests of a *Faction*, to the visible Prejudice of the Honour and true Interest of his Country, shall suffer himself to be deluded with the Apprehensions of chimerical Dangers which have a Being no where but in the Brains of Men fruitful in Wickedness! As he can at the best but deserve the Character of a weak and credulous Person, whose irrational Fears have got the better of his Judgment and Reason; so he will never be able to do his Country any real or considerable Service, when any Occasion of Importance may require it: Numbers, 'tis true, are of considerable Weight in any Enterprize of Consequence, when wise and cunning Heads have projected and form'd it ripe for Action; and it is in this View principally, that this designing mercenary Politician endeavours by an *Artful Address* to insinuate into the Minds of honest well affected People *Fantastick Apprehensions* of the Church's Danger, as the most plausible and popular Topick to affect and move their Passions; as well knowing, that however loose the Generality of Mankind is in the Observance and Practice of the strict Rule and Precepts of Religion, they cannot bear the Thoughts of having it insulted; and it is most certainly true, that there is something of that intrinsic Brightness and Merit in pure Religion, as by an unaccountable Impulse, stamps such strong and forcible Impressions on the Minds of Men, as no Corruption of Manners, or wicked Artifices of designing Knaves can totally efface or remove; and it is as certain, that no civil Government can either be rightly constituted or long subsist without it; this is evident from the universal Practice and Opinion of all the Nations in the World, the most barbarous of which have been found with some Notion of a Superior Being, and some sort of Worship paid to it, however false or superstitious, which to them has the Force and Efficacy of true Religion; it being not only a common natural Notion strongly imprinted on the Heart of Man, but invigorated and inforc'd upon it by a secret divine Influence from above.

Now whether a Man has either just and well grounded Fears of Dangers of an establish'd Church, or whether out of Design he labours only to insinuate 'em to carry on a private Interest, the Arguments to prove 'em ought to be clear and self-evident in themselves, and of a Strength sufficient to carry the Force and Power of Conviction along with them. Plausible Surmises and well varnish'd Inclinations will not serve the Turn; they may indeed amuse and puzzle great Numbers of poor and ignorant People, but they will certainly open the Eyes of the judicious and more discerning, to see the Weakness and Vanity of such Fears, if the Man be honest who offers them to the Publick; or the malicious Craft and Wickedness of such Suggestions, if he be not: He who sedulously, and with real Intentions of doing good seeks after Truth, and has a Mind to communicate his Researches to the Publick, can never fail of being furnish'd with Arguments of Force and Merit to sustain and propagate it; they flow easily from the very Nature of the Thing; for if what he advances be true in itself, it is eternally one and the same, and there is much less Difficulty in proving than conceiving it, especially

especially if it lies a little above the Level of ordinary Capacities; for all Men are not equally capable of forming just Ideas of sublime and elevated Truths, and the wisest of us but too well knows that there are many utterly out of the Reach of human Comprehension. But on the other hand, a Man who makes it his Business to propagate manifest or notorious Falshoods, whatever Opinion he may conceive of his Art or Ability in dressing 'em out, may rack his Brain to invent Disguises and Appearances to prove 'em, but will always find himself very wide of the Mark he proposes to hit; the utmost of his Success shall be only to impose on the weaker sort of People: 'Tis true, his Interest, his Vanity, or Self-love, may put him upon the frivolous Design of hunting after popular Applause; but he will find it but a poor and empty Recompence, let him arrive at never so high a Degree of it, for the Prostitution of his Honour and Conscience, and the Infamy of deceiving; nor will all the little Services he may do his Faction by an artful Villany, counterballance the Scandal and Reproach that inseparably follow such a Practice, when discover'd. There is something so very deform'd and detestable in a serious Lye which is divulg'd solely to abuse and impose upon the World, as is infinitely below the Character of a Man of Parts and Learning, who desires to make a Figure in it; but when it comes abroad, attended with the odious Circumstances of Calumny and Detraction, there is so much of the Devil and the Villain in the Composition, that it receives an Aggravation, which cuts off the Father and Divulger of it, from all manner of Pretension to the Character of an honest Man, a Gentleman, and a Christian. Let such a Man, if he pleases, rejoyce and triumph in the Success of his Wickedness, so we have good Sense and Vertue enough to discover or prevent the Infection of his Poison: He shall have the Honour of profaning sacred Truths, in the commendable Design of seducing poor ignorant People, by the gilded plausible Appearances of 'em, instead of the Substance, provided we are not the Dupes and Bubbles of his Imposture; and if I am not mistaken, it has, and shall further evidently appear, that this is the primary End and Design of this admir'd Piece and Author, whom his dear High-Church Brethren have thought fit to raise from the infamous Grave he was bury'd in, with so much Contempt and audacious Affront to the supreme Authority of the Nation.

But the Opinion of Dangers to the Church must at any rate be establish'd, whether real or chimerical, since they would equally contribute to carry on the Intrigues of a Faction, who have sufficiently convinc'd the World since, that they have nothing less at Heart than the real Good either of the State or Church; and in order to this, no Corner of the Dominions offers it self so commodiously and seasonably to furnish out a popular Argument, as that Part of *Great Britain* where this terrible Bugbear of Presbyterian Discipline is made the establish'd Religion of the Country; 'These, says the zealous Author, *with the Assistance, and in Conjunction with their Brethren in the South, shall, whenever the Fancy takes 'em in the Head, pour in like a Deluge upon us, to overwhelm the*

poor

*poor Hierarchy of the Church and the Monarchy of England.* How ingenious are such Men's Zeal and false Concern for Religion to form such dismal Apprehensions of Dangers, where really there are none? And how industrious to stifle and conceal 'em where there really are? 'Tis with a very good Grace he tells us, that within this Twenty Years Episcopacy was the establish'd Religion of that Country, tho' we have ever been taught before, that Episcopacy was no more than a certain Form of Religion, and not the Thing; but if he had had but half so much Probity or Sincerity, as he has Malice and Perverseness, he would have inform'd us too by what precious Means it had been introduc'd there, against the general Bent and Inclinations of the People; for nothing in the State or Church can properly be said to be establish'd, and made National, that is not made so by the Consent and Majority of a People that compose it: He should have told us by what commendable Efforts of a despotical and Arbitrary Power the unfortunate *Charles* the First, at the most Pious and Christian Insinuations of their High-Church Archbishop *Laud* (whom Foreigners, acquainted with his Principles, and who saw into the Drift of his Designs honour'd with the Title of *Pope of the other World*, meaning of *Great Britain*) forc'd an unwilling People to receive, tho' never to submit to a Discipline they could not suggest. What Blood, a Design so against the Genius and Sentiments of the Nation it was the unhappy Occasion of spilling; what Confusions and Disorders it created amongst all Orders and Degrees of Men; what Animosities and implacable Aversions it rais'd in a wise and valiant Nation, accusom'd to be govern'd by their own ancient Laws, independent from us, and which never ceas'd but in the final Extirpation of it, is not of this Place to determine. Behold the fatal Effects of a bigotted High-Church Zeal and Policy, which when they cannot prevail by the gentler Methods of Reason and Perswasion, never fail to apply the more forcible Arguments of Fire and Sword, to constrain Men to serve God in a manner against their Conscience! An excellent Copy of the right Pious, and most Christian Original, from which they draw it, the *Church of Rome*; to which, both by their Practice, Principles, and Doctrines, they have, especially of late, given the World but too much Reason to believe, that great Numbers of 'em would find but very little Difficulty to return upon a proper and favourable Occasion.

Let it not displease the Memory of this worthy Gentleman, whatever his ever good Opinion he, or his worthy High-flying Disciples and Successors may have conceiv'd of his Parts and Capacities, if I tell both him and them, that it is absolutely in the Option and Disposition of every free People, not only to frame what sort of Form of Worship in Religion they think most proper, and conform to the Taste and Genius of their Nation, but to alter, to change, and introduce any other, if the first shall not be found to answer the End of its Institution, as they shall think fit. Yet this is to be understood only of what I call the Form and external Manner of the publick Worship of which the Legislature of every free constituted Nation is the



ly supreme Judge and Disposer; for as to the inferiour Part and Substance of the Christian Religion, that is, those Articles of Faith absolutely necessary to Salvation, and which draw their Evidence and Obligation from the Authority of Holy Scripture, there is no human Power under the Sun can dispence with or alter a Tittle of it: But all Ordinances of Men, such as is the Manner of the outward Worship of all Religions, the supreme Power of every Nation (according as the Peace of the Church, or Exigencies of the State require) may; for that supreme Authority which had originally the Power to constitute and frame such or such a Scheme of Discipline, may, when they see fit, employ the same Power to alter the old, and introduce a new one, if it appear more for the Tranquility and Advantage of the establish'd Religion, or Good and Security of the State. And in this Consideration, it may possibly be worth the while for these furious High-Church-Men, who so apparently disturb the Peace and Tranquility of both, seriously and timely to reflect, Whether a Conduct so very insolent and full of Contempt of the higher Powers, as theirs, may not justly provoke the Legislature some time or other to take such Measures as their Wisdom and Experience may suggest, to teach 'em better Manners, and restrain 'em more within the Limits of their Duty and proper Function by the Rigour of the Laws, and yet the Establish'd Religion and National Church be preserv'd entire in its legal Establishments; and if at any time, which is far from impossible, they draw upon themselves such an Instance of Severity, they may thank their own Petulancy for it; by their contumacious and arrogant Comportment to the Legislature, so very unworthy and foreign to the Nature and Character of their Profession; by abusing the Divine Precepts of the most pure Religion, to the base and traitorous Designs of enslaving their Country; and lastly, by advancing such Doctrines and Principles, by the most infamous Lies and Calumnies that Malice can invent, which in their very Nature and Tendency, are directly opposite and destructive of the only End and Intention of all true Religion and Civil Government, by their original Constitution, founded upon Freedom? But to return to our formidable Enemies in *Scotland*, our wise Author, in his great Foresight, derives his principal Fears of the Dangers to the Church from thence, upon the Score that Presbytery is there establish'd the National Religion; and 'tis allow'd him, that upon a Supposition of a Joint Design of the Presbyterians, and what other Dissenters of both Nations, they may be involv'd in very great and considerable Disorders for a Time: But who has told him, or has he prov'd that they either have, or can ever be capable of carrying such a Design again, or of executing it, if they should? Our friend the Prefacer, indeed, has told us from the Authority of thirty Dissenting Lords, that it is no way to prevent Dangers, by saying there are none, and he has discover'd to us a most wonderful Secret, for I believe no Man in his Senses ever imagin'd or as- sum'd it was; and I tell him and his Author that there is no Reason to be apprehensive of Dangers where there really are none, but that their corrupt and mercenary Brains, and that the Necessity of

preventing 'em is at an end, where the Things to be prevented, exist only in Vision; nor are the Whimsies of a petulant Mercenary, or ought to be of any Weight with those in the Administration, further than to find out and inflict due Punishments proportionable to the Insolence of such who dare, without Reason, insinuate 'em. The People who compose that Nation, are a wise and sensible People, and who very well understand their Interest; how can it rationally be conceiv'd that either in this Reign, or indeed ever for the future, they shall be willing to form an Enterprize, supposing in Conjunction with their Brethren in *England*, whereby, if they miscarry, they will infallibly expose all that is dear and valuable to 'em in the World, to the Fury and Arbitrement of an intrag'd and conquering Nation, who in Revenge, will not fail to make what Changes and Alterations they may think fit both in their Church and State; and whatever Opinion they may conceive of their Wisdom and Courage to effect so great a Design, they can never be insensible of the vast Disproportion there is between the two Nations in Wealth and Numbers, which are the Sinews and Strength of a Kingdom; and if in the Course of all Ages, they have found us always more than a Match for 'em, and generally made them pay dear for their Invasions, when they were supported by the Assistance of the most formidable Power in *Europe*, 'tis to be suppos'd we can never want the Will or Power to oppose 'em with a much superior Force, since they can never reasonably lay the same Weight and Dependence on the Junction of the Presbyterians in *England*, as bearing no manner of Proportion to the Troops and Counsels of *France*.

Let any unprejudic'd Person but reflect upon the present Posture and Scituation of Affairs of that Kingdom in regard to *England* (Exception only of what Confusions High-Church has of late been the Occasion of there) and compare the Circumstances of it with those they were in at that disastrous Time, when they were brought involv'd in the utmost Disorders, by the unhappy Influence of signing High-Church Traytors, upon an abus'd and credulous Prince, and he will easily be convinc'd not only of the Absurdity, but even of the Impossibility of their ever attempting the like Enterprize again: Let him consider at that time, the People of *Scotland*, then originally free and tenacious of that Liberty as our selves, in all Exasperations that a fierce and warlike People lie under; their precious Freedom oppress'd, and trampled under Foot by the efforts of a despotical and arbitrary Power; the ancient Discipline of their Church annull'd and overturn'd by the fatal Advice of High-Church Sycophants, to introduce that of the *Church of England*; under the Oeconomy of Episcopacy, to which the Generality of the Nation had an insuperable Aversion. *Scotland* at that time as free and independent on us, as we of them, and as absolutely governed by their own Laws and Customs; nor had we any Power to pretend to innovate or change any thing in their Government or Religion (both which the King had solemnly sworn to preserve inviolable) unless by the general and free Consent of the whole Nation;

by the pernicious Advice of his High-Church Favourites, he not only broke in upon the Laws of his native Country, which fence'd in their Liberty, and which he knew many of his Predecessors justly lost their Lives for attempting: But against all the Rules of Prudence, Policy, and Christian Charity, forc'd upon 'em the Liturgy of a Church, which however rational and excellent in it self, was yet the universal Abhorrence of a People long accusom'd to another Manner of Worship. This rous'd the Courage of a free and valiant People, born in the Spirit of Liberty, and fond of it to the last Degree; an odious Violence upon so tender a Point as that of Conscience, exasperated their Minds into all the Madneses of Rage and Despair, and was the principal Motive that gave a Beginning not only to the Effusion of all that Christian Blood that was afterwards spilt in the Quarrel, but rais'd in both Nations that dreadful Flame as never could be extinguish'd; but, as I have said, by the Blood of that unhappy Monarch, and his principal Advisers. These were the blessed Effects of the High-Church Zeal of that Age, if that ought to be call'd Zeal, which was attended with all the Marks and Characteristicks of a furious and intemperate Bigottry, void of all the Sentiments of Humanity and common Obligations of Christian Charity; but so the Pomp, the Authority, the Dominion, the Revenues of High-Church be cary'd on and augmented, 'tis no matter how: So pious and charitable a Work carries along with it all the Evidence of Sanctity, and the Love of God in the Promoters. Let these faithful Friends of hers be Atheists, Libertines, or open Disturbers of the publick Peace and Tranquility of Nations, the End crowns all, and stamps upon them the Character of the devout, the religious, and the peaceable; such Power is there, such wondrous Energy in their dear High-Church, as is capable of making Saints of the most infamous Villains, consecrating the barbarous Effects of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, with all the Mischiefs that are inseparable from them, into evangelical Precepts.

But the Circumstances of that Nation are so entirely alter'd at present; there is such a Change in the very Fundamentals of their Constitution, so happily brought about under the Influence of our Gracious Queen, and the great Wisdom and indefatigable Application of the late GLORIOUS MINISTRY, that they cannot properly be said to be the same People; an Action so great in it self, and of such important Consequences to both Nations, and which was in vain the Wish of all the Kings of the last Age, as will be reckon'd posterity to be the principal Glory of a Reign compos'd of Wonders.

The Minds of the far greatest and honestest Part of the People are now quieted, and at Ease, in the legal Enjoyment of their desir'd Liberty; their Liberties and Properties upon the same Foot of Security as those of *England*, united by a happy Coalition under the same Bonds and Obligations of Civil Power with our selves; and we add (as none of the least Blessings) the Emancipation of the meaner Sort from the insupportable Vassalage and Tyranny of their former Lords. As Interest is the principal Movement both of the Nation; whose Nations and private Persons, the Advantages of such an



Union in the Space of a few Years will undoubtedly open the Eyes of a People less numerous, and more indigent than we, to shew their Prudence in discerning, and readily laying hold on such as must necessarily redound to 'em from a free Commerce with us, and the Benefit of Foreign Traffick. We are not at all ignorant from what sort of Men, and of what Principles a Design so Glorious and Advantageous to both Nations in its Consequences, was from the Beginning clog'd with Opposition and Difficulties, that in their first Appearances seem'd insurmountable; nor what Pains were taken by 'em to exasperate the Minds of their Countrymen, by perswading 'em that nothing less was intended than the utter Subversion of their ancient and independent Kingdom at best, to be reduced only into the Form of a Province, subject to the Dominion of *England*; nothing left unattempted, that the Rage or Malice of the Jacobite Faction amongst 'em could invent, or that was not put in Execution, to obstruct the Commencements of so great and noble a Design; to puzzle and embarrass the Progress, or to disturb and overturn it, when accomplish'd. They very well knew, and foresaw, that the Conjunction of a great and valiant People, who had for so many Ages been always in the Interests of their good Friends of *France*, with a Nation who had cut off forever from the Succession to their Crown their beloved Popish Pretender, were likely to prove an invincible Bar to their restless Desires and Designs of restoring him: Yet, as in all free Nations it is reasonably to be supposed that the wisest, greatest, and honestest Part, are ever for the true Interest and Honour of their Country, those noble Patriots of both Kingdoms, who were employ'd in so glorious and difficult Toil, overcame the impotent Opposition of the turbulent and dissatisfied; well foreseeing, that as the Benefits and Emoluments of Traffick will in a short time render 'em much more easy and happy than ever they were since they were a People; so the Addition of their Strength and Numbers will raise our own into so formidable a Situation, that as we shall always thus united, be a Terror to the neighbouring Nations; we can never be under any rational Apprehensions of being insulted by the greatest and bravest of 'em whilst we continue so, and thereby be enabled to raise the Glory and Reputation of *Great Britain* to a higher Pitch of Renown and Estimation than ever she arrived at under the most Warlike and Successful of our Kings; and tho' this should not happen, yet even the bare Security of our own Kingdoms, which does always consist and result from the Riches and Numbers of a People whilst at Union amongst themselves, is a more than sufficient Compensation for the Toils and Labours of those great and generous Patriots, who had the good Fortune to place us in so happy and redoubtable a Situation.

Now I think from all these Considerations, it may with great Evidence appear, that the Fears of Danger to our establish'd Church from this Quarter, are not grounded upon that Justice and Solidity of Reason this wise Author endeavours to insinuate; or if there were any just and valuable Force in his Argument, whilst we were divided

divided, as it was in his time, I think it may with more Reason be suggested, that it looses that Force, and ceases with that State of Separation, since we can be no longer esteemed but as one and the same People; nor is there the least Probability, whatever Endeavours such Incendiaries as he and the rest of 'em may use to incense us, that we shall ever come to cutting one anothers Throats in their idle Quarrel upon account of the differing Manner of Discipline of our respective Churches, whatever we may be compell'd to in Opposition to one another, which, with their beloved Prebender, they are labouring hard to introduce; for let 'em not in the least question but that the far greatest Part of both Nations will unite their utmost Force and Courage to prevent such a Misfortune as must necessarily involve us again in the most terrible Confusions, and terminate in the final Subversion both of Religion and Civil Government; but let it be suppos'd, but by no Means granted, that the Presbyterians in *Scotland*, and the whole Body of the Dissenters in *England*, should form the Design to change the Hierarchy of our establish'd Church into that of Presbytery, and the Monarchy into that of a Commonwealth, what Means have they to carry on such a Design? Or what Probability of Success? Men in their Senses, who have any thing to lose, when they conceive in cool Blood any great and notable Enterprize, especially one so difficult and hazardous as the entire Subversion of an ancient establish'd Church and State, sit down and well consider if they have a Force and Strength proportionable to the Importance of the Attempt, and sufficient to carry it on with any Likelyhood of Success. This cannot possibly be suppos'd to be undertaken or effected but by Violence, and the Way of Arms; it is utterly impossible ever for 'em to hope for a general Conspiracy of the different Parties in so detestable a Work. In such Cases then 'tis absolutely necessary that Men should be assur'd of some fortify'd Cities, Forts, and Places of Strength, to retire to if they should happen to be beaten in the Field: They must be form'd into Armies of regular Troops; for tumultuary Incursions and Insults will never do their Business, which must be well Officer'd, and regularly subsist and paid; for which End, there must be vast Magazines and Stores of Arms and Ammunition, and Forage, with the necessary Funds of Treasure to answer the Expence; from whence, or how shall all these Things be had? Such Preparations and Provisions can never be carry'd on but by a certain and determin'd Manner of raising Money, which cannot legally be done but by, and with the Consent of the People. How shall this possibly, be done, when the People are in the last Confusion, and actually in Arms one against another, according to their different Parties and Interests? The best and greatest Generals have ever found it a very difficult Matter to subsist great Armies, even in an Enemy's Country, when they have to deal besides with a brave and valiant People; how then shall our Armies subsist in the Bowels of our own native, ruin'd Country? There may, indeed, in such Combuitions, be ample Matter of Profit for Villains, Robbers, and Free-booters, in the Ravage and plunder we want; but great and regular Armies proportionable to so arduous an

Undertaking, can never be long subsisted and kept together, but by constant and regular Means and Supplies.

Besides all this, prudent and thinking Men in an Enterprize of this Importance, are apt to weigh and compare the Loss with the Gain; they will consider what they have, and may lose, and put 'em in the Scale against the Hopes they may indeed conceive, but possibly may never obtain the end of 'em. These once dangerous Enemies are now, and are ever likely to continue so for us in a happy Tranquility and Security of their Possessions. They enjoy their Liberties and Properties under the shelter and protection of the same Laws with our selves; they enjoy the free Exercise of their own Religion after the Manner, and according to the Wishes and Desires of their own Hearts; they will in time find their Account in all the Advantages of Traffick and Commerce in proportion as we do; what is there to exasperate Men in so desirable a Scituation to abandon themselves, their Religion, Estates, and Families to the Hazards of a doubtful, or an unsuccessful War? Will Men in their Senses forfeit a present happy Condition of Life with Ease and Plenty, for Visions? Or sacrifice all that is dear and valuable to 'em, to the empty chimerical Hopes of bettering their Fortune in the Prosecution of Impossibilities? But what shall be their Partage if they happen to be beaten, or otherwise miscarry in the Execution of their ill grounded and fantastical Projects? How miserable must their Condition then be? Ought they reasonably expect to find Mercy from a conquering Enemy, exasperated to the last degree by an Attempt as full of Insolence as Ingratitude? Can they entertain the least Hope of being reinstated in the free Exercise of their Religion, and Possession of their Estates, Fortunes and Liberties after so audacious and wicked a Rebellion? Shall Ease, and Peace and Plenty be again the Reward for all the Miseries in which they may involve their Native Country and ours? Will not the guilt of the Effusion of that Christian Blood of their Friends, Relations and Fellow-Subjects, which they may be the wretched occasion of spilling call loud on Heaven for Vengeance, and justly bring on 'em the extirpation of so viperous and ingrateful a Brood, who neither understood their own Interest or Happiness, nor suffer their indulgent Neighbours quietly to enjoy theirs? Yet this has always been the course of human Affairs in the like Cases, the just Punishment of such impious and ill grounded Designs, and ever will be, whilst there is a Wise and Just Providence that governs the World.

Yet further, suppose 'em in a Condition to confront the Power of the Government, the Success is still in the Clouds, and the Issue of all great Designs is ever dubious and uncertain: By this Gentleman's own Confession, the whole Body of *Dissenters* in *England* bears no manner of Proportion to the Numbers and Riches of the established Church; and I heartily hope, and firmly believe too, that they never can, and I will be bold to add the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* into the Bargain, and yet pretend to maintain they can never be able together to form a Strength in all necessary Respects equal to the Powers that will be found to oppose



em ; yet this is principally to be understood of the disaffected, of  
 which we are but too sure we have amongst our selves but too  
 great Numbers ; for it can never enter into the Heart of any Man  
 to conceive, that the whole Body of 'em can never enter into such  
 a Conspiracy, as in all human probability must miscarry, and conse-  
 quently expose them and their Interest to certain Destruction ; nei-  
 ther can a Design of this Nature be carry'd on like a Conspiracy of  
 a few private Persons, in the mystery of Darknefs and Iniquity ; it  
 will not break upon us like a Clap of Thunder unforeseen, to o-  
 verwhelm us at once, and unprovided ; it cannot be, but there  
 must necessarily be some intimations of a Mischief that is to ren-  
 verse an ancient establish'd Government, the Work of many Ages.  
 Can these Men think to find us asleep, or in the Lethargy of a too  
 fatal Security ? Or do they expect that we shall sit still with our  
 Hands in our Bosoms, whilst we suffer 'em tamely to cut our  
 Throats ? Or be the tame and idle Spectators of the ruin of our  
 Religion and Country ? Have we not the same Blood in our Veins,  
 and Courage in our Hearts, that have so often forc'd their Nor-  
 thern Troops back into their Country, by the defeat and slaughter  
 of their Brethren, and the effusion of the best Blood in their Na-  
 tion ? Have we not yet remains enough of Old *English* Vertue to  
 expose our Lives and Fortunes to the last Perils both in Defence of  
 them and our Holy Religion ? Have we not more than sufficient  
 Numbers of honest and gallant Men, animated by the Justice of  
 our Cause, to oppose to them damp'd and enfeebled with the Guilt  
 and Iniquity of theirs ? Have our generous Fore-Fathers, and we,  
 struggl'd so hard against the Encroachments of our Princes, (when  
 they have prov'd wicked and tyrannical enough to attempt it) to  
 preserve their Freedom, and transmit it down safe to us, and which  
 we hope to transfer, together with our Religion, to our Posterity,  
 basely and cowardly to betray and abandon 'em to the Insults and  
 Caprices of Domestick Rebels, once our Fellow Subjects ? Are we  
 not in Possession of what Places of Strength there are in the King-  
 dom ? Have we not at our Head a Queen, Wise, Pious, Just,  
 Watchful and Courageous ; and can she ever be suppos'd to want  
 honest *English* Hearts and Hands to secure her own Person and  
 Title to the Throne, and maintain the present Establishment against  
 all banish'd *Popish Pretenders*, or any Body of home-spun Rebels  
 whatever ? Is not the Treasure of the Nation, and the legal Means  
 of raising it upon all emergent Occasions in the Hands of those who  
 profess themselves of the establish'd Church ? May we not have a  
 Fleet in the Hands of such who will never scruple to sacrifice their  
 Lives and Fortunes for the true Honour and Interest of their Coun-  
 try ? And have we not yet the remains of an Army of gallant  
 Troops, which have been long in possession of beating our Enemies,  
 wherever they meet 'em, and which we can augment in what Pro-  
 portion we please, according as the exigencies of the State may re-  
 quire ? All these Things duly consider'd, Prejudice, Passion and  
 Partiality apart, and tell me ye wise ones of wondrous *High-Church*  
 Policy,

Policy, what apprehensions of real Dangers to our Church are to be reckon'd on from a feeble impotent Enemy, unprovided and unfurnish'd of all those Things, so absolutely necessary to carry on a Design of such Importance, as the renversment of an old establish'd Church and Government; 'tis true, that we are not out of Apprehensions of Dangers from that Country, both to our State and Church, and better founded too than those he wou'd amuse us with; but it is from another sort of People than he intends, even his dear *High-Church* Brethren, whom his favourite Priests of the Episcopal Ordination have, to the great Surprise of all the World, most miserably infatuated and perverted: Let us but have Security that his *High-Church Jacobites* in *Scotland* shall not combine, and unite with the *High-Church Jacobites* in *England*, to invite and pour in their *Popish Pretender* upon us, and we will give him our honest Words that we shall not disturb our selves a Moment with any of his terrible Apprehension of Mischiefs from the *Dissenters*, for one very good Reason which is worth all his; because we are very certain, that the greatest and honest Part of 'em, of both Nations, with Heart and Hand joyn with us to keep him out.

A Man who writes for the Interest of a Faction, is much better pleas'd with a Topick that gives him a hint for Scandal, than any other sort of one whatever; and he always lays more stress, and racks his Brains to expatiate upon it with much more Pleasure, than in the research and proof of a Truth; this will appear in him from his rude and violent Reflections upon those terrible Gentlemen of *Forty One*, whom he will by no Means allow to have left a Child behind 'em of either Vertue, Honour, or Love for his Country: But, besides what I have already said upon that Subject, I shall further add, That with the leave of this wise Author, and his hotheaded Followers, I believe it will appear to all Persons truly Sober and Religious, that it is a very uncharitable Presumption, that the Heirs and Descendants of those unhappy Fathers who were instrumental in contriving the disastrous Calamities, that afflicted their Native Country from the Year *Forty One*, are Heirs too of their Principles, and the same pernicious Designs; he cou'd not but be sensible that at the time of his publishing his infamous Forgeries, there were a great many worthy Gentlemen their Descendants, that had, after a very distinguishing Manner to their eternal Honour exerted themselves, and nobly hazarded their Lives and Fortunes in the Service of the State and Church, and particularly in bringing about the happy Revolution, which is so grievous a Heart-burning to 'em. Some Qualities of the temperament of the Body, may perhaps be communicated down from the Father to the Son, but the Seeds of Vertue and Vice are in the Mind, and receive their Education, or Depression in a great Measure from the Benefit, or Misfortune of a good or bad Education; but we never heard that they were inseparable from Blood, or heritable by Law, or that Children succeeded to the Vertues, or Vices of their Fathers, as they do to their Estates; but if that Rule be true, 'tis as unlucky one for the Author; for I will venture to affirm, That it is no very uncharitable

ritable Presumption, according to his Divinity, that he was descended from a Father no better a Subject, or no better a Christian than himself; to all which, since he has led me into it, I shall add this one Remark, that is, that the descendants of those noble Patriots of *Forty One* continue firmly in the generous Principles of their Fore-Fathers, and have continued constantly opposing the Encroachments of succeeding Princes upon the Liberties of their fellow Subjects, and have stood up for the Honour and Interest of their Country, with a firmness that shall perpetuate to their Vertues and Memories the Character of Immortality; whereas I may with safety affirm, that great Numbers, if not most of them, who are descended from those Fathers who had the Management of Affairs from *Forty Three*, to *Forty Eight*, by a wonderful caprice of Fortune, or a certain fatality in human Affairs, are generally in the Interest of *High-Church* and the *Pretender*, to whom there is due another sort of Immortality, which I have already mentioned, and no honest *Englishman* can grudge 'em, as if they could not atone for the one vicious Extream of their Fore-fathers, without running into the other themselves.

Yet 'tis acknowledg'd that some of the Descendants of those unhappy disturbers of their Country's Peace last mention'd, are grown wiser by the dear bought Experience of their Ancestors, and have exerted themselves with great Vigour and Integrity for the Support, and Defence of that Government their Fore-Fathers in their Frenzy, and unaccountable fatality of a Juncture, which in all human probability will never be offer'd again, labour'd hard to renverse. Men usually grow wise by Calamities and Misfortunes, and he is much happier that does so at another Man's Expence than his own; and when such a one has always before his Eyes, or in his Memory, the terrible Examples of the Miscarriages, and Punishments of all rebellious Enterprizes, he must be either a Fool, or a Madman, who upon the same Principles and Views, will ever hazard his Life, his Honour, his Fortunes, and his Family in the like hazardous and chimerical Designs again. However, Men's secret Inclinations to Novelties, and a desire of augmenting their Fortunes may lead 'em; the consideration of their present Interest, and the fear of losing what they already have, will generally deter 'em from Undertakings, which for the most Part are attended with Ruin, if they don't succeed; and which will never cease to sting 'em with the Guilt and Remorse of having broke through all the Obligations of Duty and Honour, if they do. 'Tis but a lamentable Purchase a Man makes of Estates, and transitory Honours, at the Expence of the Repose and Tranquility of his Mind and Conscience; this past all doubt, has been of Weight with all such as this zealous *High-Church* Author and his Heirs and Successors of their Father's pernicious Principles and Designs, as well as their Estates; yet so false, and illogical a way of Reasoning, is enough to create Suspensions in the Minds of indifferent and unprejudic'd Persons, of the Probity and Sincerity of all the rest of his Arguments, as well as of the whole Design he is desirous to support by 'em: For when a Man to carry on the Interest



terest of a Faction to which he has sold himself, racks his Brain to gloss over notorious Falshoods, and guild 'em with the plausible Appearances of Truths, to make 'em be the more easily swallow'd by such as he intends only to delude into the same Interest; when a Practice so unbecoming the Character of a Christian, a Gentleman, or a good Subject, comes to be discover'd, as is evidently this Author's Case, 'tis impossible for him to maintain a Reputation of Honesty or Integrity long, with such especially, as have Sagacity and Penetration enough to see thro' the Fallacy; and thus, besides the Opinion of an infamous Deluder, which he justly deserves, will in the End do more Prejudice than real Service to the Interest he designs to promote; for tho' most Men may be easily enough deceiv'd, yet they always detest the Deceiver when the Cheat is once discovered, because Men generally having a good Opinion of themselves out of the secret Influences of Self-Love, they cannot bear the Thoughts of having their Judgments and Understanding call'd in question much less impos'd on; which always implies a Degree of Weakness or Defect, there being no Superiority to which they do not more easily submit, than to that of Wit and good Sense.

This great Politician should have considered, that a Government rais'd upon so solid a Foundation as ours, and that has stood the Shock of so many boisterous Ages from its Original, is not easily to be changed or subverted; it must be a Power something more than human that can bring it about, and the Violences with which it was attack'd and agitated in the last Age, sufficiently demonstrate the innate Force and Vigour of the Contexture; and it is, and ever will be so, with all Governments founded upon Principles of Reason, Equity, and the Consent of a People; whereas all those which take their Beginnings from Injustice, Conquest, or Usurpation, are as often and as easily alter'd or overturn'd as any Superiour Power shall attempt to do it. We are not insensible that there was no Address or Measures of Craft or Violence wanting, in that Confusion and Frenzy of the State, to reduce the ancient Monarchy of the Kingdom, into the Form of a Democratical Republick; every thing seem'd to concur to the Design. A lawful King by the execrable Fury and Madness of the Rebels murder'd in his Metropolis; Children in all human Appearance cut off from the Succession forever, and banish'd by a Power, which with as much Injustice as Violence, had usurp'd the Place of Majesty, which they thought well rivited in their Hands, as made it seem impossible for the Royal Exits to conceive any Hopes of ever returning; the Riches of the Nation in their Possession and Management; the Fleets and Armies under the Conduct of their own Friends and Partisans, Partners in their Iniquity: Secure they thought themselves at home, as they were grown terrible to the most formidable Powers of Europe abroad; this seem'd to crown the Work of Darkeness, and a Scituation as prosperous as unexpected, gave Birth to their Hopes of perpetuating a Power they had with as much Iniquity as surprizing Success usurp'd: But behold the Vanity of all human Designs which are built upon the sandy Foundation of Injustice and Rebellion! It was

a State of unnatural Violence which it was impossible should continue long; tho' the Fabrick they had erected was strongly built, it was not Proof against all Storms; for it wanted the strong Cement of Equity, Religion, and universal Consent; the Right and Justice of regal Majesty, to which the Nations from their Infancy had been accustomed, supported by the Hearts and Affections of loyal and uncorrupted Subjects, which were infinitely the greatest Number, and who languish'd under the insupportable Violences of their usart Tyrants, easily in a favourable Juncture overturn'd the Schemes of their Oppressors, and restor'd their injur'd Monarch to the legal Possessions of his Forefathers, with a Facility and Success as wonderful as the Progress of the Rebels. So difficult, nay so impossible a thing it is for any Power under Heaven to change the original Form of any Government, founded upon right Principles, into any other Species whatsoever, against, or without the Consent of a People; all which duly consider'd may reasonably be suppos'd to deter any Number or sort of Men, however considerable from making the like Attempt which the very Nature of the thing renders altogether impracticable. We are sufficiently, and as much as any honest Englishman desires, a Common-wealth already, and a Glorious one; and if restless and seditious Spirits would give over their Designs of troubling the Happiness and Tranquility of our present Establishment, in order to introduce a despotical and arbitrary Power in the Person of their ador'd Pretender, we might continue so to the Ends of the World; we may then be the Envy of our Neighbours, who enjoy but the Phantom of that happy Freedom of which we possess the Substance, and need not repine at the Pomp, the Grandeur or the Magnificence of the most glorious and Powerful Nation in Appearance under the Sun.

But when a Man has once blindly abandon'd himself to do the Drudgery of Delusion; Honour and Conscience are inconsiderable Things, and no longer a Restraint to a perverted and mercenary Will; the Business must be done; and so it be, it imports little whether the Means made use of are true or false, commendable or vicious; whoever is an Enemy to their laudable Design, tho' apparently promoting the Ruin of the Common-wealth, shall by them be esteem'd a Villain, and render'd to the publick as such, tho' he has all the shining Vertues and Capacities necessary to compleat the Character of a truly Noble Patriot, or Minister of State; tho' by a continued Series of great and eminent Services, he has given the most ample Evidence of his Fidelity and sincere Attachment to the publick Good, he must be dress'd out to the People in the odious Colours of a Fanatick, a Republican, or a Man of Antimonarchical Principles; tho' he has been born and educated in the Bosom and Communion of the Established Church, and has given a Thousand Instances of his firm and constant Adherence to all her Interests, yet if he has not that supple Knave, who will run into all the Visions and Enthusiasms of a Church Bigottry, he shall not fail to be expos'd by 'em as an Infidel, a Dissenter, a Favourer of them, or Contemner of all Religion. A Man who had any Remains of good Manners, Understanding

standing, or common Charity would have consider'd seriously, how wilfully against the Dictates of his Conscience he acted in down right Opposition to 'em all, who brands the whole Body of Whigs, or moderate Low-Churchmen, with the wicked Design of concerting with the Dissenters, the Ruin of the establish'd Church, tho' they have been ever known and allow'd to exert themselves with the utmost Prudence and Vigour for its just and legal Establishments ever since the Reformation, more than all their High-Church Bigots together; I say in her just and legal Establishments, for 'tis notoriously evident to all disinterested Persons, that these latter have all along aim'd at, and carried on an Interest distinct and separate from that of the State, by constantly employing all their Art and Cunning, to free her from the secular Jurisdiction, to which as a Member, she is subject by the original Constitution, and to render her altogether independent, or rather, superiour to the civil Power, which I shall prove more at large in its proper Place.

This inordinate Ambition of the High-Churchmen, her genuine and more moderate Sons, have all along, and I hope ever will oppose with the same good Success that they have hitherto had in her Preservation; yet this sober thinking Son of the Church; or since I am compell'd to use the odious Term of Distinction of Whig or moderate Low-Churchman, who will not blindly give into all the criminal Excesses of these intemperate designing Bigots, shall not only be rank'd by 'em amongst Dissenters whom they cannot treat with common Charity, but with Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Latitudinarians, and it is a great Favour if they allow him to be of any Religion at all; tho' I hope on another Occasion, to prove, that such Monsters herd much more among themselves than us, and are more nearly related to 'em both in Principle and Practice; for as it is the Business of such Wretches, by broaching and propagating their impious Doctrines first to create, and then widen the Rents and Schisms of the Church, and consequently to weaken the Strength of the Nation by dividing and disuniting them; I think it will pretty plainly appear, that they bear a nearer Relation and Resemblance to their High-Church Friends, whose Ends, Doctrines, and Designs, are demonstrably the same, than to the more moderate Low-Church ones, whose perpetual Aims and Endeavours have ever been, and I hope ever will be, to their great Honour and Satisfaction of their Conscience, to promote the Peace and Unity, as well as the lasting Security and Happiness of both. In the mean while I shall be bold to maintain that we neither know or allow of in the Nation, any Fanatics, according to the Rigour of the latter, but High-Churchmen nor true and genuine Sons of the establish'd Church, or faithful and loyal Subjects to the State, but the more moderate and low ones. We do not expect to be credited upon our own Words; we desire to be tried by our Works, and not the railing and malicious Accusations of our professed Enemies; and we question not in Despair of all their wicked Artifices to revile and misrepresent us, in Order only to render us odious and suspected, that our Truth and Innocence



ence in the End shall appear with all that Evidence necessary to our Justification, that inseparably attend 'em.

Let these Men convince the World, that they act out of a purer Spirit of true Religion, and a more unaffected Piety and Disinterestedness for the Peace and Happiness of the establish'd Church than the rest of their Brethren; let 'em satisfy us that they are guided by the Rules and Principles of that divine and universal Charity, which they are commanded under the severest Penalties to observe, and practise, and particularly those of 'em, who call themselves the more immediate Professors and Ministers of the sacred Truths and Mysteries of our Religion; let it appear, that in all their Preachings and Writings they proceed without Prejudice or Passion (the deadly Poison to all real Piety and Integrity of Manners) and with an Impartiality that is the peculiar of all sincere Promoters of Truth; and if we are in an Error, let 'em endeavour to make us sensible of it, and redress us by a superiour Strength of reasoning and fair Example; let us see and be convinc'd, that it is our Good they seek in our Conversion, rather than their own Interest in our Destruction, and endeavour to reduce us if we are gone astray, by the engaging Arts of good Nature, and the obliging Offices of common Humanity, which never fail by a secret irresistible Influence, to work upon the Minds of ingenious Men; let them, I say, treat us as Brethren professing the same common Faith, under the Oeconomy of the same National Church, as Christians, as Gentlemen, Relations, and Fellow Subjects; and if we continue obstinate in our Errors; if we turn the deaf Ear to the Charmer, charm he never so wisely; if we do not yield to the Power of their Reasons or Examples; if we do not surrender our selves to their Remonstrances of Compassion and Charity, or to their pious and commendable Officeousness to retrieve us from the Evil of our Ways; they have then fulfill'd their Duty, and discharg'd the Obligations of their Conscience as becomes their Character, and the excellent Purity of their Profession; and we are left without all Manner of Excuse to incur the Penalty of our Obduracy and Wickedness; and if they brand us with the opprobrious Titles of *Fanaticks, Republicans, Atheists, Deists, Socinians, Latitudinarians*, or any thing worse if they can devise it, we shall acknowledge that we very justly deserve them.

But if on the contrary, these furious opinionated Zealots shall presume like their Prototypes, the ancient Pharisees, to thank God that *they are not like other Men*; if they treat us with all the Marks of Contempt and Infamy, which is ever the Characteristick of an excited and hypocritical Zeal; if they break through all the sacred Bonds of Charity and Obligations of common Humanity, and employ all the Virulency of their Tongues and Pens to traduce and render us odious to the World, only because 'tis their Interest to have us thought so; if they load us with the unjust and reproachful Titles of Enemies to our Church and all Religion, Disturbers of her Peace and Unity, and Combiners with her mortalest Enemies to undermine and destroy her; these Men shall excuse us, if we

we give them to understand, that a Treatment so void of Generosity or true Religion must with Reason warm us into an equitable Defence and Justification of our Honour and Principles, and by Methods opposite to theirs, for I hope we shall in nothing copy after the leud and uncharitable an Original, endeavour to convince the World as of our own Innocence, so of their Guilt and want of Charity; and we by no means doubt in the End to satisfy all unprejudic'd Persons, that the Infamy of their Reproaches is much more justly their own Due, and more properly belong to themselves than us. So scandalous a Proceeding towards us as theirs shall questionless last, when the Eyes of the poor deluded shall be open'd, retort upon the Authors and Contrivers of it, to their Confusion, and to quit the Innocent and Injur'd, to the Encrease and Re-establishment of their Honour. This can never be the way to heal and unite our unhappy Breaches and Divisions, but it is an infallible one to make 'em wider, and in the End, render 'em incurable by any Power less than infinite; for Men's Minds are ever fermented by Injuries and Asperity, and those Animosities and Jealousies occasioned by them, may, by a discreet and prudent Application of the proper Lenitives of good Nature and good Manners, be mitigated or quite heal'd up, but are always ranker'd, and blown into the Excesses of Rage and Fury, by the unseasonable Corrosives of Malice. At this rate, no Man's Station, Profession, or Merit, can guard him secure from the infectious Poison of a malevolent and mercenary Tongue; and as the Generality of Mankind are more prone to give Credit to what is Evil, than that which is Good, the best of Men may be murder'd in their Reputation, which to a Man of Honour is a thousand times dearer than Life, without knowing by what Enemy, or from what Quarter he is attack'd. A mercenary Villain may give his Reputation the murdering Stab in the Dark, without a Possibility of parrying the Blow, or defending himself; 'tis too purpose if a Man, thro' the whole Train of his Life, and a Thousand virtuous Actions, thinks he has establish'd, and modestly serves the Character of wise, of brave, of just, or religious, if he is wanting in any Instance to the Designs and Interest of his Church Bigottry, 'tis enough to represent him as the most worthless and infamous of Mankind, and to fall the Sacrifice of the Malice and Revenge of their Faction.

Whoever but with half an Eye shall peruse and reflect upon this *Memorial*, will easily read this unhappy Truth as he runs. I believe it is all Men's Opinion, that the establish'd Church of this Nation is adorn'd and defended by a Sett of Bishops as eminent for their Learning, and Piety, as in any Age since the Reformation; and tho' some of 'em may be of different Opinions and Sentiments in relation to Political Affairs, which by no means concern the Business of Faith and Religion, yet may, with great Justice, be accounted great and shining Ornaments of the Church, for their excellent Parts of Learning; and of the State, for their great Ability and Capacities in the Management of those Parts of Civil Affairs, to which the Law by their Station engage 'em; yet such of these venerable Prelates

who cannot in Complaisance to High-Church, get the better of their Judgment and Conscience, are treated by 'em with a Scurrility and Bitterness without Example, ranked amongst those they account the most dangerous and mortal Enemies of both, branded with the reproachful Titles of *Fanaticks*, *Republicans*, *Antimonarchists*, and Traytors of their Religion; and if they are favour'd only with the Character of *Presbyterians*, 'tis to be esteem'd as a Mark of a supererogating and uncommon Civility. Amongst these particularly are rated out our most Venerable and Religious Primate the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Right Reverend and Learned the Bishop of *Sarum*, who in the present Age, and whilst the World endures, shall be esteem'd and rever'd, as long as there are any Remains of Vertue and Religion in these Nations, for their great Accomplishments, Learning, Wisdom, and Courage, they have so nobly exerted in the Service of their Country. Whilst on the other hand, those eminent Men of that Order, whom they think more zealously in the Interest of their High-Church, are with the utmost Flattery and Flourishes of an outstretch'd Eloquence applauded and rais'd to the Skies, for their Courage and Constancy, as the only Supporters and Defenders of the Church; Men, who in the *Billingsgate* Epitaph of our Author, are neither to be aw'd by *Lambeth*, nor rais'd by *Sarum*. The Expression, indeed, is quaint; but much more proper for Cheats and Ruffians, than those venerable Bishops to whom they are apply'd. I shall leave to the Judgment of the impartial Reader to determine on which side the Ballance of Merit inclines, and shall only add one Remark on another ingenious and manly Conceit of our Author upon the same Subject; that if *Lawn Sleeves* are not always a certain Sign of true Sons of the Church of England, on such as he is pleas'd to be offend'd with, because they may not happen to run in with all the Frenzys of his High-Church, yet they may at least be allow'd in his Favourite Bishop to be the certain Signs of the true Sons of a certain Church, which bears an Exceeding Resemblance to one which the Learned have been frequently pleas'd to call the Whore of *Babylon*, because she do.

These modest Men, if they can prevail with themselves to do any thing that is honest and generous, be pleas'd to separate us a little from the Regards of Religion from other Classes and Distinctions that are amongst us; we have the Happiness to have been born and educated in the Bosom and Principles of the same Holy Religion as themselves, and as we hope we both understand, and shall practice 'em better, so we hope likewise to prove that we have no other Title to be esteem'd the true and genuine Sons of it, than such as weening Pretenders; and let 'em assure themselves that they shall find us in as little Disposition to be bully'd and frighten'd out by just a Pretension, as to be either rail'd or cajol'd out of our Reason and Honesty. We own we are not without our Faults as yet, but we neither glory, or shall continue in 'em, when we are convinc'd we are in the Wrong: They will do well, if they can, to satisfy the World that they have fewer, or are without any. Let 'em



'em object to us nothing but what is true, and there is no Consideration of private Interest, or of that of our Party, shall ever prevail with us to defend any thing inconsistent with the strict Rules of Morality and true Religion, especially at so dear a Rate as the base Prostitution of our Honour and Conscience : They shall find us in every thing fair Enemies to deal with, since they have determin'd to make and account us such, tho' I'm sorry I can't make them the Compliment, and call them so ; but let 'em not do us the foul Injustice to father the Faults of other Men, or the Patronage and Participation of 'em, upon us ; every Man will have enough to do to account for his own, and we know of no sort of Men without 'em, but those of High-Church, who, if we may believe themselves, cannot Err, and consequently have none. We know too, as well as themselves, from what Fountain they draw their Infallibility ; and we by no means grudge 'em the Honour of Resemblance and Relation to a Church, from whose Errors and abominable Superstitions, we bless God, we have long ago reform'd. Much good may it do 'em, with their pious Inclinations to return to the Vomit ; but they shall excuse us, if they please, if we shall refuse to be influenc'd by their Example, and we promise 'em, they shall find much more Difficulty in the Attempt than they imagine ; for to shew 'em the Difference of our Charity from theirs, instead of the debauching over the Nation to their impious Designs of their Faction, they shall once more be indebted to us, for preserving 'em in what is left of their Integrity, as little as they deserve it from us, even against their Will : For with what Contempt or Meanness soever they may think of the Numbers and Capacity of the Moderate and Low-Church-Men, they may depend upon meeting with Valour and Courage enough to render their Treachery altogether impracticable upon the Fund of our own Power and Sufficiency, even without the Help of the honest Dissenters ; or if they continue their Obstinacy, probably to return the Mischiefs they intend the Country and us upon their own Heads, to their Confusion, which they design'd for ours ; at least, if they will take the Advice of a fair, but certain Enemy, it may be too hazardous, if not fatal to attempt to make the Experiment.

We disown many of the Dissenters Principles, and we are sure most of them do so too, scatter'd up and down in their Writings of the last Century, as much as our zealous Author, as contrary to the true Maxims of civil, well regulated Governments, and particularly of our own. We lament their Separation, and pray for their Return, but that is a Blessing only to be expected from the Power of God, we humbly leave it in the Hands of Providence ; but if the Dissenters either by the natural Tendency of such Principles as we condemn, or hurry'd by the Violences of an inordinate Ambition, made an Attempt heretofore to the Subversion of the Establish'd Church, and force their Discipline in the Place of the Hierarchy, we have as much Reason, and do as heartily detest it as much or more than any High Church-Man in the Kingdom ; and if the past Misfortunes and Calamities they drew upon themselves, have not sufficiently instructed 'em

the moral Impossibility of the Success of such ill concerted and foolish Designs, and taught 'em more Prudente and Moderation for the future: Heaven be prais'd the Nation is not, or ever can be furnish'd of Power to restrain 'em within the limits of due Obedience to the supreme Authority; yet we are still to learn, speaking purely of Interests of State, how a Commerce and strict Union with so considerable a Body of People, is in the least incompatible with the true Rules of Rational and Christian Policy, when the publick Good of the Nation is in question, as this Author out of his great Concern for the Church, insinuates. Is it absolutely impossible that because Men differ in their Opinions and Sentiments about Matters of Church Discipline, that therefore they may not very happily be united to carry on the true Interests of the Commonwealth, against all the Enemies of it, whether Foreign or Domestick? Or is there any Thing more common than in the Case of any eminent universal Danger to a Nation, to see Men of the most distant and differing Opinions to unite themselves to prevent or repulse it? Is not the long expensive War we have been our selves engag'd in, a demonstrable Evidence of this Truth? Have we not seen Powerful Princes, and Commonwealths, not only of different Opinions, but for different Religions combine together in the common Cause of Liberty? Have not almost all the Protestant Powers in Europe been in Conjunction with the *Catholick*, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure; and was it only to establish *Papery*, or to augment the Power and Dominion of the Church of *Rome*? Or were we not solely the Defence and Preservation of the Liberties of modern *Europe* against the unjust Encroachments of a Tyrant, whose insatiable Ambition had been long preparing Chains and Slavery for 'em all, that was their only Motive of uniting in their common Defence the different and discording Religions, out of a just Apprehension of a Danger that equally threatn'd 'em all? Where is the unreasonableness, or the absurdity of that Policy which unites two great Bodys of People professing the same Fundamentals of Faith, and only disputing about Things in themselves inessential, when such Union not only tends, but may be absolutely necessary for the publick Good of the Nation, of which they are equally Members, and equally lie under the same indispensable Obligations to defend? There lies no Difficulty to reconcile this Union to Sense and good Reason, but in the Caprices of such *Church-Men*, who think themselves wiser than the rest of the World, and yet whose Knavery alone has reduc'd the Nations to an unhappy Scituation, as makes such a Conjunction absolutely necessary for their Preservation.

When such Men presume to reproach their Fellow Subjects with the want of a very high and dangerous Complexion, they ought to be more sure and careful, that they are not reproachable for the very same Things themselves; otherwise, wise and thinking Men will be inclin'd to fancy, that they give but too just Reason to fix on 'em as the most base and Infamy of a vile Hypocrisy; this is so evident a Fault in it self, as needs not be enforc'd by the Authority of Holy Scripture,

Scripture, which peremptorily commands all Men to do as they would be done by, and not to dare to throw a Stone at a Criminal, if our Conscience accuse us of the same Measure of Guilt. If as the Author insinuates, the *Dissenters* were guilty of prevaricating with the late King *James*, let them Defend and Excuse themselves as well as they can; yet I will take leave to Affirm That these very honest and sincere *High-Church* Men, are the last People in the Universe who ought to find Fault, or condemn for it; for all the World remembers that they were guilty upon certain Occasions of the same Practice, in a much higher Degree themselves. If the *Dissenters* disappointed the Hopes and Expectation of the *Prince*, the *Prince* had shewn 'em ( if I may be permitted to speak so in an ill Case ) a very good Example; Dissimulation is always a Fault, yet we very well know from the Authority both of sacred and profane History, that there may be certain Exigencies and Scituations of Life, which may make it sometimes absolutely necessary; and so far in some Degree just, at least excusable. The World, as well as the *Dissenters* knew, that King *James* did not shew 'em those Marks of his Favour and Indulgence that he did, out of any love he had for them or their Religion; but he knew 'em to be a very considerable Body of his People, who they cou'd be any way taken off, or lull'd into Security, wou'd wonderfully contribute to the facilitating his Design of oppressing and enslaving the rest of the Nation by the Establishment of an Arbitrary Power, with the Notion of which his *High-Church* Priests infatuated him; it was therefore no mean Policy at that Juncture if he cou'd not engage 'em as his real Friend, to prevent 'em from appearing publicly his Enemies. They on the other Hand well understood that the Toleration he granted 'em, was no more than a plausible Bait to cajole and draw 'em in, and were contented in appearance for their Repose and Interest, to be the Dupe of a Reign, which they knew was impossible shou'd last long: as well saw into the Design he had form'd to enslave the Nation and to introduce his abominable Superstition, from which they could only hope for a miserable Consolation of being the last to suffer, after having render'd themselves odious and contemptible by contributing to the Oppression of their Fellow-Subjects; in view, nothing but sugar Words, and golden Promises on the one side of the Court, and on the Side of the *Dissenters* abundance of Liberty and Allegiance: Thus, for a while, was the State Farce carryed on, till our great Deliverer arriv'd to put an end to the Delusion of the one, and the sandy Hopes of the other: We have been told, That *fallere fallentem non est Fraus*; here it was in this political Mummery, practis'd in a noble Instance on both Sides, that those who are most concern'd defend it in the best Manner they can: But the Part that *High-Church* Perfidy and Duplicity bore in every Circumstance, exceeded; there are many Thousands yet alive who well remember what fulsom flattering Panegyrics, what nauseous hypocritical Addresses were sent up by 'em from the Corners of the Kingdoms; what repeated Assurances of an ever



Fidelity and Allegiance, what specious reiterated Promises of spending the last Drop of their Blood, and Penny of their Fortunes in his Service, and Support of so Good, so Just, so Gracious, so Religious and Indulgent a Monarch, establish'd upon the Throne of their Ancestors, by a Divine, as well as Hereditary Right; and to whose Commands they had taught their Fellow Subject to pay a blind and unconditional *Passive Obedience*, under the Pain of Eternal Damnation; *visum teneatis*? For how these venerable Hypocrites serv'd him in the end, shall be more at large recounted in the sequel.

This can never be reproach'd to the *Whigs*, as their Practice; so as they saw their Ruin come pouring in upon 'em, wisely employ'd the Means that God and Nature, and the Laws had put into their Hands for the Defence of their Lives and Liberties; they knew no Obligation upon 'em from the Word of God, or Nature, or Reason, to sit down contentedly, and like Slaves suffer their Religion to be extirpated, to introduce the most abominable of Superstitions; or their precious Civil Liberties, which they had enjoy'd from immemorial Prescription, to be trampled underfoot, and entirely subjected to the Will and Arbitrement of a Weak and misguided Prince, solely actuated by the furious Influence of *Popish High-Church Priests*; who by deluding him into an Opinion of the Effect of their *Fure Divino*, and *Passive Obedience* Doctrines, prevail'd with him to make the first Steps to that Arbitrary Power, which inevitably led him into the Misfortunes, that in a little Time overwhelm'd him. All the Wise and Honest Heads in the Nation were then busie to concert the properest Methods to save themselves, and Country, from the fatal Mischiefs such Traytors were upon the Point of involving 'em in; this to their immortal Honour they happily effected, by the Blessing of God, under the Assistance of our Glorious King *William*, in the accomplishment of a glorious *Revolution*, which, as it has re-establish'd these Nations in the Foot of their original Constitution in a full and free Possession and Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties in the last Age, shall be the Wonder, as well as Imitation, of all free People who unjustly attempted to be oppress'd in all succeeding Generations. It must be allow'd that to carry on so noble and arduous an Enterprise, great numbers of all sorts of Men of Distinction and Qualifications, however different in their Opinions, and many of 'em of the first Rank and Consideration generously engag'd in it at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes; but whether some of 'em upon cooler Reflection began to think they had acted against the Principles they always profess'd; or were touch'd with remorse for having carried Things, as they thought too far, and with too much violence against a King, they had plac'd above the Reach and Power of the Law; or others, who did not think they found their Account, were not sufficiently or suddenly enough rewarded for their Expence and Share they had contributed to effect it; for which these Reasons and Considerations, or for all of 'em, I shall not pretend to determine; but this we are certain of, that many

of the *High Church* Principles, and those of the first Degree and Quality in the State and Church, recanted early, and show'd their Sorrow in their future Conduct for its Success; who afterwards not only labour'd all they cou'd to retard the Progress and Establishment of it, but during the whole Course of that Glorious Reign clog'd it with such Difficulties, as nothing but the Wisdom, Patience and Courage of that great *Prince* were capable of surmounting; so variable and unsteady are the Minds of Men that are not actuated by Principles of true Honour and Conscience; but the *Whig* or moderate Church-Men have ever acted consonantly to themselves and Principles, and therefore upon the same Motives and Reasons they first engag'd in it, have ever since, with a Firmness and Constancy, which can never be sufficiently commended or admir'd, inviolably adher'd to the Preservation and Maintenance of it; how long they shall be able to do so, amidst the many and strong Efforts of the contrary Faction to unravel it, who with their Lips indeed continue seemingly to honour and approve, but with their Hearts we are but too sure are very far from it, is only in the Hands of Providence.

Another great Reason this angry Politician produces of his Zeal for the Church, and Spleen to the Dissenters who threaten it, is, as just as much Truth and Solidity in it as all the rest; and that is, the Apprehension lest they should some time or other, the Lord knows when or how, be upon an equal Foot in every respect with the establish'd Church; for then in time they may come to be the establish'd Church, and we the Dissenters from it, and subject to the Penalties of the Laws as such, which at first were design'd against them. How are we oblig'd to this Man's Fears for so notable a Discovery? Witty and Fanciful Men, when they are tormented by an unruly Fire which they mistake for Zeal, are apt frequently to create Fantoms of the Brain for themselves to fight with; and I am not mistaken, this is one of that nature; otherwise it would have been but his Duty or Business to have let the World into so important a Secret, which so much concerns the Happiness of the Country, who, or what Power it was that ever dreamt of, or was capable of effecting such a Design as placing the Dissenters in the same Equality with the establish'd Church. As to a Ministry of a different sort, it is evident to any Man who is not out of his Senses, that they are not able to introduce such a Change, tho' we have a present Instance before us, how far a corrupt One can proceed in designs fatal to their Country; for it is one thing to conceive, and another to execute: And I think it is a thousand Times more absurd to believe, that the Supreme Power of the Nation which cannot do it, can ever be suppos'd to be in a general Conspiracy against themselves and true Interest of their Country; tho' we have too late been more than sufficiently made sensible of the Extent of the Power of Corruption. That *Englishman*, I mean of the establish'd Religion, who ever makes a step towards it, is a Knave and a Tyrant; but that *Englishman*, who upon the Account only of the irrational Fears of a High Church Visionary, endeavours to oppress

any way use ill his fellow Subjects, who have an equal Benefit and Protection of the Laws with himself, whilst they live peaceably and conformably to 'em, is a Knave of another sort, and a Persecutor; which as it is a Character we utterly disown and abhor ourselves, we do not grudge the Glory of it to the zealous Partisans of High Church, tho' I am satisfy'd we never shall want both the Will and Power to prevent the Effects of it. For what solid Reason therefore are the Dissenters to be continually treated by 'em with the utmost Severity of ill Language and worse Manners? The thing only answers its self, even because they are a very considerable Party both for their Numbers and Riches, who are an invincible Barrier and Obstacle to High Church Designs; and therefore in their Divinity they are to be remov'd by Oppression, or render'd odious and useless by Detraction, for the terrible Projects against the Peace and Security of the establish'd Church they never dreamt of. This is indeed a very notable Reason, and as commendable a Way of enforcing it, and both extremely worthy and becoming the ingenious Author. Whatever this wise Gentleman, and his dear Brethren and Followers, may think of themselves, it will be eternally true, that the Strength of every Nation consists in the Number and Unity of its People, as much or more than in its Riches; and whoever by any Means or Artifices, endeavours to divide 'em, endeavours to weaken 'em, and can pretend to do that in no other way than to make 'em a more easie Prey to their Enemies; the Honour of which Practice we freely leave to the Incendiaries of the High Church Faction, who have sufficiently convinc'd the World of their constant Inclinations to another sort of Government than what is at present establish'd amongst us.

It is past all Question, that it is within the Compass of human Wisdom to preserve the Peace and Unity too of a Nation, tho' the People may be of very different Sentiments in respect of Religion, without admitting any Sect or Sort of Dissenters into an Equality with those of the establish'd one, or without admitting 'em into a Participation of such Posts and Employments as may impower 'em to do mischief. We need not travel far for a remarkable Instance of this Truth: Every Body knows that in the Seven *United Provinces* of 'em consist almost of all Papists, besides great Numbers of Protestants, and all other Religions under the Sun; who as they all are under the Benefit and Protection of the Laws, all of 'em equally and without murmur, contribute in Proportion to the Exigencies and Support of the Government; yet there is not a Man of 'em admitted into any Employment in the State, and but very few of the *Roman Catholics* intrusted with any eminent Command in their National Troops; yet from the famous Union at *Utrecht* to this Day, they have not been troubled with any Domestick Commotions that endanger'd their State, but what were occasion'd by the Dissensions of their own Priests of the *Remonstrant* and *Antiremonstrant* Faction; which by their great Wisdom, and a rigorous Execution of the Laws, they soon quieted. A Staff and a Pair of Shoes is an



admirable Cure for the spiritual Distempers of the Brain : A fair Example ! And which we hope in good time may prove of good Use and Imitation for some of their Neighbours. I am very sensible how much I shall be thank'd by our venerable and charitable High-Church Priests, for producing an Instance of a People whom they have been accus'd, of late especially, every Hour of the Day to send to the Devil. But as I equally despise their Malice and their Friendship, I will be bold to maintain without suspicion of Flattery, that the great and noble People have given Instances of a Wisdom, a Courage, a Generosity, of a Justice, Fidelity and Love to their Country that equals the sublimest Vertue of the most renowned Commonwealths that ever were under the Sun.

It were heartily to be wish'd that our gracious Queen were entirely in the Possession of the united Hearts of all her Subjects, for it is most certain that if she were she wou'd be, notwithstanding the Disproportion of Dominions, at the Head of the most formidable Power in *Europe*; nor is it impossible, however Men may differ in their Speculations, were it not for the restless Endeavours of a wretched sort of Men amongst us, who notwithstanding all the specious Pretences, are more her Enemies than any sort of Dissenters inasmuch they are visibly labouring to introduce and establish *Out-law*, whilst the others unite their Interest with ours by the utmost Efforts of a joint Power to defeat 'em, and keep him out. If the great and important Obligations they have to the Goodness and Indulgence of her Majesty were not of Force, both to gain their Affection, and keep 'em within the Compass of their Duty and Obedience; yet the Calamities and Persecutions they know they must unavoidably expos'd to under the Administration of a Prince of Religion that knows no Mercy, undoubtedly will. What Reason then is there for Englishmen, who demean themselves as Peaceable and as like Loyal and Dutiful Subjects as the rest, should lose the Benefit and Privileges of the Birth-Right of *Englishmen*, only because they cannot bring themselves to think and believe as the Church commands, and wou'd have 'em? Let 'em themselves get the World Proofs of their own Probity and good Intentions, before they erect themselves into the Authority of being Examples to other Men: The Laws we are govern'd by, are of general Influence to the Distribution of Justice, which is one of the principal Ends of entering into Civil Societies, and extend their Benefit and Protection to all Degrees, and sorts of Men, who live within their Reach and Cognizance, till they forfeit their Claim and Pretensions to it by Misdemeanour; and as it is absolutely impossible in great Communities, that all Men should be of one Mind in all Things, it is just that the greatest Part of the People of the established Religion who make the most formidable Part of the Body Politick, should not only in all respects have the Preheminence of any other Sect or Sort of Men who differ from it, but also preferably to all others be trusted and employ'd in the Management of all Posts and Stations of Trust and Honour for the publick Good; yet all this neither will nor ought by any Means to exclude others from those Privileges.

Enslavements of the common Liberty, which the Difference from the  
 establish'd Church by the Laws leaves 'em capable of, without  
 breaking the Peace of the Commonwealth; for whoever of any  
 former degree is guilty of that, either throws himself out of the Pro-  
 tection of those Laws, or makes himself liable to the Penalties of  
 'em without distinction: Whenever this appears to be the Case of  
 dissenters, I have already said that we have the Authority of the  
 Law in our Hands, and the Power of putting 'em in Execution  
 against 'em; and if we do not exert it for our own Security and  
 Peace, the Fault is ours and not theirs: But it is something hard  
 and of too much Precaution of what may possibly never happen, to  
 prepare and inflict Punishments by an unseasonable Severity upon  
 our fellow Subjects, before they commit the Crimes that may de-  
 serve 'em, because they may happen to be under the unjust Suspicion  
 of such as are their professed Enemies. We have hitherto ever  
 since the *Revolution* found 'em firmly adhere to it, and contented  
 with the peaceable Enjoyment of the Blessings of it in the free Ex-  
 ercise of their own Way of Worship, and it is not I think to be  
 doubted but that they will continue so to the End of Time; and I  
 must repeat, that it is difficult to conceive upon the bare Sug-  
 gestions of a High Church Enthusiast, that so considerable a Body  
 of sober thinking Men, will ever run the Hazard of Sacrificing their  
 Liberty to the precarious Prosecution of an Enterprize against the State,  
 or Church, in which their Fore-fathers miscarry'd; or by fresh at-  
 tempts of the like kind, renew the Guilt and Infamy of a Crime  
 which has been with so much Mercy and Indulgence forgiven 'em;  
 they know there are those implacable Spirits amongst us, who  
 with a little Charity as Generosity, take so much wicked Pains, that  
 it will never be forgotten.

The part of the Character he is pleas'd to give to those reverend  
 learned Prelates whom he distinguishes for standing up for the  
 Right of the establish'd Church, in contradistinction to those  
 who he scandalously represents as the Betrayers of it; that they  
 are men who, tho' the Court be the Fountain of Preferment, dare  
 stand in Defence of the Church, and who wou'd not in  
 assistance to any Ministers, leave it the only Protestant Comma-  
 nity not secur'd by Law. This indeed were the Character of truly  
 courageous and religious Prelates, if it were true; I am very far  
 from meddling with, or disputing the Merit of his favourite Bishops;  
 I could wish he had got the better a little of his Passion or Malice  
 and treated those other who differ'd from 'em in Opinion, with  
 good Manners and Respect which are undoubtedly due to their  
 Characters and Station, at least from a Man who wou'd be thought  
 to have so tender and conscientious a Regard for Religion. I think  
 he wou'd much better have become him both as a Gentleman, and a  
 Member of the Church, to have suppos'd those venerable Fathers of it to  
 have acted purely upon Principles of Reason, Honour and Consci-  
 ence, than so leudly to insult 'em, tho' impotently, under the odious  
 colours of Treachery and Prostitution. But I maintain, that the  
 Proposition he advances is notoriously false, and that there is ne'er

a Protestant Communion in *Europe* that is fenc'd in and secur'd by so many wholsom and vigorous Laws, as the establish'd Church of *England*; and happy and flourishing would she always continue in her original Purity and Safety, by the Number and Force of 'em, if they who pretend with as much Arrogance as Falsehood to be her true and genuine Sons, did not wickedly disturb her Peace and Tranquility, as well as prostitute her Honour, by forcing such Doctrine upon her, and putting her upon Practices of Violence and Oppression of their Fellow-Subjects, more suitable to the Spirit of their debauch'd corrupted Friend, the Church of *Rome*, than the Innocence and Purity of the most excellent Church in the Universe; and any Disgrace or Misfortune is to happen to her, (which good Heaven avert) I will venture to foretell that it shall be more owing to the Non-execution of those excellent Laws she already has, than to the want of any she has not; and that if she continues as secure and undisturb'd from the furious Sallies and Violences of her own pretended Sons of the High Distinction, as from any Attempts of the *Dissenters*, she shall infallibly, by the Grace of God, remain as the most Pure and Innocent, so the most Flourishing and Happy in the World, till she be refin'd into Triumphant in the next. But if for her further Security here, it should appear necessary to multiply Laws, let us have the Modesty to suppose the Legislature to be more competent Judges of that Matter, than any private Man; and when they shall see it either expedient or necessary, they will doubtless in their great Wisdom, and regard for so dear and invaluable a Treasure as their holy Religion, provide and enact the same without the saucy and presumptuous Advice of any private Church-man, whether Priest or other, before it is ask'd.

If the *Dissenters*, and particularly the *Presbyterians*, who are the most numerous of 'em, have the unhappiness of differing from the establish'd Church, and that Separation from her involve 'em in the Guilt of Schism, let 'em excuse and defend themselves as well as they can: I know of but little Advantage the Churchmen have gain'd over 'em hitherto in the Dispute; yet whilst they disturb the publick Peace of the Community, they are more accountable to God than Man for it, who is the only equitable Judge of the Intentions of Men's Hearts: But till they do that, we are yet to seek what they should be treated by their Fellow-Subjects and Brethren, professing the same common Faith, with that Scurrility and Aversion which we are peremptorily, by the divine Precepts of Christianity forbid to Practice to the most Foreign and Barbarous, or charg'd with criminal Designs against the Church, which the worst of their Enemies have never been able to prove, otherwise than by the irrational and ill-grounded Surmises from what is past. When it shall appear, that they in good earnest attempt it, I hope it is not to be doubted but that the common Danger will unite all those who are her true Sons, and whom at present unnatural Jealousies and furious Animosities divide, for her Support and Security; but as at present they enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion by a perpetual Law which was before but precarious, upon the Foot of the *Revolution*



I think it may reasonably be concluded, that they will sit down contented with it, and not attempt again to disturb a Government, from whose Indulgence they enjoy all the Benefits and Advantages of Freemen and *Englishmen*, consistent with their State of Separation, necessary to maintain 'em in a Condition of Life in Ease and Security for ever; their peaceable Deportment and Conformity to the Government, in a regular Obedience and Fidelity equal to that of their Fellow-Subjects, ever since the *Revolution*, in bringing about of which they had so considerable a Share, is not only a sufficient Evidence of this Truth, but a sufficient Guaranty of their Behaviour for the future; and if it be, we would be glad to be inform'd from our very wise and zealous Author, or any of his Followers, by what Religion or Policy it is unlawful for the moderate *Low-Churchmen*, (who as to the *Revolution* are of the same Sentiments with 'em, and are not ashamed to own it) to endeavour to engage and unite 'em to us, in order to oppose all the Enemies of our State or Church, whether foreign or domestick, who are by much the most dangerous ones; and I constantly maintain, that the Malice and Aversion of *High-Church* do not rage so furiously against the *Dissenters*, as *Dissenters* only, but because they are a considerable Body, that with us eternally stand in the way of their Design of introducing their *Pretender*.

We know, as well as they, that the Peace and Happiness of these Kingdoms, both in Respect of the State and Church, can be of no lasting Continuance, but upon the Foot of the *Revolution*, upon which they have happily been re-establish'd; and therefore we must have stronger and more forcible Reasons than those have yet been offer'd by our zealous *High-Church* Politicians, before we quarrel with 'em, and deprive our selves of the Strength and Assistance of so considerable a Body of our Brethren, and Fellow-Subjects, whose Interest it is, equally with our own, mutually to preserve our selves under the present Establishment, in which alone we can both be safe; but whenever it shall appear, that they form any real Design against the Peace and Interest of the establish'd Church, we promise heartily to forget our present unbecoming Distinctions for our common Safety, and unite our selves to all the Church of England Men under any Denomination, to depose or render it ineffectual; or if our Brethren, who are pleas'd to distinguish themselves from us, shall refuse the Conjunction and Assistance we offer, we question not but to be able upon our Fund to keep 'em within the Measures of their Duty without more. I cou'd heartily wish, that upon another Occasion, which I speedily offer, we may find the Gentlemen and Partisans of *High-Church* as sincere and forward to give us their Assistance against the common Enemy of us all, from whom with Ten Thousand times greater Reason there is much more Danger, nay more certain and unavoidable Ruin to be apprehended, than from the *Dissenters*; for we freely acknowledge, that the Church in the present Juncture of Affairs is in greater Danger than ever it has been since the Time of King *James*; but it is from another Quarter

as I hope in the Sequel of this Discourse to demonstrate ; and that the principal End of the Contrivers in blackening the *Dissenters*, and by that means rendring them odious and suspected, is only with the greater Facility to accomplish their wicked and traiterous Design ; this being their surest way to weaken, by depriving us of so great a Number of our Friends and Brethren, whose Interest they know it is, as well as our own, eternally to oppose them these then are the known Artifices of the profess'd *High-Church* Enemies of the Government, to effect its Subversion ; first by laying the Grounds of their Fears upon the *Dissenters*, as the most dangerous Enemies of the Church, and then dressing 'em up in such frightful Colours, as if true, would indeed not only prove the most mortal Enemies, but the most wicked and ingrateful she ever had, or can have ; but in this, to their great Mortification they have found themselves deceiv'd ; yet, had their Success against 'em answer'd their Expectations, their Work of Wickedness would have been but half perform'd ; there was another invincible Obstacle in their Way, which if not remov'd, all the fantastick Brick they had erected upon a sandy Foundation must have fallen to the Ground ; that is, the Glorious Ministry, in whose Hands the Administration of Affairs was at the time of the publishing this infamous Libel, which is the second Topick the Author makes use of, and which I shall in the next Place consider ; and I think a laudable Means, when seriously reflected on, employ'd to carry so good a Work, cannot choose but make Impressions on the Minds of honest considering Men, extreamly to the Glory and Advantage of the Characters and good Intentions of the Conspirators ; the one Hand groundless Surmises and irrational Fears impudently advanc'd without Proof, or indeed Probability ; on the other the infamous Arts of Scandal and Detraction in the utmost Extent of lewd Licentiousness.

Ministers are the political Eyes and Ears of the Prince ; and in the Natural Body those Organs, when they are either imperfectly form'd, or by Accident vitiated, they can no longer rightly perform the Office of their Institution, but must necessarily communicate their Objects to the Understanding, either but imperfectly or erroneously, from whence it unavoidably forms Ideas and Concepts either false or defective according to the Representation ; for there can be nothing in the Understanding which is not first in the Senses ; so when Ministers of State whom the Prince employs in the most important Affairs of his Administration, either thro' want of Capacity which is Imperfection, or of Fidelity which is Corruption it is next to impossible that they shou'd represent to him Things they truly are ; nay, that they shou'd not represent 'em as they are not ; since such will always act with a Design either to impose or betray him, to secure their own Establishment, because regarding their own private Interest more than the publick Good they carry on an Interest always distinct from that either of the Prince or their Country. The wisest and best of Princes have sometimes been impos'd on and deceiv'd by Fools or Knaves,

seldom come to the Knowledge of the Truth 'till they are past Re-  
 medy, undone by their Ignorance or Treachery; and tho' such  
 Ministers well know that they stand but in slippery Places, and  
 discover'd may answer with their Heads and Honours for  
 Mismanagement, yet the Sweets of Profit, especially when  
 attended with Pomp and Magnificence, are so alluring, and the  
 Possessions of Power and Ambition so bewitching, that they for the  
 most part shut their Eyes to all Considerations of Danger; nor are  
 there Examples of so many great and unfortunate Men, as have fallen  
 in Sacrifice before 'em either to the Indignation of an abus'd Prince,  
 or the Fury of an enraged People, of any Force to deter 'em from  
 those dangerous Practices, or to teach 'em to shun those Rocks  
 which have been so fatal to so many of their Predecessors. There is no  
 one Thing that more evidently demonstrates the Wisdom and  
 Justice of the Prince, than the Choice of the Persons he employs in  
 the Administration of publick Affairs; if he be wise and just him-  
 self, and studies only the general Good of the People, he will not  
 seek out such as are of the same Principles and Tendency;  
 and in such a Choice the Royal Favour is a Mark and Reward  
 of merited Merit, his Honour and Interest, and the Happiness of  
 the Nation, with which he is intrusted, are sure to be safe, lasting,  
 and glorious; neither can there be any Commendation or Reward  
 above the Merit of an able faithful Minister. Most Men are cov-  
 etous of the first and highest Stations of Honour, Profit and Trust  
 in the Country, but very few Men are equal to 'em; and as Am-  
 bition is never very clear sighted, they for the most part court their  
 own Destruction. There can be nothing more ridiculous than for  
 a Man who is not really wise, to expect to be thought so, or long  
 to be such undiscover'd, in the difficult Management of Affairs of  
 State, especially if his Life and Honour may be the Penalty of his  
 Commission; such a Man may indeed make a passable Figure in his  
 private Sphere; but out of it his Motions are all excentrick, they  
 are not steady and become him but awkwardly; but in the State he is  
 like a Phaeton, who seldom fails to set it in a Flame, and tum-  
 ble himself headlong from the Precipice, the Laughter, or Contempt  
 of the People.

There are more great and eminent Qualities necessary to finish  
 the Character of a compleat Minister of State, than are commonly  
 found amongst Men; and even in the best and most accom-  
 plish'd there must be Allowances made for the Frailties inseparable  
 from Human Nature, otherwise 'tis a Chimera not to be found in  
 the Nature of Things; there is no finite Being can be com-  
 pletely perfect: And when a great Man discharges the Trust he  
 is honour'd with, with all the Application and Exactitude that  
 the End of his Institution, he does all that is requir'd by  
 his Prince or the Nation. A Man may be wise, a Man may  
 be virtuous, brave and honest, and yet have many  
 natural Failings and Imperfections, which are the inseparable Ap-  
 panages of Humanity, or there is no such Thing as wise, as just,  
 as virtuous, brave and honest on this side the Grave: I should

be



be glad to be shewn the Man of any Party, who is without Fault of this Nature, and great ones too, that I might fall down and worship him ; but as such an Idea is only a Phantom of the Brain, or a pharisaical Affectation of a Perfection, which is not to be found but in such Hypocrites as pretend to more Grace and Purity than the rest of their Neighbours, I conceive I am in no great Danger of often falling into the Sin of Idolatry on that Article. If a Man's Vertues greatly over-balance his Vices ; if he makes the best Use he can of his Reason to correct and restrain the impetuosity of his Appetites, and if he calls Religion in to his Succour as the best Guide and Rule of the Actions of Life in relation to his domestick Oeconomy, or the publick Good of the Commonwealth, he shall find his Account in the Endeavours of discharging Duty before God and Man ; there shall no more be requir'd from him than what is consistent with the Condition of Humanity managed, the Frailties of which if an insuperable Necessity can justify, will at least excuse ; nor shall such a one fail of the Honour or Reward of his honest Industry, and a Vertue arriv'd to as high a Degree of Perfection, as it is capable of arriving at in this World. When Wisdom, Justice and Integrity, within these Bounds and Limitations of Perfection are to be found in a Man, a one has a solid Foundation for all other great Qualities necessary to the Composition of a Minister to center on, and finish the Character. There is necessary to carry a Man thro' the Drudgery of Business a happy vigorous Contexture and Temperament of Constitution, which are naturally productive of Health and Strength without which all Men must infallibly sink under the Burden of perpetual Application ; a Force of Mind, equal to the Toil of Slavery, if I may so speak, of constant serious Thinking ; an universal Genius bold and comprehensive, that by the Strength of its own Sufficiency, as it were with one View, can look back on past Events, and foresee the future, as far I mean as what is finite may pretend to ; an Understanding firm and strong, not easily to be impos'd on, or deceiv'd by false Ideas, or sway'd by false Possessions ; a Judgment sound and vigorous, and form'd to Truth and Probity, without the Teint of rough, inflexible or opinionatedness ; a Wit lively but well temper'd, easy and free without the Sourness of the Pedant, or Lewdness of the Libertine ; gay but not loose, open and innocent as the Charms of a modest vertuous Virgin, not wanton or lewd as an abandon'd Prostitute ; a Penetration quick and piercing as the Light to search and discover the dark mysterious Subtilties of crafty and designing Knaves ; a commodious and easy Nature ; Affability, the usual Polish of the Court ; Address, to bring the jarring Minds and Sentiments of Men into the one honest and harmonious End of the publick Good ; Dispatch, the Life of Business : And to sum up all in one Word, that Rectitude and Propriety of Mind we call Vertue, which is every Man's Desire and Men's Partage, without which all political Vertues are dead and ineffectual, as all religious ones without Humility, which is the ultimate Perfection and Complement of all other Excellences.

these natural Treasures improv'd by useful Learning, Experience, and Observation, if I mistake not, are the essential Qualities requisite to finish the Character of an accomplish'd Christian Statesman ; and I hope to make it appear without Flattery, that they were never more eminently conspicuous, than in those great and excellent Men, who lately had the Honour of administering the publick Affairs of these Nations.

It is not in dispositions to enquire, much less determine, whether they may or may not change their Ministry when or as often as they please ; when there is a good one, Reason, which is always the Guide, will tell us they ought to be continu'd ; when an evil, Necessity requires a Change ; the Difficulty lies only in rightly understanding and prosecuting the publick Good, which is the principal End of the Institution of all Princes and all Ministers ; but as this is a Matter of the last Consequence and Importance to a Nation, I think, without offending any Body, one may venture to say, that it ought not to be done but upon the greatest Emergencies ; and when the State is likely to fall into any eminent Danger from those in Possession ; and as those great Places of Trust and Profit are not with us entrail'd upon certain Families, but ought always to be the Reward of distinguish'd Vertue and Merit ; and it may seem hard, and indeed a sort of Injustice, for them to be continu'd always in the Hands of one Sett of Men, exclusive of all others of the same Rank and Quality : In such a Case, a wise and judicious Prince, if he thinks fit to change and appoint 'em, will be sure to make Choice of Men of the same Principles and Capacities ; for as the true Interest particularly of Great Britain can be eternally but one and the same, that is, the publick Good of the Community upon the Foot of its Original Constitution ; it is impossible it should be long maintain'd in its purity by Men of different Sentiments and Principles from those in its Original Establishment ; for whilst the End is always the same, the Means of pursuing it must be so too, as I hope to make good in the pursuit of this Discourse. How far a Change of Ministers is necessary, especially if made without any manifest Necessity, of which only the Good of the Nation is the infallible Rule, may be left to the Person of the Prince, I shall leave to others to determine ; especially if any pernicious Consequences attend it. But I shall be bold to maintain, that if through Incapacity or Negligence, or any other Cause, the Nation is made to suffer by 'em in their Honour, or Commerce, such Ministers deserve to pay the Penalty of Male-Administration with their Heads and Fortunes, as the Law ; and however the Laws may be indulgent to the Persons, the Prince who employs 'em, the Reasons and the Necessities of State justly demand the Punishment of the Ministers. I need not travel further than our own Histories to be furnished with Instances of the *Gavestons*, the *Spencers*, the *Trempson*, *Dudley*, *Cromwell*, *Laud*, *Strafford*, and many others who justly deserv'd and suffer'd the utmost Severity of the Law for their pernicious and fatal Advice to their respective Princes ;

Princes; and if the Examples of those unfortunate great Men are not of sufficient Weight to deter others from the same unwarrantable and destructive Practices, they will at least want the Consolation, if it be any, of not being fore-warn'd of the like evil Destiny. I am very far from exposing the personal Failings of those whom her Majesty has been pleas'd to employ in the present Administration, they are to account for 'em somewhere else; they may be eminent for their Birth, their Quality and Capacities, and to comprehend all in one Word, they may be *Englishmen*, which in my Opinion imports all that is necessary to carry on the Interest of their Country, and the Respect and Fidelity due to the Honour and Majesty of their Queen; yet I hope it may be permitted to an honest Man who loves 'em both, I mean his Country and his Queen, to maintain and defend the Merit and Characters of those great and excellent Men they have succeeded from the impudent Calumnies and Slanders, which any infamous mercenary Scribler of the Faction (who thinks he has Wit enough to attempt, and ill Manners enough to abuse, and saucily affront his Superiours) thinks fit to throw upon 'em. As the Design of this Essay and the Author are utterly unknown to 'em, and possibly the latter may ever continue to be so, I by no means stand in fear of the Reproach of being accounted Venal, if I throw my poor Mite into the Treasury. I owe my Endeavours what they may be esteem'd to my Country, I owe 'em to the Memory of those incomparable Men who so nobly serv'd it in the most difficult Times, whilst they had the Power to do so; and I owe 'em to my own Conscience and Honesty, whose Interests I ever prefer to all other Considerations in this World. I may indeed fail in the Performance, the Subject may be too great for me, but the Defect shall not be in my Will; and I shall at least find the secret Satisfaction of having endeavour'd to discharge my Duty, both as an honest Gentleman and an honest *Englishman*, who heartily loves his Country; and who, as he has frequently hazarded his Life in its Service, will ever make it his Glory to sacrifice it in so glorious a Cause, as the Defence and Preservation of her Ancient Liberty, and all those who have so generously serv'd it hitherto.

There is no Vertue or Innocence that can be altogether free from the Venom of malicious Tongues; the more eminent and valued they are above the common Level, the more they become the Object of the Vicious and the Malevolent; for it is natural to men to wish all Men like themselves, and since they cannot become like 'em by an Imitation of their Vertue, endeavour to debase 'em by a Resemblance and Participation of their own Vices, by the mean Arts of Scandal and Detraction; yet there is nothing so certain as that there is a certain genuine native Brightness in exalted Merit, such secret and irresistable Charms in Truth and unaffected Vertue, as compel 'em in their Hearts to admire what they have the Wickedness invidiously to Asperse: 'Tis just the Condition of the Damn'd, who are forc'd to adore the Being they tremble



hourly blaspheme. No Man, 'tis true, desires to be thought  
 wicked; hence so many Hypocrites in Religion, and Cheats in civil  
 Affairs; for since they are incapable of arriving at any Degree of an  
 exemplary Perfection, they are at least fond of the Appearances of it,  
 by a ridiculous Affectation of what they knew they can never re-  
 possess, add the Guilt of a detestable Hypocrisy to the natural Cor-  
 ruption of their Inclinations. I know not whether ever there was  
 so notable Instance of these Truths than the unaccountable Rage  
 of this frantick Author against the Merits of those excellent Men,  
 whose Defence I have undertaken; he gives the Reins to a Passion,  
 which one can only give the Name of Fury, with a Rudeness  
 becoming a Gentleman, or Man of Learning, that there is no  
 Person, even in the Interest of his own Faction, who does not as-  
 sure, as he must be necessarily scandaliz'd at it; with what a  
 Fierceness does he ferment and evaporate his Frenzy against  
 the Lord Treasurer, as the first Mover and Contriver of all the  
 pernicious Mischiefs and Dangers which threaten'd no less than Ruin  
 the State and Church? Who but a mercenary Fool, or Knave, or  
 a Man, abandon'd both of Honour and Conscience, cou'd ad-  
 vance, that Sodomy, Adultery, Pox or Profaneness, were Qualities  
 which the *Whigs* to make Men Saints, Prophets, Martyrs and Apo-  
 stles. Yet these are the distinguishing Characteristicks he ascribes to  
 those Noble Peers, Immortal Patriots, and Lovers of their Country,  
 the Lords *Somers, Sunderland, Wharton* and *Hallifax*; this is to  
 charge the Flight of a leud and profligate Wit, in a vile mercenary Slave  
 to the Interest of a Faction, as must create an Abhorrence in all so-  
 ber thinking Men, as well as a Suspicion of whatever he advances,  
 tho' with never so much Appearance of Truth; I am not for ex-  
 amining any Men's Faults when they are real, yet I am not brutally  
 exposing 'em, or vilely inventing new ones where they are not,  
 but leave 'em to the Determination of the only equitable Judge by  
 whom they are cognizable; but I pretend to justify the Merits of  
 great Men, whose Reputation he has endeavour'd to blast and  
 ruin by Calumnies as groundless as they are wicked and ungenerous.  
 'Tis not thus after his foul Example we shall treat those eminent  
 Persons for whom he expresses so extraordinary a Veneration, and  
 exalts to the Skies for their great and excellent Services they have  
 done their Country; for he wou'd have exceedingly oblig'd the  
 World if he had been a little more particular upon so important and  
 delicate an Article, and pointed out those wondrous Performances  
 of Heroes; for we are at present a little in the dark where to en-  
 quire for 'em, but Heaven be prais'd we have good Plenty of glori-  
 ous ones of ours, which in due Place we shall take a Pride to re-  
 late to the World of, with as much Justice as Truth; yet instead of  
 the detestable Vices he with so little Manners and so profligate a  
 wantonness bestows upon ours; we have Vertues enough which  
 will not refuse or disallow to be in an eminent Degree in theirs;  
 we frankly acknowledge the sincere Piety and unaffected Devotion  
 of our Duke of *B——m*, we never envy'd him the great Sobri-  
 ety, Temperance, Good Nature and Moderation of their Earl of

R——,

R——r, every Man in the Nation is convinc'd of the Secrecy of the Fidelity, and Integrity of their thrice noble and illustrious Earl of O——d, the whole World is full of the Noise of the Courage and Gratitude of their Earl of J——sey; a Man must be a Stranger in Great Britain who is unacquainted with the sincere Love and Affection for the Honour of his Queen and Interest of his Country, of the incomparable Earl of B——ke; we have many other amiable Vertues to bestow on the rest of his and the Faction's Friends and fully with as much Justice; but we shall at present wave the Detail, and hasten to something more worthy of those, who with a much better Grace and Equity we can affirm to be the real shining Ornaments of our own.

I shall begin with a Noble Peer, whose Vertues and effects of great Services have not been able to skreen him from the Malice of this intemperate Railer, and of others of his Principles and Faction. I mean the Right Honourable the late Lord Treasurer Godolphin and as the publick Testimony of a whole House of Commons is of infinite more Weight to recommend the Integrity and Abilities of a great Minister in the most considerable Employment of Profit, Honour and Trust in the Kingdom, than the Opinion and Sentiments of any private Person whatsoever, I shall on his Behalf produce one of the most glorious and authentick ones that ever was or can be offer'd in Justification of a great Officer, who perfectly understood and faithfully discharg'd the Duty of it; I mean the Testimony of the House of Commons in their Address to her Majesty, in the Year 1702, when one Robert Harley Esq; was Speaker, which, if I mist not, at this Time of Day is a Circumstance may pretend to merit little more than ordinary Observation. The whole Address is upon the Subject of the Mismanagement of the Treasury, and Misapplication of great Sums of the publick Money to other Uses, that was in the Hands of certain Persons in the preceeding glorious Reign, wherein after the Enumeration of the many Defaults and Abuses in the Treasury, and the Means and Persons by whom they were introduc'd, they proceed to the just Acknowledgment and Commendation of the Management of the publick Money, under the Administration of this great Man, in the Words which I shall fully transcribe, as much as it is to my Purpose, as any Man who will give himself the Trouble to inform himself from the Original may be fully convinc'd.

This evil Practice, amongst others, of striking Talleys with Interest, before the Money was paid in, was also attended with another great Inconvenience to the publick, that whenever the Nation had Occasion for ready Money to answer the present Necessities of the Kingdom, many Persons who advanc'd their Money upon Loans knowing they should have the same Advantages by Delay as by prompt Payment, wou'd not bring in their Money into the Exchequer, for several Months after the Talleys were struck, where the Government was forc'd in the mean Time to pay excessive Rates for Stores and Provisions for the Army and Navy, in regard to which Merchants and Tradesmen cou'd have no ready Money for their Goods, but remote Talleys upon a large Discount.

And by these and other undue Means, a very great Part of all the publick Aids were squander'd away in extravagant Interest, in Premiums, and in excessive Rates for Stores and Provisions, which has been one of the great Causes that has brought so heavy a Burden upon the Nation.

And here we cannot in Justice omit to acknowledge the present good Management of the Treasury, whereby for the Honour of your Government, and the Advantage of the whole Nation, no unnecessary Talleys with Interest are permitted to be struck, nor more Money at any Time borrow'd than the Necessaries of the Nation do require, and Care is taken for supporting the Credit of the Courfe of the Navy, victualling, and other publick Offices, that all Stores and Provisions are in a good Measure provided with as great Advantage to the Publick, as if the same were purchas'd with ready Money; which Frugality and good Management, will be found to be one of the most effectual Means to make your Majesties Government easy at Home, and to carry on a vigorous War against the common Enemy abroad.

I think is as ample and honourable a Testimony of a Man's Probity and Capacity, as a wise and honest one can desire, or so august an Assembly as a House of Commons cou'd bestow, and is equally an undeniable Evidence of his perfect Knowledge of the Affairs of the Treasury in penetrating into the Faults and Abuses which it by the Inexperience or Knavery of former Managers, and his Rectitude and Integrity in correcting and redressing 'em. In this honourable and toilsom Station he continu'd for seven or eight Years longer, with the same Character of a wise, just and frugal Economist to his own perpetual Honour, and his Country's Happiness, and had more than once during that Time, both the Thanks of the House, and the Approbation of the Throne, for the admirable and prudent Management of the Nation's Treasure; 'twas not impossible that a Man who with so much Glory and Advantage to his Country had continu'd so many Years in the Office of the Treasurer, and the Trust and Importance of any in the Nation, shou'd be without Enemies; yet even those Enemies were never able to find a single Argument upon any just and solid Reason that cou'd give him the least Cause of a Blush to his dying Day: When a Number of Men employ'd all their wicked Arts and Address, and combin'd to ruin the Reputation of a great and honest Man, by the base Means of infamous suggestions and Calumnies, they may indeed by the Fickle and Caprice of an unconstant People, or a certain Fatality that constantly attends Men in high Places, in a great Measure find some Account with the Multitude, for the most Part pleas'd with Sland'ring and Detraction; but they can never disturb the Tranquillity of his Mind or Conscience, grounded upon a faithful and unfeigned Discharge of his Duty; they may prejudice the Statesmen, but not the Philosopher and the Man of Vertue secure in his Innocence above the Reach of their Malice, they may hurt a Man in his private Degree who had all the Virtues of an Angel, if that were possible, but not his publick Character with the unthinking or the prejudic'd;



but they can never affect, much less despoil him of his Honour and Integrity with the sober and discerning, who are capable of searching further than the Superficies of Things, nor apt to swallow the Cajoleries of designing Knaves, who scribble for a Faction, without examining the Fund of their Pretensions; and tho' there be not the greatest part of Mankind, yet I am sure they are the best, and such, on whose Opinion a wise and honest Man would desire to found the Merit of his Character and Reputation; the Applause of Fools never added any Thing to the worth of the former; nor the Dislike or Malice of Knaves ever in Effect detracted any Thing from the inherent Value of the Latter; for the Man, who is sensible he has done Nothing to deserve the Reproaches of his proper Conscience is as unconcern'd at the Vain-glories of the one, as he may justly despise the impotent Rage or Envy of the other.

'Tis visible to a Demonstration, that at the Time when the representative Body of the Nation did this great Man the Justice and Honour of so Meritorious a Character, that whatever our disgraced and envenom'd Author, bigotted to the Interest of a Faction, thirsted for his ruine, so audaciously advanc'd with the Design to discredit him, cou'd be only understood rather as the result of inveterate Malice, than Judgment founded upon Conviction of real Mismanagement; or of the insatiable Desire of the Faction to destroy a Man, who resolutely stood in the way of their pernicious Designs; nor cou'd they devise any readier way to attain their End than by attacking him on the side of his Reputation; it was absolutely necessary to remove such a Man in the first Station, and gave, as it were, Life and Movement to all the others in the Nation; and no matter how, so he were remov'd; and tho' the Murder of a Man's Honour and Reputation be of all others the most heinous, and most ungenerous, yet it is ever the surest; for they have an uncommon Fund of Vertue who can always Support Credit against the Poison of Malice and Envy, or the Rage of an incens'd and deluded People; this has been in all Ages the Rock on which most great Men in publick Stations have been shipwreck'd, and the Favour of the Prince tho' founded upon never so much Vertue and Innocence, has seldom prov'd sufficient to shield 'em from the secret Malice of their Enemies, or the open Fury of the Multitude: But if this premier Minister had so early merited the Thanks and Acknowledgments of both Houses of Parliament, how happen'd it that in so short, or rather almost at the same Time he shou'd be guilty of such Practices as must necessarily have forfeited a Testimony so glorious to his Vertue and Reputation? In such a Case they wou'd doubtless been as forward to condemn him, if they had found him guilty, as they were to do him Justice when they thought he merited it; what then were the Effects of the Inveteracy of an abandon'd mercenary Scribler, of no weight with the Opinion of both Houses, and the Approbation of the Throne? Or is it not rather as evident, as Light at Noon, that his only End and Design was to belch out his detractions against

That had so admirably maintain'd the Honour and true Inter-  
 est of his Country? If the Lord Treasurer took those Measures,  
 which in his great Wisdom and Knowledge, of the true State of  
 Things he thought most conducing, in concert with other great  
 Men, to the Security and Happiness of the present Establishment,  
 made our wise and politic Author a Judge either of him, or  
 of any other private Man; Every private Man may doubtless entertain what Thoughts  
 and Sentiments he pleases in his own Breast, of any great Minister  
 of State; but it is not only Presumption, but Arrogance in the  
 same Degree, for any private Man to decide dogmatically of  
 the Conductions of the most abstruse and mysterious Affairs of it, or  
 the first Springs and Movements of secret Councils, and their  
 Consequences; of the former of which, 'tis absolutely impossible he  
 should ever come to the Knowledge; and to dare to impose upon  
 the Publick for Truths, the ravings of his Passions, and the most  
 baseless and groundless Calumnies upon bare Surmizes, and Sug-  
 gestions, which never had a being, but in the Caprices of his own cor-  
 rupt and mercenary Brain, or fertile Wickedness of his Faction.  
 Every Man, 'tis true, may be as wicked as he pleases, but no  
 Man can be so long in a well regulated Government with impunity  
 as to shall some time or other, either fall under the Judgment  
 of the Law, or Animadversion of the Laws. If this Noble Peer had  
 been so far from any dangerous Measures, to the Good and Honour of the  
 Kingdom, he stood in a height that expos'd him to the View  
 of the whole World; Designs of that Nature are not to be carry'd  
 out in the Dark; and if we stand in need of Conviction  
 in these Matters, we may possibly in a short Time live to see that whoever  
 is in confederacy with others, shall perish in the same manner.  
 'Tis not only difficult for any one Man, or Numbers of  
 Men, but next to impossible upon the Strength of a particular Ge-  
 neral Opinion of their united Capacities, (however favoura-  
 ble they may conceive of themselves) to form any dangerous De-  
 sign against an establish'd Government, and yet hope to escape the  
 Punishment of two Houses of Parliament; or not to meet in the  
 same manner with the Punishment due to an execrable Treachery. Corrup-  
 tion easily slide into great Societies, and Bodies of Men; but  
 a Nation can never be suppos'd to be in a Conspiracy to pur-  
 sue their own Ruin, and a great Majority will always be found who  
 can justly understand, and vigorously maintain their true Inter-  
 est. If peradventure for their Sins, they may provoke God to  
 bring 'em to such a Degree of Degeneracy and Corruption, as  
 sensibly prepare 'em for Slavery, the dreadfulest of all Pun-  
 ishments can befall a generous Nation born in, and inur'd to Li-  
 berty, of which inestimable Blessing, as the Powers that compose  
 the Legislature, are the proper Conservators, so are they the only  
 Judges to whom all Ministers of State, as Delinquents are  
 accountable. We are all sensible enough that upon the change of  
 the Ministry, the Dissolution of the Parliament then sitting, and  
 the calling of the last; this great Man, and his Actions, were  
 set out by the Faction in the most frightful Colours, Charges of  
 that

that enormous and dangerous Complexion objected against him, nothing less was expected by such as had unwarily fallen into Snare than to see him impeach'd for Crimes of Peculat and Treason against the Crown; his Enemies who had as artfully as wick endeavour'd to Wound him in his Reputation, knew too well their own Interest (and we are but too well acquainted with his good Nature) to spare the Life of a Man whose Death was absolutely necessary to the Success of their Designs, and their own Establishment; if they had been in Effect able to prove their Charges against him of Crimes they had made him esteem'd guilty of his Administration; what then was the Issue of all this? What came of all this terrible Out-cry? Why just *parturiunt montes*. If he was Innocent, why was a Man turn'd out, who had serv'd his Queen and Country with so much Glory? If Guilty, why was he not call'd to an Account, and punish'd as Crimes of that Nature, which they affirm'd him guilty of, might deserve? Is there be a more evident Demonstration that the Innocence, the Integrity, and Honesty of the Man were incorruptible, and above the Malice of his Enemies, since like so many Guardian-Angels were capable of preserving him from a formal Design against his Life and Honour? There is I know not what secret sort of Providence, which, at certain Periods of Time unaccountable by Human Wisdom, evidently interposes and determines of the Fate of Princes and Kingdoms; which not only permits, but contrives and effects great and notable Changes in 'em when in all human Appearances they are least foreseen or expected; we are not to inquire into the mysterious Counsels and Methods of a Providence which is above our Comprehension, but to accommodate our finite Understanding and Prudence with a becoming Resignation, to an unfeared Power we are neither able to understand or controul; of which I think I may reasonably be permitted to say, that the late *Glorious Revolution*, and the latter change of Affairs in our own Country are as notable and remarkable Instances, as our own History or that of any other Nation, to consider all the Circumstances in *Europe* can afford. Those excellent Persons who had so great a Share in the Accomplishment of the former, and those who were as notably as undeservedly suffer'd in the latter, seem'd to have the secure Possession of their Honours and Employments, of the Trust, as the Rewards of their great and eminent Services they had done their Country at the Expence and Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes. Yet we have liv'd to see that Glorious Revolution which had re-establish'd us in the Enjoyment of all those civil Liberties that make Life valuable, rail'd at, and reproach'd with the odious Imputations of Sedition and Rebellion: We daily see Numbers of Men exerting all their Address and Artifice to resist and render it ineffectual, and others as zealously labouring to defend and support it; the one to introduce their darling Pretensions, and the other to preserve the Liberty and Religion of their Country, which can no otherwise be secur'd, than by his exclusion ever; and we have liv'd to see a wife, a faithful, and incorrupt



nst him, the Ministry, who were one of the principal Obstacles to his Preten-  
 sions into the Throne, and who have done a Thousand noble Actions for our Pre-  
 sent and Future, who exclaim'd against, traduc'd, disgrac'd and dispossest'd as  
 as wicked and traitorous betrayers of their Country's Honour and Interest. By  
 no well known, Even by such, as since they succeeded 'em, have not made  
 with any thing that has not stamp'd a Mark of Infamy and Dishonour up-  
 on them, which is not possibly no length of Time shall ever be able to obliterate.  
 their own Crimes of a high and dangerous Nature to a Government, ought  
 their Country to have prov'd, they ought to have a Foundation in Fact capa-  
 ble of the plainest and fullest Evidence, before they are impudently  
 s? What can be the Publick for Truths; and as, when they are made  
 nt money, there can be no Punishment too vigorous and severe for such  
 no had any other; so on the other hand, if they manifestly appear to be  
 ty, who are more than the villanous Surmises and Suggestions of the merce-  
 of that Party, of a Faction, there can be no Penalty, no degree of In-  
 reserve, that are not below the Wickedness of such abandon'd Defa-  
 nce, that the World will excuse all honest sensible *Englishmen*,  
 and above all, will conserve that high Opinion of the great Characters of  
 Angels in the Ministry, which they know their Vertue, Probity, and in-  
 gn against the Love of their Country so nobly deserve. If Praise, Re-  
 port of their great Estimation are ever the Reward of high Trust, manag'd  
 ble by their Integrity and Exactitude, what degree of 'em are due to the  
 Fate of this great and excellent Minister, who with so just and ad-  
 vances in the Oeconomy, manag'd so many Millions of the Publick Mo-  
 nary for proper Ends for which it was design'd? Men do not usu-  
 ally not to invest their Money to the Publick, let the Security be esteem'd ne-  
 cessary, if the Ministers, who have the Management of it, are sus-  
 pected of Corruption or Insincerity; and I think there cannot be a  
 unsearable Confidence given of the noble Opinion the World had con-  
 sidered of the honesty of this great Man's Character, than the won-  
 derful readiness of all sorts of People to make the offer of their  
 own Money upon any emergency of the State, during the whole Course  
 of his Administration; 'tis well enough known, even to the great-  
 est Enemies, (if Truth were a Vertue to be expected from  
 men) upon many extraordinary Occasions, he has frequently  
 drawn vast Sums of Money from the City, upon the Strength of  
 his Credit, as have since in the Memory of some of 'em, been  
 drawn upon a Parliamentary Security, when a Person of suspected  
 Integrity and Principles has been in his Station. This single Instance  
 of his undeniable Testimony both of the Opinion they justly con-  
 sidered of him, and the Credit of his Security; for as Men's Hearts  
 follow where their Money is, they wou'd never have trusted it  
 into his Hands, where they were not satisfy'd it was secure;  
 and it is certain, that it is impossible for the worst of his Enemies to  
 bring a single Instance of Fraud or Disappointment, that was purely  
 contrary to his Will, or Contrivance. Nor was it only at Home that  
 he had so glorious a Reputation; Foreigners during his whole Mini-  
 stry put their Money into our Country, with a Profusion never  
 seen at any Time before, and we are sure never have been  
 so rich. This proceeded not only from the Advantage of improving  
 their

their Stock, which naturally influences all Dealers in Money ; from the Opinion of their Security, in the Integrity of a Man, who had establish'd a Character abroad above Censure or Reproach, though he had been so infamously traduced by his ingrateful Countrymen at home ; yet is it as clear as the Sun, that had it not been for him and other great Men, in the late Ministry, who were equally Sufferers with him, there wou'd have been such Runs upon the Bank both from Foreigners, our own Merchants, and other Persons concerned at Home, upon their removal, as wou'd inevitably have ruin'd the Credit of the Nation past a possibility of retrieving it. The Nature of Man is seldom apt to forget outrageous Injuries when they are deserv'd ; they are always more prompt to Revenge, than to be merciful to 'em ; and it must be a very rare, and uncommon Vertue that prevails with 'em to sacrifice their Resentments of a private Injustice, to the publick Good ; for tho'tis no more than what all Men ought to do, yet we find but very few who are capable of doing it ; 'tis an exertion and refinement of Vertue, so much above the common level that it is very difficult to arrive at, and much more difficult to persevere in ; and if we here and there meet with a single Instance in the course of many Ages, in the *Greek and Roman Story*, they are but few ; they may indeed be justly admir'd for their rareness and singularity, but have but seldom been brought into Example for Practice ; yet with all their Merit, they bear no Proportion to that whole set of Men who have the ill Fortune to lie under a publick disgrace, they have no way deserv'd. When Men are outraged in their Honour, which is the most nice and delicate Point of the Honeft and Vertuous, by the base and ungenerous Artifice of Calumny and Detraction, and yet stifle and overcome their Passions and Resentments of it for the sake of the publick Tranquillity, nay who still continue even to outvie those Enemies who have traduc'd their Disgrace for its Service, it plainly evidences that they are Masters of a Reason and masculine Vertue that even under the oppression and the Chagrin of an ill Fortune, will eternally deserve the Admiration of all Men who have penetration enough to discern, and Sincerity to acknowledge it ; and convince the rest of the World, if they are no longer permitted to enjoy the Honours and Advantages of their Services in their former Stations, they at least deserve 'em. A Proceeding so generous, a love to their Country, not to be shaken, and a disinterestedness so much out of the ordinary Practice of Men, have long ago open'd the Eyes of all those, whose Interest it may be to shut 'em, to see both their Innocence, and the poor Injustice their Enemies have had the Power to do 'em ; yet shall they have the secret Satisfaction by seeing an Instance of so sublime and elevated a Vertue, to leave their Posterity the fair Example of a Probity, a Courage, a Fidelity, and Love to their Country, which they shall find more easy to admire than to imitate. I have the more largely insisted upon the Facts and Circumstances of the late Lord *High-Treasurer*, because I have offer'd in general Terms of him, the difference of Station and Respect, is equally applicable to every one of those extraordinary Persons who with him compos'd the late Ministry, and who

Money ; I shall take Occasion to mention with  
 Man, who Honour they deserve and that Integrity I make a Profession of ;  
 roach, the mean while shall I think I offend either Truth or Mo-  
 ntrymen, if I give this great and noble premier Minister the following  
 en for his equally Singular Character.

Man whose comprehensive and universal Genius was superior  
 the Toils and Difficulties of the most intricate and important Em-  
 plements ; who had an Understanding capable of conceiving ea-  
 the most mysterious Arcana of the State, with a Dexterity and  
 ells necessary to that Dispatch which is the Soul of Business, at-  
 and with a native Probity and Rectitude of Mind that had ever  
 'd him from the Corruptions of Fraud ; who had the rare  
 iness of maintaining both his Innocence and Honour, under  
 mptations of a Trust of all others in the Nation, most likely  
 strong Allurements of Gain, to debauch and corrupt a feeble  
 ; his Diversions were only Refreshments and Relaxations of  
 rampant and bent under the weight of constant Business, but  
 subservient, and consistent with the inseparable Fatigues  
 toils of Office ; a rare Assembly of Vertue and Reason in a  
 Man under the highest Temptations of Profit and Pleasure !  
 Manag'd the publick Treasure with a Fidelity and admirable  
 to that Economy, as render'd him the Admiration of Foreigners, and  
 under a regard of all his Countreymen, but those whose Interest it was to  
 outrage, and procure his Ruin ; who exceeded by an irreproach-  
 e Point of Singularity those who have been before him, and shall rarely, if  
 Artificer be equal'd by any who shall have the Honour to succeed him ;  
 ne their original for Imitation in a dangerous and slippery Station, in  
 Tranquillity many considerable Men have made Shipwrack of their Vertue  
 who have Honour, frugal of the Publick Money, but without Covetousness,  
 ces that never lost an Opportunity of Service to his Country, either for want  
 en under unwillingness to part with it ; a Credit never exhausted, and  
 rnal readiness to employ it to answer the Publick Exigences ; but  
 enough to the rest, at Vanities, and ever without Profusion ; who always inviola-  
 the rest, at Vanities, and ever without Profusion ; who always inviola-  
 ured to the true Interest and Honour of *Great Britain*, esta-  
 upon the Foot and Principles of the *Revolution*, in the ac-  
 thing of which he had so great and glorious a share, and  
 with an inflexible Courage and Constancy, thro' a Thou-  
 famous Calumnies and Reproaches, he to his last Moments  
 ously supported and maintain'd ; 'tis an eminent Vertue, that  
 to get the better of a Man's Passions ; but it is a Degree of  
 tion very rarely to be found amongst Men, for a Man to grow  
 of the most profitable as well as most honourable Station in  
 country, whilst he has Health enough and Vigour to enjoy it ;  
 Men have a feeble on the side of Riches, and we have but  
 n if ever heard or read of many great Men who ever said or  
 ht they had too much ; yet I may pretend confidently to ad-  
 that the sole and pure Design of serving his Country, prevail'd  
 him beyond his private Repose to continue longer by some  
 in the Execution of an Office, that it is impossible to serve  
 in without Envy, or manage without Toil ; yet the Glory of  
 g the Nation and his Sovereign in the difficult Juncture of a



tedious and expensive War prevail'd above his Resentments to ingrateful and inexorable Enemies, and the Consideration of the greatest Blessing of Life, his Health, to remain in the Slavery Business attended with perpetual Cares and Fatigues, the most dangerous Enemies both of the Mind and Body, in an Advantage when most wise Men of Antiquity and all Ages, after a Courteous and noisy and toilsom Glory, have endeavour'd to pass the remaining Life in the delicious Innocence of the Repose and Solitude of Retirement. A Love so tender for the publick Good, the sacrifice made of him'self for its Service, and a disinterestedness so great and uncommon in his own Regards, merited at least the Happiness of a quiet and peaceable Exit; and not that the Malice or Wickedness of Enemies shou'd put the end they design'd to the Life and Death of so great, so wise, so able, and faithful a Minister, whose Memory shall always be dear, and whose Loss shall be always regretted by all honest *Englishmen*, Lovers of their Country, when they reflect upon the different Management and Effects of those who have, or may succeed him.

My Lord *Somers*, late Lord President of the Council, is known and allow'd even by his Enemies, to be a Man of that profound Knowledge of our Laws, of so sound and solid a Judgment, of so great Understanding, that with an admirable Penetration, can pierce to the Depths of the most perplex'd and difficult Affairs, and with great Facility, foresee and comprehend the most distant Events, and find out the proper Applications to direct 'em to their respective Ends, as abundantly render him fit to be one of the noblest as well as most serviceable Embellishments of a Prince's Cabinet. Happy may the Nation be which abounds in the Multitude of such Counsellours. The Testimonies that a Man's Enemies give of his Vertues, as they are least to be suspected, so are they ever most glorious to him; for as such can never be suppos'd to compliment and less to flatter, we may depend upon the extraordinary Merit of the Man, whose Abilities they (whose Interest engages 'em to flatter or hate him) are compell'd to acknowledge and admire. This is a Felicity inseparable from Truth and elevated Virtue; they are the intrinsic Charms, which by a sort of irresistible Magick, engage their Esteem and Admiration; and I don't know a more convincing and testable Evidence of the Truth I have been advancing, than the universal Character of this great Man, for even Envy and Contention cannot refuse him the essential Qualities that enter into the Composition of a Minister of the first Eminence; his Enemies are forc'd to distinguish, and are compell'd to admire the Excellence, tho' they hate the Man. It was admirable to observe, in this delicate and ticklish Station he was lately in, with so much Glory to himself, and Good to his Country, with what Address he managed the different and discordant Sentiments of the wise and able Members that compos'd the Council he presid'd in; and tho' there was frequently an uncommon Unanimity amongst them, as to the publick Good, yet as most Men are apt to make a Merit to themselves of the Superiority of their own Genius, and are difficultly brought to submit to that of others, it is impossible sometimes to avoid

Diversity of Opinions ; and the Difficulty of uniting and reconciling 'em to one common End and Centre, seems to be the Work of a Prudence infinitely above the common Level. Yet so the man's Talent, so admirable a Facility and Dexterity had this Nobleman, that upon Occasions of the greatest Importance, of reducing conflicting Opinions to the harmonious Pursuit of the Publick Good, he has been but very rarely found amongst Men. To effect this most shocking the different Sentiments of others, is a Task of great Difficulty and Delicacy, that in his respect, it is hard to determine how much there is the more Honour due, the Hardiness of attempting the good Fortune of succeeding ; the Refinement of his Reason, or the Art of engaging the Will and Affections of Men, and his consummate in the Knowledge of Politicks. He who will consider how many rare and excellent Qualities are necessarily requir'd to form such a Perfection, how much Patience, what Temper of Mind, what Firmness of Courage, what Strength of Judgment, what Force of Reasoning, what Moving and Resistless Eloquence, how much good Manners, what Affability and good Nature, what Sweetness to mingle with and soften the Warmth and Force of his Reasonings inseparable from Disputes of Judgment, will easily be brought to confess, that so rare a Mixture is but seldom the happy Portion of one Man ; but will as readily acknowledge that where it is to be found, such a Man is by Nature form'd for the greatest and most difficult Enterprizes, and deserves all the Praise and Veneration that can be justly due to human Vertue, sublim'd into the noblest Perfection it can be capable of on this side the Grave. Yet these shining and beautiful Qualities were so congenial and inherent to the Character of this great Minister, in the whole Execution of the Functions of that eminent and delicate Station, even by the Confession of his Enemies, that he deservedly became the Love and Admiration of all that knew him ; and when I shall add the venerable Love to his Country, his unshaken Fidelity to his Sovereign, and his inviolable Adherence to the just and rational Principles of the *Revolution*, I will conclude his Character with what will fully justify the imperfect Sketch I have drawn of it, which is, That our late Glorious King, who, to all his other Excellencies, was perfectly sensible of the incomparable ones of the Lord Prelate, that for some Years before he dy'd (if he can ever die) he put him into his Confidence, consulted him in all the most difficult and mysterious Affairs of State, and frequently took his Advice for himself, who, himself, of all Mankind, best understood and valued all the honest, Christian Arts of Government.

Whatever Praises may be justly due to the Man, who, to the great Satisfaction, discharges the important Function of Lord High Chancellor of *Great Britain*, are with as much Reason, as Justice, due to the late Lord Chancellor *Cowper* ; his exquisite understanding the Statute and Common Laws of his Country, as well as the Rules of natural Equity, qualify'd him for the Discharge of a Function of which he acquitted himself with as high a Reputation, as for the Dispatch of Business, and the Sincerity and Justice of his

his Decrees, as any Man who ever had the Honour to fill the Place; nor can any Man, as we speak, be esteem'd a proper Guardian of the Conscience of the Prince, who is not both of a consummate Prudence, and of an incorruptible Integrity in his own Person. 'Tis but an ordinary Vertue that escapes the Poison of Envy and Malice the Great and Lofty are always expos'd to; yet I think it is difficult to point out a Man, who has acquitted himself with more Honour in his own Regard, or to the universal Contempt of the Subject. The Tedioufness of Delays, to the Ruin of many Families, which has ever been, and with too much Reason the Grievance and Reproach of that Court in former Hands, was no longer practis'd in the Administration of a Gentleman, who, as he had a perfect Knowledge of all the Delours of the most intricate and embarrassing Causes, had likewise an admirable Penetration and Quickness of Discernment to sound and unravel the Intricacies of 'em, and dispatch'd 'em with a Facility and Promptitude, according to the nicest Rules of Equity, that made him respected and esteem'd by all who detested the Chicanery and Corruptions of the Law. A great and shining Evidence both of his Sufficiency and Probity, that none of his Decrees, at least that I have ever heard of, has been revers'd, a Happiness few of his Predecessors have had the Fortune to glory in. To these natural and acquir'd Advantages the Soundness of his Principles, and firm Attachment to the established Government, on its original Constitution, have justly entitled him to the Noble Character of a consummate Lawyer, an incorruptible Chancellor, a profound Politician, and a truly steady and generous Patriot, whilst there shall be any Taint left of Freedom of good Sense, Probity, and Honour, in the *British* Nation.

He that would search for a perfect Model of an irreproachable Secretary of State, may find his Expectations answer'd with much Trouble in the Character and Abilities of the Earl of *Sunderland*, who has had the good Fortune to add all the happy Advantages of useful Learning to a Degree as may render him the Envy of the Men of Profession, to the natural Endowments and Accomplishments of the Gentleman, the Man of Quality, the Courtier, the Politician; and what is the Complement of all (tho' it be something more) the inflexible, honest Man; a perfect Master of the Graces and Beauties of the *Belles Lettres*, without the nauseous Affectation of the superficial Pretender, or Sourness of the Pedant, who, in an early Season of Life, by the Force of a surprizing Genius, has made it appear, that he is capable of managing the most arduous and delicate Affairs of a Nation in the Time of War and Confusion, with Address and Sagacity which are seldom acquir'd, but by the Drudgery of many Years Application and grey Experience; a Man who seems to have been born to Business, and the Service and Honour of his Country, and by his great Abilities, as it were, destin'd to the most eminent Trusts and Employments of it, at a Time when the Multitudes of its Enemies may make it necessary to claim the best Efforts of the Vertues of its Friends. The early Proofs he has given the World of his Address, his Application and Capa-



for Business of the weightiest Consequence, in a Period of Life when most Men of his Rank and Quality devote themselves entire to the Vanity of their Pleasures; are but as an Earnest of what may be expected from a bold and enterprizing Spirit, adorn'd in the highest Degree with all the necessary Qualifications of a truly great Man in his riper Years; and tho' at present he lies under the Glorious disgrace of his illustrious Fellow-Sufferers, he seems oblig'd even to the Malice of his Enemies, which very soon (without pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy) will make both him and them rise to a new Glory, to redress the Errors and fatal Mistchiefs their Treachery has involv'd the Nations in. Men of ordinary Capacity may do the Business of the Helm in calm and serene Weather, but he must be an able, bold, and experienc'd Pilate, that must command the Ship of State in a Storm; there is a vigorous, masculine sort of Virtue that is necessary to stem the Violence of a Hurricane, and if one but a little reflects upon the present ticklish and precarious state of Affairs, one may venture to foretel, that the Exigencies of our Country shall, in a little time, call again for the Service of this able and generous Statesman, with the rest of 'em, to redress the Disorders, the Treachery of others have occasion'd, upon a Foot of Safety and lasting Happiness, which it shall not be in the Power of its Enemies ever to disturb again to the End of Time.

Whatever the Envy or Malice of a restless and inexorable Faction may blurt out in Detraction of the Merit of the Noble Earl of *Warwick*, this is no small Part of his Glory, that they dread and tremble at the Wisdom and Courage of a Man they cannot love; and it is an infallible Sign that the Man is possess'd of eminent Vertues in an elevated Degree, whom the Enemies of his Country are under a Necessity of loving. If this Noble Lord had not been all along, and continu'd to be one of the principal Bars and Obstacles to the villainous Designs of those frantick Betrayers of their Country, they would have spar'd him the base and ungenerous Reproaches and infamous Annies with which they have labour'd to affect his Reputation, and to render him suspected and useless; but as even the greatest of his Enemies are compell'd to acknowledge a Courage in him that is not to be shaken either by the Insinuations of Flattery, or Apprehensions of Danger, a Strength of Judgment equal to the most difficult Enterprizes, never to be diverted from the Honesty of his Cause by the Menaces and Affrontery of an impotent Malice, a Mind full upon sudden Emergencies of the boldest and most rational Counsels, and a Resolution to animate 'em into a speedy and vigorous Execution; his Sentiments hardy, strong and daring, with a strong and insinuating Eloquence to enforce the Reason, or Necessity of 'em; a Fire in his Actions, mingled and temper'd with the Moderation of a consummate Experience in an advanced Age, which is not to be found in the most youthful; a Sprightliness and Vivacity of Wit, balanced with a becoming Prudence, that give Life to the most agreeable Conversations. Joyn to all this, the noble Success he had in bringing about the Glorious Change of Affairs, under

der our immortal Deliverer King *William*; his indefatigable Application of his great Qualities in the Defence and Maintenance of the true Taste he has of the invaluable Blessing of our original Freedom, which he has often expos'd his Life and Fortune to preserve, and let the Malice of his Enemies swell till they burst, they may disgorge their Poison, but it will not reach or affect him. Every Man's Vertue is liable, by hir'd, hardy Villains, to be traduced, aspers'd, malign'd, and yet he may be evidently the more honourable and meritorious for it; for if a vertuous Man's Character had no better Security, both in the Conscience of his own Innocence, and in the Opinion of Men of equal Honour and Vertue, his whole Stock of Reputation would be at the Mercy of every mercenary Rascal, who had Malice or Wickedness enough to bespatter and traduce it; yet in despite of all the leud Efforts of factious Rancour and Detraction, this Noble Peer shall carry with him (and I hope late) to his Grave, and leave to his Posterity a noble Stock of Glory, which in all Ages has been deservedly given to all true and generous Assertors of their Countries Honour and Liberty.

If my Lord *Hallifax* had the Fortune to have liv'd in an Age where a free and generous Wit, attended with a sound and temper'd Judgment, where the Scholar, the Man of Quality, with a Thousand amiable Accomplishments, that conspire to finish a finish'd Gentleman, were more in regard, than the poor and unpolish'd Suggestions of crafty and designing Knaves, he might at this time continu'd an Ornament both of the Court and Country, and might have enjoy'd the Honours and Employments his Great Majesty who was a Sovereign Judge of Merit, honour'd him with, thought he so well deserv'd; but to retain a grateful Sense and acknowledg'd of that Glorious Monarch, and to venerate a Memory that ought eternally to be dear to us, is a Crime that some, in Fashion, we are sure, will never forgive; to continue moveably firm in Principles founded upon Reason, Equity, and the Nation's Good, if a Man cannot prevail with himself to run into the Furies of High-Church Fanaticism, is to be, in the Opinion of those Reverend Casuists, a Traytor to God and his Country; to be resolute in the Defence and Support of the present Establishment, and to employ the utmost of a Man's Ability and Fortune to prevent the laudable Design of a Faction to bring in their Danish Pretender, tho' with the Certainty of introducing Popery, Slavery, Arbitrary Power, is, in the Opinion of these hot Heads, to be unthriftily to be treated with the common Offices of Humanity, good Manners, or Christian Charity; yet whilst Wit, good Humour, Learning, Integrity and Firmness of Courage are of any Estimation amongst Men, this Honourable Peer shall remain forever in the Possession of a Character compos'd of a Thousand amiable Vertues and Qualities, as to make the Delight of the Friends, and the Reproach and Terror of the despicable Enemies of his Country.

These are the Great and Honourable Peers and Patriots who this bigotted mad Man is pleas'd, in his Frenzy, to reproach with a detestable Design of overturning the Protestant Religion; and

Concert with the *Dissenters*, of contriving the Ruin of the most  
 pure and flourishing Branch of it, which is made the Establish'd  
 Church of these Nations. I have done my self the Honour to en-  
 deavour to defend 'em from an Imputation as false, as it is ground-  
 ed, and malicious. I acknowledge the Presumption of an Attempt  
 such above my Capacity, and have been only able to trace the  
 Lines, and hope to see the *Portrait* receive the finishing Strokes  
 in the Hands of an abler Master. I am not conscious to my self,  
 to have any way sinn'd against the Rules of Truth or Modesty,  
 I am sensible I have fail'd in the Performance, as unequal to the  
 Task; yet, with this Consolation, that the Failure is purely the  
 Effect of an Inability to perfect so great a Work; nor am I in the  
 least ruin'd at the Adversary's Imputation of Flattery; 'tis a Vice I  
 detest, and if they who shall think fit to charge me with it, will  
 not give me so much Credit as to believe me, when I assure 'em that I  
 do not the Honour at present, and possibly never may, to be  
 generally known to any of 'em as the Author of this, 'tis all the  
 I either expect or desire; for a Man, I suppose, may be just-  
 ly omitted from the poor Design of Flattery, who is, and may ever  
 be an absolute Stranger to the Great Men whose Defence he  
 has undertaken; yet I shall assure such, that I am much more con-  
 cern'd, lest I have been wanting to give those Noble Lords the  
 Praises that are so justly their due, than for having given them more  
 than they deserve. No Consideration shall ever prevail with me to  
 abandon the Interests of Truth, of Honour, and of injur'd Inno-  
 cence, and the Cause of my Country. I place the only Merit I can  
 pretend to, in the Sacrifice I make of a Life, long ago devoted to the  
 Service of the latter; and if I am capable, by any poor Endeavours  
 of mine, to contribute any thing to the Vindication of the one, or  
 real Advantage of the other, I shall at least have the secret Satis-  
 faction of having discharged a Duty which every honest *Englishman*  
 is oblig'd, by all the Obligations of Honour and Conscience,  
 to perform, to the best of his Power; and if any Friend of  
 the Author's, or other *High-Church-Man*, will be at the Trouble to  
 inform me of Error, I shall never be aham'd to own, or recant  
 it; if he can prevail with himself to do a Thing so contrary to  
 the constant Practice of his Faction, let him be sure that it be done  
 by the strength of Reason and good Manners that become the Cha-  
 racter of a Gentleman, or a Scholar, otherwise it will but increase  
 the contempt I have already for them; for I shall neither take their  
 Topicks of Railing and Invectives for Argument, and  
 I shall think 'em worth the Trouble of a serious Answer; but  
 when they will be pleas'd to give 'me Leave to continue in the  
 Reason and Sentiments I am at present, and which I hope further  
 will be founded upon Reason and Justice.  
 These Great Men have the Honour, and esteem it their  
 greatest Happiness, to have been born and brought up in the Com-  
 munion of the Establish'd Church; they have given the most unde-  
 niable Proofs of their inviolable Love and Attachment to it, when  
 they nobly hazarded their Lives and Fortunes in its Defence, at



a time when it was brought to the very Brink of Ruin, by the  
 efforts of a Popish and Arbitrary Power, supported by Jacobite  
 High-Church Principles, which leave to the Prince the Power  
 disposing all Things solely by the Lust of his Will, without any  
 regard to the Laws of the Nation, or the Obligation of the  
 sacred and solemn Oaths that can influence and bind the Con-  
 science of Men. What have these Noble Men done since, to form  
 the Glorious Character they had merited of the vigorous Defence  
 and Maintainers of the Liberties and Establish'd Religion of the  
 Country? Can it be thought reasonable, or even possible, that Men  
 of Parts, of Learning, of Honour and Sense, who enjoy'd the  
 greatest Places of Dignity and Profit in the State, could be prevail-  
 with to act in Contempt of 'em all, for the Ruin and Destruction  
 of that Church, the Conservation of which had been the Work  
 of their own Hands; or to endeavour the undermining and Subver-  
 sion of a Fabrick they had set up, at the Expence and Hazard of  
 Things of most Esteem with Mankind? Men of Honour and In-  
 tegrity do not easily shift their Principles, when they are establish'd  
 upon the Convictions of Reason, right Understanding, and Con-  
 science; tho' it too often happens, that Men whose private Inter-  
 est gets the better of their Concern for the publick Good, do; and  
 it is as rarely seen, that Men, eminent for their Wisdom and Pru-  
 dence, shall run the Hazard of losing the Possession of their Hon-  
 ours and Employments, the Favour of the Prince, or the Reputa-  
 tion they may have establish'd by a Thousand Great and Glorio-  
 rious Actions, may have invested 'em in, only for a ridiculous and  
 chimerical Prospect of greater Advantages in the Clouds, and where-  
 'tis next impossible they should ever rationally expect they should  
 arrive at. How can it enter into the Heart of any but a Foolish  
 Madman to conceive, that a few Men, tho' of the first Rank, and  
 in the Communion of the Establish'd Church, should enter into a Con-  
 spiracy to extirpate it, only to introduce Presbytery? Men who  
 know any thing of the Affairs of Kingdoms, are sensible how  
 hazardous and dangerous a Thing it is to make even small Inno-  
 vations in Matters of Religion, tho' visibly for the better; but  
 it is of the last Importance and Consequence to attempt a total Change  
 of the whole Form of that, which by the Legislature, has been  
 establish'd National: Nor is there any other Power under Heaven  
 can effect it, except by a superior and irresistible Force, which  
 is Usurpation, and implies no Right, otherwise than by the uni-  
 versal and universal Consent and Authority of the whole Body of  
 the Nation, which it is hardly conceivable they should ever con-  
 ceive to accomplish; for how little Regard soever particular Persons  
 have for the Practice of the indispensable Duties of Religion, it  
 is the most tender and delicate Point the collective Body of a Na-  
 tion can be touch'd in; and they are no sooner alarm'd with  
 dangerous Designs against it, which our Adversaries have known  
 but too well how to improve, but it is the Signal to Arms, and  
 they are ready to spend their Blood in the Defence of a Religion  
 which most Men's Practices are a Scandal and Reproach; nor is it

ing more common, than to see Men fight with the same Fury and  
 for Religion, which they neither understand, or practise as  
 who really do. The very Difficulty that naturally attends the  
 of such a Design, is, doubtless, sufficient to deter any rational  
 from attempting it, since as there seems not to be the least Proba-  
 succeeding, the Ruin and Destruction of the Undertakers must  
 unavoidable Consequence of their Miscarriage. Such, there-  
 are in Possession of noble Estates, Employments and Ho-  
 in some of which they may be succeeded by their Children,  
 difficultly brought to be engag'd in Enterprizes that may, if  
 carry, justly cut 'em off from their Pretensions to 'em all, and  
 consider themselves both the Objects of a Divine Vengeance, and  
 the contempt of all honest Men. 'Tis to have Time to throw away,  
 Notice of all the Fooleries and Chimera's of this enthusia-  
 the Vanity and Impossibility of the Success of his fan-  
 Subversion are sufficient to destroy the Credit of 'em; yet those  
 of a heated and corrupted Brain, manag'd with the Craft  
 and subtlety of a dangerous and malignant Wit (thro' an unhappy  
 Men have to be pleas'd and influenc'd rather with Scan-  
 and Calumny than what is Truth) have been able to make Impressions upon  
 of unthinking People, to the prejudice of these Great  
 Patriots, against all the Appearances and Evidence of  
 Equity, or Reason. I have not undertaken to follow  
 all the Mazes of his imaginary Fears; there are many so  
 and visible Falshoods advanced, as not to need Animad-  
 The Grossness and Impudence of them at first View, ap-  
 such as consider 'em without Prejudice; and others so very  
 and impertinent, as not to be worth it; yet I cannot omit  
 of one or two more, which carry the Appearance of  
 but a Foolish Consequence, but which upon the Scrutiny, will appear to be  
 Rank, as ill grounded and malicious as all the rest; and the  
 where, out of his abundant Zeal and Concern for the  
 he with a wonderful Tendernefs bemoans the hard For-  
 will Treatment the Episcopal Clergy of *Scotland* met with,  
 they apply'd themselves for Relief for what he calls their un-  
 ings, in the following Words. " And when the perfe-  
 Clergy of that Kingdom, in the Anguish of their Souls,  
 for some Comfort and Relief under their Miseries, they  
 sent back with an Answer that had more of Reproof than  
 in it, without Hope of Remedy; and the more to imbitter  
 Woes, besitting only tumultuous Rioters, or seditious Re-  
 A lamentable Case indeed, if they had not more  
 deserv'd it; and if they did not meet with some-  
 more rigorous than Reprimands, 'twas more an Effect of the  
 and Indulgence of those who were then in Power, than  
 Merit of their Behaviour to the Government. There is no  
 is but little acquainted with the Affairs of that Nation,  
 not blinded beyond the Power of Truth to open his Eyes,  
 not sufficiently convinc'd that all the Confusions and Disor-  
 since the legal Establishment of Presbytery, are entirely  
 owing

owing to the Restless Endeavours of those Episcopal Clergy. Whatever Opposition was made in the Commencement, Progress or completing the desirable Union of the Two Nations ; or Animosities and Jealousies that have perpetually turmoil'd and perplexed it ever since it was happily effected, have been solely the Result of their High-Church Principles and Doctrines. With what Face could Men who have all along acted in Contempt and Defiance of the Establish'd Government, expect to be better us'd ? Are Care of Favour and Preferments to be the Rewards of Disobedience, Sedition, of Rebellion ? If these Men believe in Truth their beloved and darling Doctrine of Passive Obedience to the Higher Power, why have they not convinc'd the World of the Sincerity of their Belief, by the Conformity of their Practice ? They banter us an Hour from the Pulpits and the Press with the Divinity of a Doctrine, to which they can never bring their own resolute Inclination to conform ; they eternally amuse and fool us with the Sighs, Tears and Prayers, as the last and indeed only Resource of primitive Christians under their Sufferings and Persecutions ; they would have us think they believe themselves what they say, firm, why don't they imitate 'em ? Yet we know, that upon Disgust they never cease to incite and animate their Fellow Subjects to Arms and Rebellion against the Legitimate Supreme Power of their Nation.

What would these Men have the World to believe of their shameful Prevarication ? Of such a manifest Difference of Opinion from their Conduct ? Either they are Traitors to the Nation for propagating such unwarrantable Doctrines, with a Design to subvert it, if they do not believe 'em ; or frontless Deceivers, Hypocrites before God, in not conforming their Behaviour, and regulating by 'em the Actions of their Lives ; if they do not know to all the World, that these very Reverend Episcopal *High-Church-Men* both pray and preach up the Interests of our King *James* in their publick Assemblies, and as often assemble to meet in their Jollity and their private Cabals drink frequent Healths, Prosperity and Restoration, upon whose Exclusion, Peace and Happiness of their Kingdom entirely depend ? Is it not sensible of a Fault is the first Step towards quitting it, but obstinate and relentless continuing in it is an infallible Sign both of a harden'd and profligate Conscience, and of a depraved and corrupted Understanding ; have these Men hitherto given the World any Marks of Sorrow or Remorse for their Crimes in disturbing the publick Tranquility of their Country ? Nay, do they not ever since give new Proofs, and administer such Occasions of Scandal in a continu'd Perverseness, which must infallibly at last end in the Ruine of their Country, or their own final Extinction ? If there be any amongst 'em of that Order of honest Principles, and more upright Intentions, which I hope and believe with, God forbid that they should equally suffer and be confounded with the Guilty ; their Condition may truly deserve Compassion and will doubtless receive the Favour and Protection of the



ent, and are entirely out of the Reach of these Reflections ; there be not, and they are all of a piece, and all equally in the same Design for their *Pretender*, in God's Name let 'em take the full Force of the Usage they have met with amongst 'em, and make the best of it. Heaven be prais'd, we live under the happy Influence of a Government and Religion, where all Men of all Conditions are equally liable to the Reach and Power of the Law ; tho' we know some that have an exceeding Itch to be out of the Reach ; and if the Justice of those Laws, however severe, had been actually executed upon some notorious Delinquents of their Order, in all probability the rest by their Example and Expenditure would have been taught better Manners, and restrain'd, for the Benefit of the Nations, within the Limits of their Duty and Inclination. There is no Sort of Men under the Sun that too much Liberty and Indulgence is so hurtful to as *Ecclesiasticks*, for as they are naturally aspiring and assuming, they are but too apt to consider themselves a Body too formidable for the Legislature to meddle with ; and are as forward to continue the Folly or Madness of the Errors they may espouse, whilst they are suffered to entertain an Opinion of themselves that they may do so with Impunity : This I am very far from understanding of the whole Body, I speak only of *High-Church*, and but of such of them, as forgetting the Nature and Duty of their holy Function, interfere with Things which of all Men upon Earth they least understand, and have less to do with ; yet these are the oppressed and injured People, who in the Opinion of this Railer, deserv'd not only the Compassion, but the Encouragement and Favour of the Government, whose Authority and Interest in the Government they have, and do still incessantly labour to over-ride the Rights of the People, eternally buz into the Ears and Hearts of their People the same old Trifles as tend directly to dispose 'em to receive and revere their beloved King *James VIII.* to the ancient Crown, and to the same Succession, as they call it, of his Forefathers, of which he has no more good Opinion so unjustly depriv'd ; they keep up the same Spirit of their Country-men in a perpetual Ferment and Agitation, to his Regard, which otherwise would long ago have been settled into the publick Tranquility, by the Blessing of a happy Union, the Advantages of which they are sensible of, tho' the End be principally theirs, and in a short Time, if not interrupted by these Incendiaries, have render'd that Nation more flourishing, and more powerful than ever it has been ; but they had a Being ; but whilst there is a Race of Men amongst 'em, who by their slavish Doctrines and Principles maintain the Rights and Interests of a vile Pretender, and divide the People into Jealousies, unnatural Feuds and Factions, it is absolutely impossible the Peace and Security of the Nation should be preserv'd by the most wholesome Laws that Wisdom can devise ; of this I think they have given the undeniable Instance not long ago, in the notorious Fact

of the late traiterous Medal ; a Design so fatal to the true Interest of their Country, is entirely owing to the pernicious Principles which these Men, with as little good Sense as Love to it, have and continue industriously to propagate, with which that Majority of the Faculty of Advocates was poison'd and corrupted. One may justly wonder, that a Society of Men of considerable Reputation for their Learning and Knowledge of their Law should be guilty of so scandalous and bare-fac'd a Violation of 'em, if it were not to be consider'd, that in all Governments there are ever to be found two Sorts of People, who are never contented with the present Establishment ; either such who out of Principle may disapprove the Original Constitution, who as they are generally few, are least to be fear'd, and may possibly be best excus'd ; or such who out of the Natural Pravity of their Inclinations, or Desire of Novelty, or the Pressures of a scanty Fortune, flatter themselves with the Prospect of improving 'em by a Revolution, they succeed ; and as these are always the most numerous, therefore the more dangerous, and most to be apprehended ; and though there is the greatest Wickedness that Men can be guilty of in Respect to the Publick in such Designs, yet such Men are to make a Merit of their Treachery, and expect the greatest Rewards of Trust, Honour and Profit, as the Reward of Actions, which they much better deserve to be hang'd ; I appeal to any Man, who is but moderately acquainted with the History of *England*, even from their own best Authors, Whether he can find me any one Nation in *Europe*, which has given so many Proofs of their Love of their ancient Liberty ; which has perform'd so many Great and Noble Actions, either to defend or retrieve it ; which has offer'd more Violence and bloody Outrages to such so many of their Kings who have attempted to enslave 'em, than they have done ? What then is become of that Noble and Generous Spirit that animated their Gallant Fore-fathers to sacrifice their Lives for the Good and Happiness of their Country ? What is become of that Wisdom and Valour that has formerly, with so much Justice, gain'd 'em the Reputation of as knowing and valiant a People as any in *Europe* ? Has a bare Prospect of Peace and Abundance been able, as it were by Anticipation, to dull the Spirits, and enervate the Valour of a brave and valiant People ; as an actual, long-continu'd Superfluity, Ease and Luxury have done before to the effeminate and slavish *Asiatics* ? Or have they chang'd their Nature with the Condition of their Country, which by the Benefit of this long-desir'd and happy Union has enable 'em in a little Time, not only to enjoy the Ease and Commodities of Life at Home, free from the Vassalage and Tyranny of their imperious Lords, but to make a Figure and carry a Reputation into distant Countries, more becoming the Character and Merit of a brave and warlike People, than they have ever been able to do in former Ages ? Nothing of all this, but a deadly lethargick Poison, has been infus'd by the Wickedness of the Episcopal High-Church Priests, which has infected and infam'd

Interest of restoring an abandon'd Popish Pretender, as much against the  
 Interest and Honour of their Country, the fundamental Laws  
 and the general Genius of the Nation, as their dear Brethren a-  
 mongst us have done for our own.

That Artifices have not been made Use of to stifle and suppress  
 the Notoriety of a Fact committed in the Face of the Sun, but  
 have been receiv'd by all honest and generous Lovers of  
 the Country with all the Marks of Contempt and Disdain ?  
 What Impudence, what Effrontery could be found but in a sort  
 of Men, whose Interest it is to keep others as blind and faithless as  
 themselves, to deny a Fact that had all the Evidence any Thing  
 of that Nature could be capable of, that we do not see ? Do  
 these Reverend Episcopal Gentlemen in *Scotland*, who deserve so  
 much Tendernefs and Compassion, or our own at Home, take us  
 for Drivellers and Id iots, thus to think to make us the Dupes of  
 their ridiculous Chimæra's, or thin-spun Politicks ? Shall I not be-  
 lieve there are such Places as *Edenburgh* or *Aberdeen* upon the  
 bare Testimony of a High-Church Priest, because I have never  
 seen or been at 'em, who may as well tell me there are no such  
 Places, as that there never was any such Medal ; or deny that he  
 has any such Design, as that of bringing in the Pretender, who  
 preaches up his Interest, prays for his Person, and drinks his Health  
 and Restoration every Day of his Life, though many of 'em have,  
 and all of 'em ought to have taken an Oath of Abjuration in the  
 most solemn Manner both of his Person and Pretentions ? Who  
 can rely on the Sincerity of a Man, whose Conscience can warp  
 to his Interest, or to whatever Side the Warmth of his Expecta-  
 tion may incline him ? It has been wonderful to observe with  
 a Face of Brass their Brethren here endeavour'd to contra-  
 dict a Fact, which our Gazettes have acknowledg'd, and whose  
 Orders her Majesty had order'd her Attorney-General to prose-  
 cute with the utmost Severity of the Laws ; yet both here and  
 in *Scotland* it has been ridicul'd by most High-Church-men, as an  
 intimation of their Enemies to render 'em odious to the Publick,  
 obnoxious to Her Majesty and the Laws. Have we not a  
 hundred Times more Reason to believe, that they had such a  
 Evidence, or rather such a Certainty of the Success of their  
 Designes they had long been forming to bring him in, that they  
 could no longer contain or dissemble their Joy ; or refuse to give  
 the deluded Country-men that early and undeniable Testimony  
 of their Hopes of a speedy Restoration, on which they had fan-  
 tastically made the Happiness of their Country to depend ? Would  
 Men, but such as were drunk with Expectation, have given  
 so giddy, tho' incontestible Evidences of their Adherence to  
 the Interest and Person of the Pretender, without any Right or  
 Reason but what in their Fumes they thought fit to bestow upon  
 themselves ? The Expectation of a Blessing they so eagerly thirsted after  
 in their Opinion have been very near the desired Success,  
 could compel Men of Parts and Learning to proceed from



dark and mysterious Councils in their private Cabals, to Actions that were publickly demonstrative of the real Fund of their Inclinations and Designs : And what Craft and Address soever has been employ'd to gloss over, extenuate, or deny a Matter of Fact as evident as the Light at Noon, *Gourdon*, and the corrupt Members of the Faculty shall never wipe off the Guilt and Infamy of their traiterous Design of enslaving their Country, as long as the House of *Gourdon*, or Faculty of Advocates, shall have a Name Being in that Kingdom.

But to shift the Scene, and follow this Madman in the Consequences of his own and his High Church Brethrens Principles here at Home, a second Thing he is much concern'd for (as dangerous to the present Constitution of the establish'd Hierarchy) was a frightful Design that some moderate Men, as highly distinguished for their eminent Learning, Piety and Wisdom, as any of the Brethren, with the pious and Illustrious Queen *Mary* of excellent and fragrant and immortal Memory at the Head of 'em, had formerly to invite the Dissenters, especially the *Presbyterians*, into the Uniformity and Conformity of the National Church under the terrible Bugbear Scheme of Comprehension. A View of the unhappy Disorders and Consequences to the State and Church by the detestable Divisions of Men professing the same common Faith, gave Birth to an Enterprize those great and excellent Men had conceived according to the best Lights of Humane Prudence, to unite and compose those Differences, that weaken'd and expos'd us to the Insults of our common Enemies ; a Design so sublimely pious and glorious in it self, that tended solely to the Honour of God and Good of the State, deserv'd all the Praise and Commendation that so elevated a Charity, so unaffected and disinterested Piety could justly challenge ; or at least merited to have escaped the Ridicule and Contempt, with which this Enthusiast was persuaded to treat it. To unite the different Sentiments and Opinions of Men into one harmonious Consent and Uniformity of Words is the Work only of a Wisdom and Power purely infinite ; Men are not forbid to employ the Talents God and Nature has blest 'em with, when the indispensable Obligations of their Duty and Stations call 'em to the Prosecution of so great and desirable a Work, by the best and most probable Means that a well-intention'd Humane Prudence can suggest ; and tho' by the Pravity of some Mens Wills and Inclinations, joyn'd to the Interest they may have to oppose, or if the Means and Powers which are employ'd to accomplish it are not proportionable to the Difficulties of the Undertaking, and thereby the Success be render'd impossible ; yet shall not those who labour in it lose the Reward that is due to their sincere and upright Intentions for the Good of Religion, and the Happiness of the Common-Wealth. If either the Malice of Men, or the Greatness of the Difficulty, have render'd it abortive and depriv'd the Nations of their Blessings of their charitable Labours ; will it not be acknowledg'd, that it were at least to be desir'd and wish'd for by all truly pious and genuine Sons of the

Actions of the Church? Would it not be a Satisfaction equal to the most  
 their delight, a good Man can frame to himself, to see our Churches a-  
 ver has been surrounded by the gentle Methods of Charity, brotherly Love  
 of Faith and good Manners with those Persons, many of whom have been  
 pt Men, brought out of 'em by the infernal Efforts of Malice, Bitterness, and  
 infamy, a sort of Persecution? Cou'd it enter into the Head or Heart of  
 ng as to a Madman to conceive, that those excellent and venerable  
 Name, who enjoy'd the Stations of the greatest Honour, Dignity  
 profit in it, wou'd court the *Dissenters* into her Bosom at the Ex-  
 e Confusion of the Ruin and Subversion of that Church? The Latitude  
 ples has been the learned and pious Compilers of the Act of Uniformity  
 dangers to the Pastors and Governours of the Church, as it is the grea-  
 was the Evidence that good and holy Men cou'd give the World of  
 distinguishing their Charity and Compassion for the Weakness of their Brethren,  
 y of this it evidently demonstrates their Opinion, that all lawful and ho-  
 y of means shou'd be allow'd to retrieve such of 'em as had not se-  
 had forsworn her out of Perverseness, or Obstinacy, but purely by  
 o the Force of a Conscience truly tender and scrupulous; and  
 e terrible as they did not insist upon a too rigorous and inflexible  
 happy themselves, exclusive of all means to reduce such kind of  
 the *Dissenters*, it cou'd never be their Intention, that their Successors  
 faith, shou'd; otherwise it wou'd have been frivolous, if not something  
 had worse, to tell the World that they had Charity and Compassion  
 , to assist their dissenting Brethren, if they had been resolutely determi-  
 pos'd to admit of no Changes in the outward Form of the establish'd  
 mely religious Worship in their Favour, or had disallow'd all the honest  
 ur of good rational means that might occasionally be offer'd to reclaim 'em,  
 Comment on the urgent Necessity requir'd.

The fence of the most pure Church in the World cannot be bet-  
 ave escap'd than in the Words of that excellent Preface to the Act  
 t was pass'd in conformity, which I shall transcribe: " It has been the Wis-  
 of the Church of *England*, ever since the first compiling of  
 of the publick Liturgy, to keep the Mean between the two Ex-  
 finite; of too much Stiffness in refusing, and too much Easiness  
 Nature has in admitting any Variation from it; for as on the one Side  
 their common Experience shows, that where a Change has been made  
 d desirable Things advisedly establish'd (no evident Necessity so requi-  
 well-intend'd) fundry Inconveniences have thereupon ensu'd, and those,  
 e Pravity many Times more and greater, than the Evils that were intend-  
 ft they be remedy'd by such a Change; so on the other Side, the  
 re employ'd particular Forms of divine Worship, and the Rites and Cere-  
 lties of monies appointed to be us'd therein, being Things in their  
 ssible; by their own Nature indifferent, and alterable, and so acknowledg'd;  
 is due to it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important Confide-  
 religion, and rations, according to the various Exigences of Times and Oc-  
 Malice, such Changes and Alterations should be made therein,  
 it abortive to those that are in Place and Authority should from Time  
 charitable Time seem necessary or expedient; let them therefore shew  
 at least the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, and those that  
 ine Sons in Authority, what Alterations they desire, and the evident

“ Necessity or Expediency of such Alterations, and no doubt  
 “ will meet with a cheerful Compliance from them. Here indeed  
 is a most plain and commendable Evidence and Profession of Tender-  
 ness and Compassion for their Dissenting Brethren, as could be  
 desir'd from a Holy Love and Charity purely Christian and positive,  
 and which shall recommend the pious Professors of 'em to all  
 succeeding Generations; there was not amongst them the miserable  
 Distinction of High and Low Church, but a perfect Harmony and  
 Unanimity of Opinions of honest and pious Men, who spoke as they  
 believ'd, and believ'd what they taught, and solely aim'd at bringing  
 all Men into that Unity and Concord of Religion establish'd in the  
 Church of *England*, which we have render'd her the Admiration,  
 as she has ever been the Glory of the Reformation: But Oh how chang'd!  
 How do now those who with as much Injustice as Presumption stile  
 themselves true Sons of the Church, imitate the Christian Example of  
 Reverend Predecessors? Where is that unaffected Piety and Modesty,  
 that so brightly shin'd and compleated the Character of so truly  
 Apostolical? Where to be found that Spirit of Meekness, of Humility,  
 of Condescension, of Compassion, of brotherly Love, and heavenly  
 Charity, that are the eternal Characteristics of the Glory of the  
 Divine Religion of Jesus Christ, the Author, Original, and most  
 perfect Exemplar of all these Christian Virtues, and which he recom-  
 mended to the Imitation and Practice of his Disciples and Followers  
 under the Denunciation of the most terrible of all Punishments? 'Tis  
 long since they have been Strangers to this once Happy Church and  
 Island, since the Devil and his subtil Enemies have in their Places  
 sown such Seeds of Discord and Distinction amongst us, as are  
 destructive of the very Essence and Ends of all Piety and true  
 Religion, and render us the Sport and well as Contempt of all our  
 Enemies at Home and Abroad, who see and triumph in the Ruine  
 of the most Excellent Church, and the diabolical Divisions, Heats  
 and Animosities of her Professors, and of the State and best-estab-  
 lish'd Government under the shadow of it in the consequent Weak-  
 ness, Confusions and Disorders introduced into it by our disas-  
 trous Misunderstandings.

What Hope of ever reducing us into a better Temper and Dispo-  
 sition of Mind, when those very Men, who by the Obligation of the  
 Nature of their Function, ought to be both our Instructors and Ex-  
 amples of Peace and Union, are the principal Authors and main-  
 tainers of all our Disorders? What Hope of that Unanimity and  
 Secrecy of Councils and Force, so necessary to the Defence of our  
 dear Country, amongst Men professing the same Faith in the com-  
 munion of the same Church, when every Man's Hand is against his  
 Brother; when every Man who is esteem'd a Low-Churchman is by  
 his Brother of the High, branded with the exasperating Character  
 of a Fanatick, a Republican, an Antimonarchist, an Atheist? What  
 Hope of ever reconciling the Dissenter into the bosom of the Church,  
 which would be so much to her Glory, and the Nation's Advantage,  
 when these violent Bigots are so far from



passing so much as even a Wish or Desire they should be so, that  
 they treat 'em with a Rigour and Inhumanity, which tend only to  
 keep 'em at a farther Distance, unknown to Barbarians? Were  
 the violent Men sincerely in the true Interest either of their Re-  
 ligion or Country, they would be easily sensible what Advantage  
 would accrue to both, by the Addition of so considerable a Strength,  
 if they were happily united; or if they were barely permitted to  
 enjoy in Peace the Privileges of their Birthright as *Englishmen*,  
 without Railing, without Reviling, without Contempt in the In-  
 course of a friendly Commerce; which, as Men professing the  
 Christian Faith, as Friends, as Relations, as Gentlemen and  
 Fellow-Subjects, they have so just a Claim to, tho' they have the  
 Misfortune to differ from us in their Sentiments concerning the  
 Forms of our Publick Worship and Discipline. Let those zealous  
 High-Church-Men convince the World, that they agree amongst  
 themselves in an universal Assent to all the Articles of their own  
 Church, to which they subscribe; or in the Validity and Authority  
 of their Canons, which with so much Violence they inforce, and  
 would obtrude upon others, before they reproach the Dissent of  
 Brethren from Things of less Moment, with the injurious  
 and terrible Imputation of Schism. If they themselves subscribe to  
 Articles, to all of which they do not give an unexceptionable As-  
 sent, which can be demonstrably prov'd that great Numbers of 'em  
 do, or pretend a Belief of Canons which they know are not ab-  
 solutely necessary and essential (at least many of 'em) to the Go-  
 vernment of the Church, only because they support their Interest;  
 with what Front can they condemn those who dissent from 'em  
 purely out of Principle of Conscience, of which God, the Searcher  
 of Hearts, is the only proper and equitable Judge? Articles and  
 Canons, the Institutions only of Men, may be the Rules of Discipline,  
 but not of Conscience; for nothing can absolutely and necessarily  
 bind that, but what is divine, and absolute and necessary to Salva-  
 tion. 'Tis most certain there is no one Precept of our divine Reli-  
 gion so often repeated and enforc'd by the Heavenly Author of it,  
 as that of Love to one another, and universal Charity to our Brethren,  
 as being the utmost Perfection and Consummation of all other Christian Vertues; if therefore  
 Men think it worth their While to satisfy the World, if they  
 firmly rely upon the Authority of Jesus Christ, and his  
 Apostles; or believe sincerely the Excellence, the Infalli-  
 bility and Purity of their Doctrine, let 'em do it by Practices as  
 conformable to 'em as human Frailty will permit. We don't expect  
 of 'em the Perfections of Angels, as inconsistent with the Con-  
 dition of Humanity; we know that they are but Men like our-  
 selves, but they will abundantly satisfy the World, if, with an Up-  
 rightness of Intentions, they exert the utmost of their Endeavours  
 to promote and continue the Peace and Unity of the Church, of  
 which they glory to be the Ministers and Pastors, by all the honest  
 and rational Means within the Reach of their natural Powers, ab-  
 stracted from the Assistance and Co-operation of a divine and super-  
 natural Grace, which they affect to have thought inseparable from

their Character, the Truth of which a quick-sighted and penetrating World is wonderfully given to suspect and question ; for the Faults and Errors of Men, proceeding from the Defects or Frailties of Nature, in some measure carry their Excuse along with them, those that take their Rise from Prejudice, Malice, Obstinacy, Perverseness of the Will, are inexcusable before God and Man. Thus, in regard to the former, I may think I have Reason to be offended with my dissenting Brother ; but I may be mistaken, I have the Institutions of Men (equally liable with my self to Mistakes) for my Rule ; and therefore at most, may be but guilty of an indiscreet or misunderstood Zeal ; but if I revile, if I hate, persecute that Brother, by the furious Impulse only of private Rest or Resentment, because he does not believe as I do, I do not only impiously contravene a Divine Authority, to which I know I am oblig'd to submit, under the Penalty of Damnation, but am a shameless Hypocrite, who believe not my self the Doctrines I preach to others, and a Reproach and Scandal to the Divine Religion I pretend to profess.

There is no good Christian, who firmly believes the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, who can have the least room to doubt that he will not assist his Church with his Spirit and Grace to the End of the World ; but it is to be understood of such as earnestly seek to deserve it by the Purity of their Doctrines, and Integrity of their Manners ; for he has no where promis'd to be favourable or assisting to the Corrupt, or the Hypocrite ; and that Church or Community of Men who set up for a greater Share of it than the rest of Brethren, are under an Obligation of proving their Title to so glorious a Pre-eminence and Distinction, by a Conduct something different from what is generally the Practice of the present Times. It is of so presumptuous an Affectation, may, by outside and false Appearances, gain with some sort of People an extraordinary Opinion of Learning, Sanctity, and I know not what sort of Orthodox Integrity, but it will be necessary to convince others of more Judgment and Penetration of the Certainty of a particular Divine Grace by Testimonies and Evidences of it something very near resembling what we call Miracles, which, if I mistake not, we have been taught have long ago ceas'd. 'Tis not the Noise and Clamour raised from their own Brains of the Dangers of the Establishment of the Church, of which they are the Ministers, will confirm the Reputation of such as aspire to that venerable Character ; Men of as good Sense and Understanding as themselves, and whose Interest it is and has always been to preserve, as much as it appear'd the Business of others to disturb the Peace and Unity of the Nation, which comprises and includes that of the Church, will be apt to enquire into the Reason and Nature of such Clamours. If they shall appear rational and well grounded, they are oblig'd to acknowledge the Vigilance and Watchfulness of those who discover'd 'em ; and those who are invested with the lawful Powers, will, without doubt, take the proper Measures to prevent or redress 'em ; but if they appear only to be the Visions and Caprices of Men, who in all Ages

penetrated by the private Interest of their  
 or the Faction, distinct and separate from that of the Publick : If they ap-  
 pailies of be only the Artifices of a Faction, to carry on Designs de-  
 h them, of the Peace and Happinefs of the Commonwealth, such  
 Obstinacy will justly forfeit and lose the estimable Character of pacifick  
 and of Religious Ministers of the Gospel, for that of the most detestable  
 Reason to the Characters of Sedition and Rebellion, and expose themselves be-  
 mistaken, to the utmost Severities of the Laws, due to such impious Pro-  
 my self of their Holy Function, and Disturbers of the Publick Peace.  
 but guilty is no Man with us, or Number of Men of that Order, how-  
 if I hate, conceited of their own Gifts and Abilities, who have any  
 private to do, or to intermeddle with the Civil Affairs of the Nation ;  
 do, I do not think that they can legally pretend to, isto see to the Execution of  
 ich I know the Rules of Discipline as the Legislative Power hath thought fit,  
 on, but for the Conservation of the Discipline of the Church, to invest 'em  
 rines I pray, of which they are only the Ministers, but in no Sense the  
 e Religions or Conservators ; and such as conform themselves to the  
 Distances of that supreme Power, will ever be esteemed and de-  
 Authorize the Character of the best Divines, the best Christians, and the  
 ouble that Subjects ; and if they thus place the Merit of their Conduct  
 the End and Behaviour in such a Conformity to the lawful Authority, they  
 ously seek will surely Merit the Regard of their Country, and entitle them-  
 rity of selves with Justice to the Favour of the Prince, who will honour  
 le or assist with the Preferments of Dignity and Profit in their Church, as  
 r Commendation Rewards as well of their Obedience and Submission to the  
 e rest of Government, as of their Learning and Piety in an upright and con-  
 title to conscientious Discharge of their Duty.  
 something But, if forgetting the Nature and Dignity of their Profession,  
 Times. they abandon themselves to the Violences and Excesses of their  
 d false Appearances, or abusing the Credit it may give 'em, they employ their  
 ry Opinion and Endeavours to scatter Illusions and Errors either of Doc-  
 orthodox or Principle into the Minds of the People, whom it is their  
 ore Judgment proper and immediate Business to preserve in the Ways of  
 ine Grace, piety and a Holy Life in respect to God, Union amongst  
 ar resemble themselves, and Peace and Obedience to the legal supreme Autho-  
 e have under which they live and are protected ; what can such Men  
 Clamours expect but the Reproach and Contempt of the Honest,  
 he Establishment, and the Religious, for so blameable a Deviation from  
 n the Reproachful End and Design of their Institution ? If they abuse the  
 en of as the Laws have entrusted 'em with, only to insult with Rail-  
 e Interest and Revilings, such as they think want Ability to oppose their  
 d the Business and Injustice, as such a Practice is always not only an Indi-  
 on, which of a poor and mean Spirit, but of an arbitrary and tyrannical  
 o enquire of Mind ; so is it an infallible Argument, that they either  
 shall appear to believe the Divine Truths which they make a Profession to  
 knowledge to others, which is shameful Hypocrisy ; or of inexcusable  
 em ; and wickedness, in daring to run counter to 'em, and living in an open  
 ut doubt, to the Face and Violation both of them and their Author, which is  
 if they appear a reasonable Presumption. We are told from an Authority, which  
 all Ages is not permitted to question, *That that Servant who knows his*

*Ma-*



*Master's Will, and does it not, shall be beaten with many Stripes.* What Punishment then do these Men think they may deserve, who not only know their Master's Will, yet do it not; but knowing the Will, do expressly contrary to it, and are eternally doing what they know they ought not to do? There is no manner of doubt, but that a just, good, and merciful God, will make Allowances for the Weaknesses inseparable from human Nature, even in the best and most religious Men; and Ignorance, Surprise, or Inadvertence may be allow'd to plead Excuse for such blameable Sallies as may be purely the Result of 'em; but as he is a God jealous of his Glory, he has assur'd us, that he will in his Anger reserve the most terrible of Punishments for such, as thro' an habitual Hardness, a stubborn Malice, or a wilful Perverseness of Mind, live in a Continual Transgression and Disobedience to the most Peremptory Precepts and Commands of his Holy Spirit. As there is something sublimely excellent in doing Good, besides the secret Sweetness and Satisfaction every honest Man receives from the Conscience of noble and generous Actions, they who are constant in the Pursuit and Practice of it, may be said in a very particular Manner to have already some sort of immediate Participation of the Divine Purity, whose Essence is Goodness it self; whilst they who take a secret Pride and Pleasure in the wicked Arts of Envy, Hatred, and Malice, besides the tormenting Remorse that is inseparable from the Practice, they evidently manifest that they are more the Servants, and in the Intest of a Being who delights in the Ruin and Destruction of Mankind, than of that which created, and eternally studys the Good and Preservation of 'em; for there is nothing more certain, than that the Christian Religion, in its whole Design, Nature, and Tendency, is most admirably adapted to all the Benefits and Commodities of human Life; 'tis not only of all the Blessings under Heaven the most valuable, but the most beneficent and advantageous to Mankind, not only the Fountain, but Refinement of all human Perfections.

There is a sort of Roughness that attends meer Nature in its best Performances, which carries a Tincture of Corruption, and the best and most commendable Actions of Life, are but the Effects of an unpolish'd and sort of savage Vertue; but there is an insinuating Sweetness in true Religion, that mingles and sooths, and corrects the natural Ruggedness of our Temperaments, and gives it a softness and Polish, which it was before a Stranger to: It purges off that Dross and Feculency that clouds and obscures the Beauty of our Creation, and establishes in their Place an amiable Lustre, which is the Effect of a Perfection purely Divine; and as when rightly understood, it banishes all Fears and Apprehensions, which are naturally the Attendants of Minds doubtful and irresolute, it is the only Fountain under Heaven, that furnishes all the purest and most solid Joys that know neither End or Allay. When a Heart is really and effectually touch'd with the powerful and precious Influence of this perfect Purity, all the Sentiments of it are equitable and regular; his Actions noble, free, and generous, and all tending to the universal Good of Mankind; his Train of Life ex-

reasonable, commodious and good-natur'd, ever accompany'd with Courtesy, Affability and good Manners; he seems, by a sort of Spiritual Refinement, to be exalted into something more than Man, approaching nearer the Perfection of Angels. 'Tis but when he is weakly, or superficially tinctur'd by the Spirit and Influence of his Divine Religion; or when he has but the Appearances of Piety, without the Power, the Affectation of only making a Figure in the World, that we see him still left in the Power and Tyranny of his Passions and Appetites; his Vertues are all either false or affected; he is no more than a plausible Hypocrite, who hunts after Glory upon a wrong Scent, and will, in the End, find himself but the Bubble of that Vanity, with which he would have abus'd upon the Credulity of others. Hence it is, that we see him, with all his Pretences to Religion, unjust, violent, and inconsistent with himself; his Actions forc'd, or constrain'd and irregular, ever centring in himself, and preferring his private Interest to the publick Good, proud, ingrateful, imperious, untractable; the ordinary Commerce of his Life turbulent, harsh and disrespectful, attended ever with Craft, Dissimulation, Envy, Hatred, Malice, Revenge, Uncharitableness, with all the other Appendages inseparable from Ill-nature and worse Manners.

This infallible Difference there is between the veritable Influence of pure and undefil'd Religion, and the hypocritical Affectation of it. The latter never fails to lead Men who act only upon Views of private Interest, into all those criminal Measures that most readily conduce to carry 'em on without any Regard to the Remonstrances of Honour or Conscience: They are seldom touch'd with that Remorse, or endeavour artfully to conceal it, which usually attends Men truly and conscientiously scrupulous, when they perpetrate Crimes of a deep Complexion with an obstinate and perverse Will, against the known Rules of their Duty, and the express Commands of God; and if they be such as act in Dependence on the Will and Assurance of others, so they gain the Points of Interest and private Advantage, never concern themselves about the Means, how unlawful soever they may be, that lead them to their End. In this they are to all degrees most passively obedient; this is the Characteristick of a poor mercenary Spirit, without any Taste of true Religion or moral Honesty; they ever do what they are commanded with the blind and implicit Submission of Slaves, and very often do it, by the Impulse of a natural Violence of Inclination; the constant Practice of all miserable Renegades, who cannot give a better Proof of their Renunciation of their Christianity, than to use the most inhuman Barbarities upon those who profess it, when they put 'em under their Hands: And thus make a Merit of Supererogation of a base and servile Complaisance, which in reality, increases their Guilt, and ought to brand 'em with the last Marks of Infamy and Contempt. Hence it is, that the Business of Parties, when a Nation is so unhappy to be divided into 'em, is ever carry'd on with the unchristian Heats and violent Animosities, as are a Scandal to all Religion and common Humanity; and as that is at present

sent our disastrous and melancholy Case, I question not but to prove that the Partizans of the *High-Church Faction*, notwithstanding that they have in their Mouths, like their old Pharisaical Brethren amongst the *Jews*, *The Temple of the Lord ! The Temple of the Lord* ; have a less Share and Proportion of Concern for true Religion, and act more contrary to the Divine Precepts and Commands of God, than their Adversaries (as they are pleas'd to call 'em) of the *Low-Church* ; tho' it were heartily to be wish'd, that there were more amongst the former sort of Men in the Nation, and shall leave it to the Judgment of every unprejudic'd and impartial Reader to determine, of the Truth of what I advance.

Amongst a Thousand other Instances, there cannot, I think, be an Evidence of greater Notoriety of the want of Charity in the former, than their continual Railings and Bitterness against the whole Body of *Dissenters*, and more particularly the *Presbyterians*, as the most numerous and powerful, so consequently, of the most dangerous Enemies of the Establish'd Church. From whence they pretend to derive an Authority by which they treat their low-Subjects and Fellow-Christians with a Barbarity unknown to any other Church, but that of *Rome* ? From God ? Certainly not, for he has peremptorily commanded all Men who profess a Religion, to have Obedience to his Truths, *to love their Neighbours as themselves*, nay, *to love even their Enemies, and such as shamefully and desperately use and persecute 'em* ; yet these People, who are thus eternally the Objects of their implacable Malice and Aversion, are Fellow-Subjects, Fellow-Christians, of the same Household of Faith, professing the same Articles of our common Religion ; yet as has been said, Fanaticks, Republicans, Enemies to Monarchy, the Establish'd Church, and Schismatics, are the kindest and softest Expressions and Epithets these fiery *High-Church-Men* can afford to bestow on 'em ; and as to the last Reproach of Schism, do not these numerous Revilers know, that every Separation from an established Church does not deserve to be branded with the heavy Guilt and Infamy of Schism ? Nay, do they not know that no Man, or Body of Men, can justly incur it, who do not professedly oppose any, and that with Hardness and Obstinacy too, some fundamental and essential Article of the establish'd Religion, and separate from her Communion out of Petulancy or Perverseness, but out of pure scruple of Conscience for what they may esteem Error or Abuse, of which they alone, I mean of their Conscience, are, after God only proper Judges ? This we are sure was the Opinion of the most reverend and Pious Fathers of the first Three Centuries of the primitive Church : Is the nature of Things chang'd ? Or are our Reformers of the present, of more Estimation for their Learning and Piety, than those venerable Professors of primitive Christianity, who most of 'em sign'd the Truth of their Belief with the Loss of their Lives ? Neither of these, but the first illustrious Martyrs and Confessors pursu'd the veritable Interests of God and pure Religion, these the Advancement of *Baal*, and the Intrigues of Faction. May not a wise, an honest, and truly religious Man, be supposed



offering and various Sentiments and Opinions in Matter purely  
 of Speculation and Indifference, without deserving to be reproach'd  
 and stigmatiz'd for a Schismatick, an Enemy to Government, the  
 or a Disturber of the Publick Peace? Was there ever any  
 such less any great Number or Society of Men, who in all  
 thought alike, without jarring or Disagreement upon any one  
 nay, even any one Article of their Belief whatsoever? Or  
 Men themselves set 'em such an Example of perfect Harmo-  
 ny in their Opinions of Religion, as is not liable to the same Re-  
 'Tis a Chimera not to be found in the Nature of Things, at  
 is impossible to have a Being but by the Almighty Power of  
 who can only dispose and command the Hearts and Minds of  
 and to whom nothing is impossible. If such an unanimous  
 Universal Assent in all Things to every Article of the Christian  
 and Manners of Worship were to be wish'd or desir'd, it  
 can never be expected whilst the Church of Christ is only militant  
 on Earth, which is a State that naturally implies Disorder,  
 and Disagreement; and is doubtless reserv'd to make up  
 and compleat the Happiness and Perfection of it, when it shall  
 be triumphant in Glory in the World to come: 'Tis then, and  
 all then, shall all Men be of one Mind, when they shall, if  
 speak, pass away Eternity in Peace and Brotherly Love and  
 ship, in everlasting Praise, Thanksgivings, Adorations, and  
 Hallelujahs. Why then if my Brother (for every Man  
 holding the same Christian Faith is such) happens to differ from  
 me, who am of the Religion of the Establish'd Church, in Things  
 as have their own Nature indifferent, and of meer Speculation, am I un-  
 der an Obligation to revile and treat him as an Enemy? God forbid.  
 comes it that he has not the same Reason and Authority, if  
 convinc'd in his Judgment and Conscience of the Truth of  
 his Opinions, to treat me after the same manner? 'Tis not a bare  
 separation from a Church made National by certain Laws, that  
 makes a Man liable to the Guilt and Reproach of Schism, but a Dis-  
 obedient and obstinate Separation from some Fundamental Truths of the  
 Christian Religion, which is above all human Laws. If,  
 in former Respect, my Brother be in an Error, he deserves my  
 reproof; I may pity, but I dare not hate him, If I pretend to  
 no manner of Authority to judge or punish him, there are  
 others in which we are both equally subject to do that Office when  
 we may require it: I may, indeed, and am oblig'd to endea-  
 vour to redress and make him sensible of that Error, by my Reason,  
 the Authority of the Holy Scriptures; but I may not revile, evil  
 or persecute him; that would be to pour the Corrosive of  
 Bitterness, where the Softness of Oil was more expedient, and to  
 irritate and rankle the Wound I should desire to heal. But if  
 my Brother, with the rest of his fiery High-Church Bre-  
 thren, who rail with so much Bitterness and Contempt against the  
 endeavours of those who labour'd to unite us by any rational  
 way of Comprehension, would lay aside their fierce and unchari-  
 table

table Heats, and seriously put their Hand to so pious and glorious Work as the Re-union of our Dissenting Brethren to the Bosom of their Mother-Church, since we are by no means forbid to use the honest Means of human Prudence in our Power to accomplish a sign of that important Goodness and Happiness to the Nation, I do so far presume to offer one to their Consideration, which, by the Blessing of God upon sincere and upright Intentions and Endeavours, cannot fail of producing extraordinary Effects, which they cannot refuse to come into, without drawing upon themselves the Reproach of Men, and the more just and terrible Vengeance of God; if the Success be not as universal as may be desir'd, it may at least be considerable, in drawing great Numbers from their Assemblies, and consequently lessening their Power, and filling our Churches, which will bring a notable Addition to our own, and this, God give it a Blessing, as it is honestly and heartily proposed and intended.

There is nothing more certain that there is no one thing that has contributed so much to exasperate and estrange Men's Minds against one another, as rugged and discourteous Usage. All Men, from the Principle of Self-love, think they deserve better, and are apt to be offended and grow angry they meet with the Severity of ill Treatment, they may think they have not merited; they look upon Violence offer'd, not only as offensive, but injurious; and the man who does the Injury, is seldom known to forgive, he is but naturally inclin'd to hate him, to whom he has once offer'd one. Too often, if not always, is the principal Fountain of all Heat and Animosities, not only amongst private, but great Bodies and Societies of Men, and whilst so unreasonable a Principle continues, there can be little or no Hopes of reconciling 'em; for unless the Motive that first gave Birth to 'em ceases, it will ever sometimes exasperate Men into all the Excesses of mutual Rage and Aversion. Nor hardly has it ever been known, that Differences, especially in Matters of Religion, have ever been amicably concluded by a Dispute. I believe that all Men think themselves in the right, and that those Reasons they produce in Defence of their Opinions; and as certain that Opposition irritates Men's Minds and Spirits into unmannerly and unjustifiable Warmths that are inseparable from Controversies of that kind; there is a sort of Jealousy and Contention of Judgment and Reason which each Party claims, and is fond of, easily to quit it in favour of the Adversary; and it is an overweening Opinion of their Parts and Capacities, that is the Principle of that Stiffness of adhering to the Illusions even of Error when it is dress'd out in appearing Plausibility; and the Truths they so eagerly contend for, are often either lost in the Heats of Contention, by the Violence of Prejudice and Passion, or sacrific'd to the poor and wretched Vanity of popular Approbation. For these Reasons, I by no means insist upon the Way of Dispute, as possibly impracticable, especially since we know of no proper Authority to determine decisively, and from whom there can lie no Appeal, for since the ceasing of Miracles by the Power of the Holy Spirit.

manifestly inspir'd and influenc'd the Holy Apostles in their  
 ps, and for a short time their Successors, we have no Autho-  
 believe that God interposes in the Controversies of any As-  
 any otherways than by the Intervention of a general Pro-  
 'Tis true, indeed, that in the Contests that may arise con-  
 any particular Form or Manner of Worship and Discipline,  
 illature of every Nation is the only supreme Judge, and has  
 uestionable Authority to determine peremptorily in such Mat-  
 ut all that it is able to do even in that Case, is to oblige  
 such a Conformity and Compliance with the Laws they make,  
 necessary to preserve the Publick Peace of the Community,  
 it being able to satisfy their Reason, or quiet and remove the  
 filling of their Conscience; for that is the Work only of a Power  
 owns no Superior: But what I would recommend to our  
 with Regard to the Dissenters, is an entire Change of  
 their Conduct in respect of Manners; which whether it be not likely,  
 ously observ'd, to produce a very different Effect from what  
 former and later Carriage has done, I leave to the judicious  
 to consider, and determine as he pleases. As I make it my  
 Happiness to have been born and educated in the Commu-  
 the Establish'd Church of *England*, and in which I hope to  
 utiful and sincerely affectionate Son, I do exhort 'em in the  
 of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whose Merits we hope all to  
 that they will seriously take into their Consideration what  
 are offer'd to 'em, purely for the Glory of God, the Honour of  
 all Heathen Church, and the Good of the Publick.

Lay aside all Railings, Revilings, and Bitterness of Invectives;  
 which are the Result of a Spirit diametrically opposite to the Ge-  
 of Christianity, whose principal Beauties and Perfections are  
 ness, Humility and Brotherly Love towards one another; and  
 Place, not only affect, but practise all the obliging and in-  
 g Arts of Courtesy, Affability and good Manners. Men  
 Minds seem inflexibly stiff to their Opinions, have been often  
 and cajoll'd out of 'em by the Sweetness of a civil and ra-  
 Conversation, which they were never to be bully'd out of  
 Rigour and Sourness of an imperious or ill natur'd one; and  
 much sooner prevail'd with to quit an Obstinacy founded  
 upon Prejudice and Tyranny of an unhappy Education, than  
 convictions of Reason, when they see the Means of Candor  
 sincerity made use of to open their Eyes to Errors, which possi-  
 y have been confirm'd and rooted in 'em, by the former Vio-  
 and Uncharitableness of such as they might have Reason to  
 their Enemies; they are apt to believe that such Men can  
 intend 'em any real Good, who treat 'em with a Bitterness  
 rit utterly incompatible with the peaceable and beneficent Pu-  
 the Christian Religion; for when once we conceive a Jeal-  
 whether founded upon Reason or Justice, it imports little of  
 pretend to do us good Offices, we are but too inclinable to  
 that it is rather out of Design of some private Interest or Ad-  
 ge to themselves, or to fool and expose us, than any sincere



Intention of doing us any real Service ; and therefore to work effectually upon the Mind of another, 'tis necessary first to establish a firm Reputation of our own Honesty and Sincerity, and when on that Point is gain'd, 'tis no difficult Thing for a prudent and experienc'd Man to bend him which way he pleases. 'Tis much more easy to lead than drive Men, and they must be either ignorant or harden'd to an Excess of Brutality, who will obstinately resist the Charms of good Nature, animated by Reason and good Sense, in the Hands of a Man who has the Address seasonably and artfully to employ 'em. Treat their Ministers, who are your Fellow-Labourers in the Vineyard, under the same Character of Servants to our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, tho' under different Denominations, with that Civility and Respect that is due to 'em from Gentlemen professing the same Divine Religion. The Advantages you are in Possession of in the National Church, under the Favour and Countenance of the Laws, give you no Authority to insult, reproach, or spitefully use those who are without 'em ; and it is ever a Sign of a mean and narrow Spirit to evil intreat our Brethren, because probably it may be in our Power to do so, especially if there be no better Motive to it than Prejudice or Passion, which, as they are the reproach of every ordinary Man's Character, are more particularly of those, who by their Distinction, are expected, and ought to be of fair Example of good Life to others : Live with 'em as Brethren who are travelling to one End, tho' by different Routes in a Commerce of Charity, and all other Christian Vertues ; and if you believe 'em in Errors, convince and redress 'em by such Means as are permitted you by the most pure and excellent Religion you profess ; otherwise you will but the further confirm 'em ; for the Truth be always to be defended, yet it is of a Nature not to be defended by a rude and unbecoming Violence ; it will only hurt the Cause, and never fails to lose the Friend. 'Tis a terrible Reflection to make, when by such a Proceeding you not only create an Enemy, but run the Hazard of losing a Soul ; for which you know you shall one Day be certainly accountable, when that Ignorance and Precipitation, or want of Christian Charity, under the mistaken Notion of Zeal, which may have been the Occasion of it, will be so far from extenuating, that they shall doubly aggravate the Crime before a just and dreadful Judge, who is not to be paid with frivolous Excuses.

Endeavour to be Patterns to 'em of the Graces and Perfections of all the Christian Vertues, and you will become their Admirers, as well as shining Lights and Examples for their Imitation ; they will not then only be more apt to enquire more narrowly into the Merits of Men, who would justly be esteem'd the Glory of their Profession, but into the Purity of that Doctrine, into the Oeconomy and Discipline of that Church they are unhappily separated from, which should furnish the World with such extraordinary and truly Apostolical Persons ; they would in the End find themselves oblig'd to enquire more strictly into the Reality of a Separation that gives so much Offence, and may be of service

Importance to the publick Good ; the Force of Error, how-  
 ever inveterate, would by Degrees begin to vanish before the  
 powerful Influence of a Truth they may have long been  
 in Ignorance of ; nor if they were once convinc'd in their  
 Conscience, is it at all probable that the Profits and Emoluments  
 of their Assemblies, which are not extraordinary, would prevail  
 upon them beyond the just Expectation of much greater they might  
 reasonably hope and pretend to, from a sincere and thorough Confor-  
 mity to the Establish'd Church. However uprightly a Man may en-  
 deavour to discharge the Duties of his Profession out of a Principle  
 of Conscience, private Interest will always have its Weight, and  
 there will ever be something of the Man, that will mingle with  
 the Character of the Divine: nor shall he fail the less to be reputed  
 a good Man, who conscientiously acquits himself well in his Station,  
 tho' he honestly pursues his Interest, whilst it prevails not with him  
 to do any thing unworthy his Character. Exceed them in Learning  
 and true Piety, and they will respect and venerate you, tho' they  
 should not come over and imitate you : Thus you shall be justify'd  
 before God and Man, and they left without Excuse. 'Tis no un-  
 happy Step you shall have made, when you have establish'd an  
 Union amongst 'em, that at least you deserve to be imitated ; and  
 after such Conviction, they shall still continue obstinate in their  
 Separation, they will seem to render themselves unworthy your  
 further Care, or to become Members of your excellent Church, yet  
 do not pity 'em, but by no means to revile or evil intreat 'em ; for  
 a true Re-union must be the Work of Time, and possibly only of a  
 Power infinite and Almighty ; yet be not wanting on your parts in  
 the Application of the proper Means, for God only, who is capa-  
 ble of searching into the most dark and secret Recesses of the Heart  
 of Man, can make 'em to be all of one Mind in his House ; yet as  
 we cannot dive into, or fathom the Bottomless Abyss of his eternal  
 Decrees, ye ought not to despair, but that in his good Time he may,  
 by a sudden Turn and Disposition of an all wise Providence, crown  
 your Endeavours with a Success which you could not foresee, and  
 you may think you have least Reason to expect it, since he has  
 chosen you to be with, and Assistant to his Church, to the End of the  
 Age ; be constant, be vigilant, and persevere.  
 Maintain a constant friendly Intercourse with 'em in all the cour-  
 teous and engaging Offices of Civil Life, and you will lay Obliga-  
 tions upon 'em to esteem and reverence you, or justly bring upon  
 themselves the Reproach of being the most ingrateful and most obsti-  
 nate Mankind : Let 'em be convinc'd that you no longer hate  
 Dissenters, and you will insensibly engage them into a more  
 agreeable Opinion of your Communion. There are engaging  
 Qualities in a sweet, affable and gentle Behaviour, which cannot be  
 resisted ; there is a secret sort of Magick in good Nature and  
 Manners, which imperceptibly finds a Way and Admittance  
 into the Heart, that both softens the Asperities and natural Rugs-  
 siness of Temper, and calms the Violence and Impetuosity of the  
 Passions ; and Truth convey'd into 'em in such Dispositions, by these  
 soft,

soft, insinuating and gentle Means, always carries an Influence and Efficacy with it, that no stubborn Prejudice, or savage Wilfulness can long withstand. The Consciences of Men are inflexible by Force and Constraint ; Torments may get the better of Nature, but Nothing can compell the Will ; Violence may indeed constrain Men into the Appearances of Compliance, but 'tis only Truth, when attended with Meekness, Humility, and a generous Affability, the highest and most amiable Vertues of pure Religion, that can as irresistibly, as insensibly, conquer and subdue the Heart. Vie with 'em in your Vigilance, your Industry, and your indefatigable Application ; let 'em not run away with the Glory of being more careful and tender of their Flocks than you are ; the World is but too much convinc'd, that Remissness or Carelessness has been the Occasion of losing more People from your Church, than the Preachings and Reasonings of the other. You need not be told how to redress the Grievance ; satisfy 'em that on your part there shall be Nothing wanting in a tender and fatherly Care of their Conscience, and they will chearfully return to you, and in good Company too. This will establish your Reputation with all Men, who have any Regard for Vertue or Religion ; you will have the secret Satisfaction of doing Good, which of all others in the World is the sweetest Entertainment to the Mind of an honest Man ; you will find the delicious Repose of your own Conscience in your Labours for the Peace and Happiness of that of others, you shall regain and conserve the perpetual Esteem and Veneration you have forfeited, in the Blessings of your own People, and the Admiration of all others ; and what is the Complement of all, you cannot fail of the Favour and Protection of the God you serve, and whose Glory you endeavour to promote, but remember too that he is a jealous God, and will not be mock'd.

In a Word, *Let your Lights so shine before Men, that they may see your good Works, and glorifie your Father which is in Heaven.* Add to all the Christian Vertues, necessary to compleat and embellish your holy Character, the fair Example of a truly pious and religious Life, as that which is most glorious to you, advantageous to Mankind, and acceptable to the God you adore ; Men are more easily led astray by the fatal Influence of a bad Example than reduced by the Power and Efficacy of the Precept ; for by the Corruption of their Nature they more easily slide into a criminal Gratification of their Senses in the Profusions of present Pleasures, which so agreeably tickle and flatter the Inclinations, whilst the Mind is with Difficulty brought to be sensible of the Dangers consequent to 'em, because they are at a distance ; let your Demeanour be such, that the World may believe that the Profession of Religion may appear rather to have been your Choice, than the Effect of Compulsion, or of the Consideration of private Interest ; for they, who are influenc'd only by the latter, very rarely if ever, come up to the Dignity and Perfection of their Character, and he that does the Duty of it, only because he is oblig'd to do it, will as rarely prevail with himself to do as much as he ought.



for if a Man's Heart be not really touch'd with the veritable Sense and Impulse of his Religion, as all his best Endeavours will be but faint and languishing, 'tis more than probable they will be but little successful, and at best may terminate but in a blameable Lukewarmness, or a plausible well-gilded Hypocrisy; but when he has a true Notion of the Importance and glorious Design of his Function and Commission, and acts upon the Noble and Generous Principle of doing Good to Mankind, every Thing that is great and commendable above the common pitch of ordinary Performances may be expected from him; the Work of God will prosper in his Hands; Nothing can resist the Power of the Spirit that animates him; there is a Cælestial Fire in his Heart, that without destroying gently melts down Error and Obstinacy into the Softnesses of Truth and Conviction; a noble Zeal that warms and animates, that engages and attracts, but never hurts or compels; such a Man's pious Labours are ever their own best Reward in this World, and are certain of a better in the next; he seeks no Dignity, tho' he deserves it, and to him the Merit of deserving is in the place of Possession, and when 'tis offer'd it comes as the Gift of God, and more the Recompence of his Virtue, than the Effect of Application, or the Interest of Friends, which he will be sure never to defecrate to the base and vile purposes of the World. Let an unaffected Disinterestedness be the Rule of all the Actions of Life, except in what relates to the Glory of God and the Good of Mankind, which is the End of all Religion, to which with a rational well-understood Zeal continue immoveably fix'd, more because you are convinc'd of the Truth and Divinity of it, than any human Custom; for 'tis but an ungodly sort of Traffick Men make, when they don't firmly believe and practise that of which they pretend to make a Profession, and as the means of carrying it on is Hypocrisy or Atheism, the Returns are Confusion, Infamy and Punishment.

Be inviolable Observers of the strict Rules of Moral Virtue and true Honour, the first is but the continual Disposition and Sincerity of doing universal Good to Mankind, and the latter but another Name for Conscience: Live in Peace and Union with one another, rather out of a Sense of Duty, and the Effect of your Belief of your Religion, than any civil Obligation, or Consideration of Policy; Love your Neighbours as your selves, not only because it is commanded, but as the indelible Evidence of a noble and generous good Nature; Avoid all unnatural Aversions and Reach of Charity, without which all other Vertues, political or Religious, are but a dead Letter, as the fatal Rock on which your own Salvation may be lost, and that of others indanger'd; and to finish all, love even your Enemies, or if that be a Perfection of so much Difficulty for Human Virtue to attain to in this State of Weakness and Frailty, we are not forbid to soften the Asperity and Rigour of a Command, which to meer Flesh and Blood seems impracticable, by resolving never to esteem or reckon any Man so; terrify no sort of Men with your Hatred for Difference in Opinions,

nions, but soften 'em with your Compassion ; retrieve 'em by the Power and Force of a masculine, but obliging Reason, or by the Effects of an engaging good Nature ; court and win 'em into your Communion, but do not fright or compell 'em ; you may possibly bend their Conscience, but you can never force it ; at best you will not in Effect make real Converts, tho' in Appearance you may Conformists ; if by the Authority of Laws, which God forbid, you should again attempt to constrain 'em, you will have only the Advantage of gaining Hypocrites, who will worship God in your Way, only as the poor *Indians* do the Devil, for Fear ; you may indeed increase your Numbers, but it will not be with Friends, and if ever Occasion offers, the Resentments of their ill Usage will infallibly create you so many dangerous and revengeful Enemies ; abandon all Thoughts of it, as you value the Glory of God, the Welfare of his Church, and the Good and Happiness of your Country, and turn your Steps only into the Paths of Peace. I am very far from presuming to give you Measures ; I pretend not to prescribe ; I only insinuate my Advice, 'tis honestly meant, reflect and practise ; God will consecrate the pious Intentions of so Christian a Design with a Success that shall render you the Blessing of your own Age, and the Wonder and Imitation of all those to come ; at least you will have the Satisfaction of having left Nothing undone on your parts, towards the accomplishing so great, so glorious and beneficent a Work, as will convince all good Men, that you will merit to be esteem'd the most worthy and venerable Professors of the most pure and excellent Church and Religion in the Universe. Consider, try, and prosper.

A Discourse of this Nature seasonably leads me to answer our wise Author's Challenge to us, what sort of Moderation 'tis that we pretend so much to ; and I tell him and all his *High-Church* Profelites, that it is solely that very Christian Vertue, that an inspir'd Apostle commands us should be known to all Men. A Golden Mean between the Fierceness and Enthusiasms of Bigotry, and the Insecurity that naturally results from too much Negligence and Indifference ; a generous Heat that warms us into a vigorous Defence of our Religion and Liberties, without calling down for Fire from Heaven to confound and destroy our Fellow-Creatures, out of a false Notion of their being our Enemies ; that softens the Fire of a mistaken and intemperate Zeal into a just and rational Concern for our Fellow-Subjects ; that animates us to a Defence of their Persons, Estates and Liberties, which by the Laws they enjoy in common with our selves, without indulging, much less becoming Advocates of their Errors ; that obliges us to observe the common Offices of Humanity and Christian Charity to such of our Brethren, as may differ from us in Opinions, and treat 'em as Gentlemen, as Friends and Relations, tho' they may not conform themselves to all the Measures of our Discipline ; 'tis besides the Obligation of a Divine Command, the Result of good Nature and good Manners, refin'd by the powerful Influence of a Divine Charity, that expressly forbids to treat Men with Cruelty, Scorn

Contempt, who mean us no Harm, or can never have it in their Power to execute, if they did ; which prevents us from framing numerical Dangers in our Brains to the Prejudice of our Church, only to have a Handle to justify our Rigour and Severity, or decree Punishments for Crimes in Men, which it is impossible they could ever have the Power to commit, tho' they had the Will ; that will always excite our utmost Vigilance and Sollicitude in Defence of our own Church and manner of Worship, without persecuting or oppressing those who cannot conform to 'em, at least if they give us visible Apprehensions of real Dangers design'd against 'em, founded upon something better than the Dreams of a madman, and a profess'd Enemy ; and even in that if I mistake not, that divine and beneficent Charity, which is the Perfection and Complement of the Religion we profess, gives us Leave by Prudence and Courage to prevent their Designs, or let loose the Justice of the Laws upon 'em for their Punishment, without kindling a Fire of Persecution to over-whelm and destroy them. I meet with no Authority in my Bible, but know not what there may be in those of the High Church Edition (and which we but too well know is the Practice of another, to which she bears a very near Relation,) to warrant the inhuman and unchristian Arguments of Fire and Faggot ; in a Word 'tis that very Moderation which we have, and they want, and their High-Church a perfect Stranger to, in Principle, or Practice ; it is this Vertue of Moderation which we are proud to say we do, and I hope ever will profess, and which we think our selves expressly oblig'd to cultivate and exert towards all Mankind, and especially to our Brethren, who agree with us in all the fundamental and essential Articles of our common Religion, tho' they may unhappily differ from us in Things of themselves indifferent and Matter of Form. 'Tis with a marvellous and surprizing Confidence he tells the World of the Toleration his High-Church had granted 'em ; for we are sure the World is pretty well satisfy'd, that the happy Settlement of the Dissenters at present, and we hope ever shall, live under the Favour of that righteous and equitable Law, is entirely owing to the Power and Numbers of those moderate Spirits of the Church. Every Body knows with what Intention that Toleration was indulg'd 'em in King *James's* Reign, only, as has been said, a Lure to inveigle 'em into the pernicious Designs of the Court, which was but precarious ; but that granted 'em by our Glorious King *William* has the Force of a fundamental and perpetual Law ; and the Design of the High-Church is to establish a Pretender educated in Popery and *French* Maxims, if this should ever be effected, which the great God forbid, the Dissenters very well know they should then have but too much Reason to bewail their Insecurity, since the High-Church of *France* has given a notable Instance in their own Memories, of their Kindness to Dissenters, and their careful Observance of fundamental Laws in their Favour, by the famous Revocation (if I may speak so) of the famous irrevocable Edict of *Nantes* ; and our Dissenters at Home are but too



sure of the same Treatment from a Prince of the same Religion and Policy : Nay, 'tis evident already, that our Author and all others of his Principles and Designs endeavour as much as lies in their Power to elude the Force, and deprive 'em of the Benefit and Protection of that Law, by their incessant Railing and contemptuous Usage of 'em ; for 'tis next to no legal Security, when Men are not permitted to enjoy what they have in Peace and Tranquility ; all the Noise and Clamours daily thunder'd out against 'em by these fiery Spirits from their Pulpits and Writings is only to render 'em odious and suspected to the Generality of the Nation, which is the first necessary Step towards repealing it ; for it is no difficult matter to prevail with the Legislature to deprive Men of the Benefit of a Law made in their Favour, if they can be once persuaded that they no longer deserve it. It could never have entred into the Heart of any but a Fool or Lunatick, or one corrupted to the last Degree, to impute to Moderation, which is a Noble and Generous Vertue, the base Effects of neglecting or abandoning the Interests and Security of our Church ; such a Practice in old honest *English* is no other than a villainous Treachery and Cowardice, neither of which I hope shall ever be found the Partage of the moderate Low-Church-Men, or have any Relation or Affinity to any Vertue that can contribute to the Character of a brave, a wise, an honest, and a valiant People in general ; how far they are from certain Embellishments of the Partisans of High-Church, I shall have Occasion hereafter to enquire, for the Morals and Philosophy of that famous Distinction are all of a Piece with their Divinity. He and his Partisans may reproach the Dissenters as much as they please with the Share they had in the late unnatural Rebellion, and Disorders of this Nation after Forty one ; after what I have already said I have no Concern to excuse or defend 'em ; but I am perfectly confident, that the Dissenters will hardly forget the very obliging and charitable Treatment they receiv'd from High-Church and their Principles in the succeeding Reign, when they had for the most part the Power in their Hands, as an infallible Earnest and Guarantee of their future good Nature and Inclinations, if ever they obtain what they are driving at, that is the ingrossing the same Power of the Nation into their Hands again.

The last Thing that I shall take notice of, that seems material to the wonderful concern of our Author for the Provisions that were so frequently urg'd and call'd for, (but were as often neglected) by the Friends, as he calls 'em, of the Nation, for the publick Security of the State and Church, against the Designs and Attempts of the *Papists* amongst us, whilst both Houses of Parliament seem'd to be in a sort of Lethargy and wanting in their Care and Vigilance for 'em, at a Time when the greater Power and Numbers of them he is pleas'd to honour with the Title of Fanaticks made it reasonable to apprehend them as the most dangerous Enemies of both ; if this Man had not been in a lamentable Manner out of his Wits, he would have been apt to think, that the Union of these very Fanaticks with the Church of *England* wou'd have added a wonder

Strength to the Barrier betwixt us and Popery, since we are sure that they think it as much their Interest, as we do ours, to use all the Means in our Power to oppose the re-establishment of Popery, which can never be done but upon the certain Extirpation of both; or wou'd he have made so violent and insolent a Reflection upon those two honourable Houses neglecting the safety of the Nation, when any real Danger was imminent, without supposing 'em compos'd of as great Madmen or Traitors as himself; but we must acknowledge that besides this great Politician's Opinion upon this Article at that Time, his Disciples have ever since exactly copy'd after the Original of so great a Master; for in all their Clamours of Danger to the Church we hear not one Syllable of any from the *Roman* Catholicks, poor, harmless, inoffensive People, and our very good Friends; but our Dissenters are such ungodly, uncharitable, and terrible Enemys, that there is no Mercy, no Quarter for the poor distress'd Church of *England* from their Hands; 'tho there is no *English* Man in his Sences who does not well know, that at this Time of Day there is Ten Thousand Times more Danger from *Rome* and *France*, in Conjunction with our Domestick Catholicks, and those more numerous ones of a neighbouring Nation, than from *Geneva*, and all the other Protestant Powers of *Europe*, even with the Assistance of our Dissenters at Home: To follow him thro' all the detours and Flourishes of a virulent and malicious Wit, with which he plausibly glosses over the most palpable Falsehoods, wou'd be both to show that I have Time to squander away upon sophistical trifles, and to give a sort of Weight and Merit to the Affect'd Subtleties of a Performance, which in effect has none. It is by no means a fair and commendable Proceeding in him to fix the Opinions of private Men of any Perswasion in their Writings, as the universal and uncontroverted Sentiments of the whole Community: We do not refuse to acknowledge with him, that many of the dissenting Authors have advanc'd to the Publick Doctrines and principles not only dangerous but destructive to a Government, establish'd after the Manner of ours; and we as heartily and strenuously oppose and detest 'em, as he or any other High-Churchman of the Kingdom; but I will be bold to affirm, and to prove too, that if amongst their Writers there are to be found many Tenets dangerous to our establish'd Constitution, there are amongst those of the High-Church (which we are heartily asham'd of, and hope they will be so too in Time) that are not only infinitely more pernicious but absolutely destructive of it; for if the Opinions of the former favour of the Republick, those of the latter tend directly to the Establishment of 'em absolute Tyranny; and of the two it will not be difficult for any People accusom'd to Liberty which to choose; and I challenge him or any Man of his Faction to produce one single instance of any Community in *Europe* of any Figure or Consideration, nay or in the whole World, that is purely democratical; for that is the terrible bugbear Notion with which he and his Disciples pretend to frighten us into a Belief of, as often as they talk of a Common-Wealth; as if the Dissenters design'd to change the

whole ancient Form of our Government from what it ever has been, and reduce it into the sole Hands and Power of the People: Our Government is originally compos'd as all the other great and notable ones in *Europe*, of the Three simple Species, the Regal, the Aristocratical, and Democrattick; or to speak *English* for the better Information of those that do not understand hard Words, of King, Lords, and Commons, whose respective Proportions of Prerogative, Power, and Liberties, frame the Constitution of the noblest and best modell'd Government under the Sun; and in this Sense it is already what we may without Offence to any, but one sort of Men amongst us, affirm it to be a Common-Wealth, and hope it shall continue so to the End of the World, in spite both of its Democrattical Enemies, if there be any such, which is to be doubted, or High-Church ones, the only Abettors of absolute and arbitrary Monarchy, of which we are very certain there are but too great Numbers. But supposing that the whole Form of the present Government were entirely to be chang'd; there is no Man who loves his Country and the Liberty he was born in, wou'd not be satisfy'd rather to see it chang'd into any model of Government than that of an absolute arbitrary Tyranny (for all such Monarchs are Tyrants) where all Things should be govern'd only by the Arbitrament and single Will of the Prince; for no other Species of Government can possibly subsist with our Laws, which are all calculated for legal and limited Monarchy; and those Laws are equally and naturally the Security of Mens Lives, Estates and Liberties, in which the good of the Publick consists; whereas, when the sole Will of the Prince is the only rule of his Actions, a People may eternally be expos'd to the Caprices and Excesses of the Fool, the Wicked, and the Madman: as often as such a one shall happen to be upon the Throne; much good may it do High-Church with their Idol, absolute Monarchy: for as we are humbly contented and dispos'd to prefer any Condition of Life to that of Slavery, which I shall prove in its proper Place to be the undeniable Consequence of their Principles and Doctrines, in the mean while 'tis in this one Thing only that we can agree with their Friend the Author, that the Church of *England* is indeed in the extreamest Danger, but that it is infinitely more so from *Papists*, *Jacobites*, and *High-Churchmen*, than from the *Dissenters*.

'Tis true that the *Roman* Catholicks of this Nation are too inconsiderable a body of Men to apprehend from 'em any eminent or remarkable Danger to the State, or consequently to the Church, for whilst the one is safe, the other will always be so; where by the Church I wou'd be understood to mean the pure Protestant Religion, as by the Piety and Wisdom of the Reformers and the Legislature is made national, and as such establish'd by our Laws; nor were it at all be wonder'd at, that a People born and bred up in the Principles and Communion of the Church of *Rome*, shou'd not only desire, but imploy their utmost Efforts to restore and continue the Government of these Kingdoms in the Hands of a Prince of their own Perswasion; as the only infallible Way to re-establish a Religion, of the Truth and Antiquity of which they seem to be thoroughly perswaded,



rsuaded, and from which they look upon us as Dissenters; as  
 gotry and Superstition are the inseparable Attendants on that  
 ligion; 'tis no new or surprizing Thing to see its Professors sacri-  
 e their Lives and Fortunes for the Advancement and Propagation  
 it; and if the *Roman* Catholicks in *England* shou'd be so far in-  
 uated as to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in so dangerous and  
 nicious an Attempt, as the Re-establishment of their belov'd Mo-  
 er-Church, 'tho it were not much to be wonder'd at, they can-  
 t but be sensible that they shall undoubtedly in the End pay the  
 nalty of their Folly and Madnes; since 'tis absolutely impossible  
 on their own Fund and Numbers, and from what is past they  
 y believe, nor upon that of others, to depend upon a Success,  
 ich never can happen but upon the entire Extirpation of the na-  
 al Religion. and the establish'd Government; nor even in such  
 Attempt, however unlikely to succeed, wou'd they be wholly  
 without some Appearance of Excuse from the very Principles  
 Necessity of their Perswasion, which makes all Attempts for  
 Honour and Interests of the Church of *Rome* in the highest De-  
 e meritorious. But it is beyond Wonder surprizing, to see  
 glish Men who have the Happiness to have been born and nou-  
 d under the happy Influence of a more pure and free Religion,  
 t exercises no spiritual Tyranny over the Consciences of Men,  
 e exacts any blind Obedience under pain of Damnation to the  
 mmands of designing knavish Priests, or implicit Faith, the Slavery  
 Fools, to give into all the shameless Illusions of Men, who are  
 in introducing the Doctrines of the most impure and corrupt  
 urch in the Universe: To see *English* Gentlemen, whose Birth-  
 t is Liberty, who to the Advantages of Birth and Religion en-  
 the Blessing of noble and eminent Estates and Fortunes, pur-  
 s'd by the Blood and Sweat of their generous Ancestors, re-  
 wn'd for their Wisdom, Piety and Courage, in throwing off the  
 ranny of *Rome*, insupportable to a wise and valiant Nation, be-  
 ed with Notions that in all their Tendency point directly to the  
 in and Destruction of the Peace, the Honour and Welfare of  
 ir Country, Religion and Liberties: This is, I say indeed, of all  
 atuations the most unaccountable, and leaves 'em of all Men  
 most inexcusable, and least worthy the Blessing they enjoy.

Yet is there something behind much more wonderful, to see  
 n who are separated from the rest, and devoted to the more  
 mediate Offices of their Holy Religion, thro' whose Hands are  
 nister'd to us the most solemn and sacred Misteries of Christianity,  
 ose Learning ought to furnish their Understanding with distinct  
 l evident Ideas of the Divine Truths they profess, as far at least  
 human Reason is capable of; whose Piety ought to be of eternal  
 ample to lead us into the Paths of Peace, and Union, and Cha-  
 y; whose Vigilance and Penetration ought incessantly to be im-  
 y'd in the Discovery of Errors, as their Courage and Integrity to  
 oughn and expose 'em; for such Men so shamefully to forget their  
 aracter, the Importance of their Charge and Function, and all  
 re both of their Faith and Country, to erect their Hay and Stub-  
 ble,

ble, Delusions of their own perverted Hearts upon the Foundation of the most pure Religion, and foist such Doctrines upon the Church as genuine, which are not only a Disgrace to Nature, Reason, or common Sense, but tarnishes whatever there is of real Lustre in her; for these to be the principal if not only Disturbers of the publick Peace, which of all Mankind they are under the greatest Obligations to cultivate and preserve, to divide and ruffle the Union and harmonious Concord of a Church they ought to dye to support and maintain; to break thro' all the Rules of common Humanity and the more sacred Obligations of Christian Charity, and tear and devour one another even of the same Communion, if they happen to differ in their Sentiments with a Rage and Fury more becoming Bacchanals than Professors of the Christian Faith; this I say presents to our Eyes a woful Scene of something our Language wants Words to express; yet the Nations are but too apparently convinc'd, that all the Confusions and Disorders that turmoil 'em, all the unhappy Distinctions and Divisions that set Brother against Brother, the Son against the Father, and the Wife against the Husband, forgetting the sacred Obligations of Nature, Friendship and Relation, derive their Source from this corrupted Fountain of the High-Church Priesthood, either through the Ignorance of some who are but supple Tools of craftier designing Knaves, or wickeder Perverseness and Corruption of others, who, acting against the Lights of Sense and Reason, prostitute both their Judgment and Conscience to the base and servile Drudgery of a Faction, conspiring the Ruin both of their Country and Religion; these are the Men who mutually hate the *Dissenter*, and court the *Papist*; a Resemblance of Nearness of Principles and Doctrines easily form an Union and Agreement of Minds and Practice to carry on great and dangerous Designs; and it is little to be doubted that where there is such a Sympathy and Parity of Morals, there will be no great Difficulty to reconcile and unite Men in the Profession of the same Religion; as it is Nonsense to believe that the *Papists* can ever have any Complaisance for us or our Church, it is natural enough to conclude that these Men will not find much Trouble or Difficulty to prepare with themselves in a favourable Juncture to return into the Bosom of that, which they are taking so much Pains to re-establish, from which by their present Conduct one cannot but believe they think they have unjustly separated.

God forbid that I shou'd lay this heavy Imputation upon the whole Body of the Clergy, even of those who make it their Pride and Glory to be distinguish'd by their Zeal and Attachment to High Church; there are I doubt not even of those great Numbers of Men of Piety and Learning, as well as Probity and Love for the Country; but there are among the Herd both the ignorant and the corrupt: 'Tis certain that the wisest and best of Men may be led into Errors and false Ideas of Things, by the violent Impulse of an imperious and mistaken Zeal, or suffer themselves to be impos'd on by the Craft and superiour Subtlety of Men in Power, of whose Integrity and upright Intentions for the Publick they may have con-

w'd a very good Opinion; yet whether such Men owe their De-  
 fect to a Default of Judgment, or a too easy and overweening  
 credulity, the ill Consequences to their Country are still the same,  
 with this Difference in Respect to each, that if a willful Perver-  
 se be infinitely the most blameable, Ignorance is always inexcusable  
 in a Clergyman, who undertakes the difficult Task of instructing  
 others; on the other hand we are convinc'd past a Possibility of Doubt,  
 that amongst the more moderate or Low-Churchmen there are far  
 greater Numbers, I mean in Proportion, whose Vertue, Piety, and  
 Courage are inflexible to all the Charms of Temptations that usually  
 corrupt Men by the Sweetness and Advantages of their Allurements,  
 to the Menaces, the Disgrace, or Discouragements they lye under  
 in the present Power of their Enemies; Men who are truly touch'd  
 with a just but delicate Sense of their Religion, and of an invincible  
 firmness and Constancy in their Love to their Country, whose In-  
 tegrity and good Sense will never permit 'em to broach or divulge  
 opinions to the Prejudice or Dishonour of the one, or engage  
 themselves in the villanous Designs, for Interest or Preferment, of  
 betraying or enslaving the other. There is not a Man alive who  
 has a more real Esteem and even Veneration for an honest, virtuous,  
 religious and a learned Clergyman, who understands the Merit of  
 his Character, and who exerts himself with Courage and Integrity  
 to perform the Important Duties of it, in as perfect a Manner as the  
 frailties of human Nature will permit, (for they are all but Men)  
 as I have: But I cannot have so much Complaisance for an Igno-  
 rant, a Coward, a Libertine, or a Betrayer of his Country, as to  
 continue that Esteem or Veneration for the bare Sake of his Coat  
 of Order, to which he is a Scandal; for I shall always believe and  
 declare such a one to be a Knave or a Traytor, and of each sort of  
 Mankind the most worthless and contemptible, whether he be  
 of the High or Low-Church; I wish with all my Heart I could say  
 the same of such as meet with as much Difficulty in making good my Charge against  
 the former, as I shall ease in defending the Cause of the latter,  
 which I shall leave to the Judgment and Determination of all such  
 as shall read and weigh my Reasons in the Pursuit of this Discourse;  
 the Doctrines and the Principles of the one unavoidably tending in  
 their natural Consequences to the Corruption of the Purity of the  
 establish'd Religion, and utter Subversion of the present establish'd  
 Government; those of the other exactly conformable to the genuine  
 Spirit and Sense of the holy Scriptures, and equally calculated and  
 adapted to preserve our original Constitution, both as to the Prero-  
 gative of the Prince and the Liberty of the Subject, confirm'd to us  
 upon the Foot and Principles of the late happy and glorious *Revolu-  
 tion*; God grant that our Enemies may not lay us under the fatal  
 necessity of bringing about another, which it is more than proba-  
 ble will never be effected, but upon the entire Ruin and Extirpation  
 of one of the contending Parties; and since there are those amongst  
 us, as with so base an Ingratitude relish the Blessing of that which  
 was evidently the miraculous Work of a divine Providence, ever  
 watchful for the good of these Nations, 'tis not improbable but  
 that



that the same Providence may for that black Sin deliver us over to suffer the Punishment of our Infatuation, in the Confusions and Bloodshed that may necessarily attend the Accomplishment of another.

But because the Words *Revolution*, and *Principles of the Revolution*, are in every one's Mouth of each Party, and yet great Numbers of both may be ignorant of the Meaning and Import of 'em (this Piece being principally design'd for the Information of such, whose want of Learning and Knowledge of the true Interest of their Country, or whose Vocation may either hinder, or render unapt for Inquiries of this Nature, of how great Importance soever to 'em at this Juncture) I shall with much Plainness and Sincerity lay before their Eyes both the Nature and Means of the late notable and glorious Revolution, and the rational Principles on which it was grounded and brought to Conclusion, to the inestimable Benefit of these Nations. In order to which, I think it first necessary to premise, and lay down the State and Condition they were reduc'd to, and which made it of the last Necessity to take the Measures they did, to secure their present Happiness, and to transmit it to their latest Posterity : In which Design I shall endeavour to be brief, distinct and clear, both because much need not be said on the Subject to the present Generation, many Thousands being still alive who were Actors or Witnesses of it ; and because there is no Doubt to be made but that Care will be taken to recommend it in its proper Colours to all succeeding Ones, as well for their Wonder, as Imitation : And as I am not writing the Life or History of King *James II.* I shall only briefly recapitulate the Heads of those Reasons, founded upon undeniable Matters of Fact, that prevail'd with 'em not only to banish, but for ever to exclude him, and his reputed Children, from all Pretensions to the Crown. It were the Business of an Historian to relate by what Principles, and by whose Management the good People of these Nations were in the Time of *Charles II.* already dispos'd to receive the Impressions necessary to carry on the Design of his Brother *James*, Duke of *York*. We very well know that the fawning Sycophant High-Church Priests advanced their infamous Doctrines of unlimited Passive Obedience, and that of the Divine Right of Kings unaccountable for their Actions to any Power upon Earth, so necessary to inflame a free and noble People : They had in that Reign all the Credit at Court, which ever the Soil where such Vermin thrive best, and all the most eminent Dignities in the Church, which they fail'd not incessantly to employ to the Dishonour and Ruin of the Nation. The ignominious Treaty with *France*, for the Subversion of the Protestant Religion and Liberties of *Europe*, and more immediately one of the principal Supports of 'em, the *Dutch*, shall remain an eternal Monument of the Disgrace and Infamy of the Tory Ministry, who contrived and effected it ; neither shall it ever be forgotten, to what sort of Men and Profession the Miscarriage of the Bill of Exclusion was entirely owing, which in all Probability, by the Blessing of God, would have prevented the Dangers that were ready to overwhelm

overwhelm both State and Church, under the Administration of a  
 vice against whom it was intended. So eternally true it is, that  
 close Engagements and Alliances with *France*, our professed  
 ally, and Administration of High-Church Ministries, of different  
 principles from those of our Original Constitution, must be ever  
 honourable and pernicious to the true Interest and Happiness of  
 the Nations. But King *Charles*, whose Wit and excellent Parts  
 enabled him to understand, and who, I may say, perfectly under-  
 stood every thing but his own and the Kingdoms true Interest,  
 which can no longer subsist than they are inseparable, had too fresh in  
 Memory the Miseries he had suffer'd in a long Banishment of  
 Years, was not willing to run the Hazard of being forc'd  
 to wander, and suffer the like in another. The Ease and  
 pleasures of a Crown, and the Charms of a voluptuous Life, pre-  
 vented above the Consideration of the Designs of his Brother and  
 Tory Faction, who were furiously carrying on the laudable Pro-  
 cess of absolute and arbitrary Power. This made 'em think that this  
 unnatural'd Prince, who could not be wrought upon to fall in  
 with all the Violence of their Measures, was too long liv'd; they  
 wanted all the Reason in the World to hope for better Success under  
 the head-strong Bigotry of a Prince, who had neither his good  
 sense or good Nature, and who was himself infatuated, and  
 taught the People so too, with the slavish High-Church Doctrines  
 of Divine Right and Passive-Obedience, as the most opposite and  
 terrible Dispositions towards the introducing the Despotick Power  
 which much affected, to bring Three happy and free Protestant Na-  
 tions under the Bondage of Popery and Slavery. What execrable  
 means were made use of to shorten a Royal Life, that stood in the  
 way of so fatal a Design, are as well known to the World, as that  
 the Nation's Safety, during his Reign, was entirely owing to the  
 brave and generous Vertue and Courage of the Whigs, who as  
 boldly, as oppos'd him and his Tories, whilst he was yet  
 Duke of *York*.

But no sooner he became in Possession of the Crown, but the  
 Duke was thrown off, and he, who but a little before it was made  
 known by his Tory Friends to say he was a Papist, very gratefully  
 took from the Lye, and openly profess'd himself one; and as such, being  
 directed to act under the Influence and by the Direction of the Church  
 Court of *Rome*, began as openly to put in Practice the Measures  
 which had been concerted to introduce Popery and Slavery, against  
 the fundamental Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom. As he was of  
 an advanced Age, Father *Petre*, at the Head of our singular good  
 friends the Jesuits, and their very near and dear Relations the Ja-  
 cobites and High-Church-Men, hurry'd him on to those violent  
 measures that prov'd his Destruction; for tho' a speedy and vigorous  
 execution be the Life of any great Design, Precipitation always  
 makes it abortive; yet they too well understood the im-  
 portance of so favourable a Conjunction, which they had so long  
 waited for, and relying upon the Dispositions they thought the  
 people under, by the Doctrines of their mercenary Tools of the  
 High-

High-Church Priesthood, they were resolv'd to hazard all things rather than lose it. This engag'd 'em to put this violent bigotted Prince, in the first Steps of his Reign, upon Measures that entirely lost him what remain'd of the Affections and Regards of his Subjects, who had any real Concern either for their Country or Religion; for a Prince who voluntarily prostitutes his Royal Word and Honour, which ought ever to be sacred and inviolable, will find it impossible to preserve that Respect and Fidelity that a free People willingly pay to such as keep up the Reputation of 'em: These were absolutely forfeited in a barefac'd and open Violation of his Coronation-Oath, which, indeed, as a Papist, it was impossible he should maintain; in the first Clause of which he swears to keep the Church of God, the Clergy and People in Peace and Concord in God, which cannot rationally be understood of any other Church or Clergy but those made National by a legal Authority; tho' we are no Strangers to the shameless Arts of Equivocation and mental Reservation of his own Communion, by which they pretend to elude the Force of the most solemn Oaths and Obligations of Honour and Religion when it is for the Service and Interest of Mother-Church; by the same Reason, I mean as he was a Papist, he was as much incapacitated to maintain the Rights and Prerogatives of the Imperial Crown, as they are asserted in the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, in both which all Papal Power is absolutely disown'd and rejected. Pursuant to this Beginning, he daily gave most evident Proofs of his Design of overturning the establish'd Laws, Religion and Liberties, and in their Place to substitute Popery and Arbitrary Power; this demonstrably appear'd,

*First*, By raising Money contrary to Law, that is without an Act of Parliament, in the Instance of levying the Customs and Excise which had been granted to his Brother during his Life, but expired with it; by maintaining a Standing Army in time of Peace, expressly against the Laws of the Land; by Officering that Army with Papists, Subjects of a Foreign Power, in Opposition to the Laws, and the Addresses of his Parliament, to whom he made answer *November* the 9th, 1685, that tho' those Officers were not qualified according to the late Tests for their Employments, yet he would neither expose them to Disgrace, nor himself to the Want of 'em; by his assuming a Power of dispensing with all Statutes for the Security of the Protestant Religion; by destroying in *Ireland* Acts of Settlement and Explanation, placing Popish Judges upon the Benches there, and raising a formidable Army wholly of Papists, for the utter Ruin and Destruction of his Protestant Subjects by erecting in *England* a High Commission-Court for Ecclesiastical Affairs, to proceed with a *non obstante*, that is, not only without but against Law, by which the Bishop of *London* was suspended, the President and Fellows of *Magdalen* College dispossessed of their Freeholds, without any legal Process, because they would not, contrary to their Oath, choose an unqualify'd President, tho' it is expressly provided in *Magna Charta*, that no Man should lose Life, Limb, or Goods, but by the Law of the Land; by imprisoning



of our Bishops, because they petition'd him to observe the  
 he had taken to maintain the Laws of the Kingdom; by set-  
 up Publick Popish Mass-Houses, Schools and Monasteries,  
 ing out four Provincial Bishops to visit *England*, admitting Fa-  
 Petre, a Jesuit, and other Papists, into his Privy-Council,  
 ing an Ambassador to *Rome*, and receiving a Nuncio from the  
 e, putting Papists into the Commission of the Peace all over the  
 d, and commissioning Popish Judges to sit upon the Bench;  
 gnifying in his second Declaration for Liberty of Conscience,  
 d April 7. 1688. that none ought to be employ'd under him,  
 such as would contribute to choose such Members of Parliament  
 ay do their part to finish what he had begun; by declaring  
 self in *Scotland* invested with absolute Power, and that his Sub-  
 ought to obey him without any Reserve, tho' he had never  
 crown'd, nor consequently taken the Coronation Oath there,  
 could be ignorant how many of his Predecessors in that an-  
 Kingdom had lost their Lives by the Hands of their Subjects,  
 endeavouring to assume such Power; and lastly, by attempting  
 ter the Succession, by imposing a Suppositious Heir upon these  
 doms, in Prejudice and Disinheritance of the Princess of *Orange*,  
 Daughter, the true apparent Heir to the Crown. This is a brief  
 apitulation of the principal Heads of that bigotted Prince's short  
 inauspicious Reign, and which justly put the Nation, reduc'd to  
 every brink of the Precipice, to enter into such Measures, and  
 proper Means that God, the Laws, and Nature had left in their  
 ds, to preserve themselves, their Religion and Liberties, from  
 imminent Destruction that was preparing to overwhelm 'em all.  
 his noble and vigorous Resolution of asserting their indubitable  
 ts in spite of all the Opposition and Endeavours of High-  
 arch, by the general Consent and Approbation of the Kingdom,  
 he End terminated in the Dethroning and Expulsion of King  
 es II. and was afterwards confirmed (and we hope forever)  
 an Act of Parliament, declaring, *That the said King, by endeavour-*  
*to subvert the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties*  
*these Kingdoms, did abdicate and forfeit the Government, by*  
*the Throne became vacant; and that being so, and no legal*  
*appearing that the pretended Prince of Wales had any Right*  
*unto, but strong Presumptions to the contrary, it was Lawfully*  
*by the late King WILLIAM of Glorious Memory, and his*  
*al Consort, and the Succession, in case of Failure of Issue by Her,*  
*Her present Majesty, and in Her Default of Issue, upon the Il-*  
*rious House of HANOVER, being Protestants, which claims*  
*Title of Descent from the Lady Elizabeth, Daughter of our*  
*James I. not to mention an ancient one from Maud, the Daugh-*  
*of Henry II. And further, That all and every Person or Persons,*  
*is, are, or shall be reconcil'd to, or hold Communion with the*  
*rch of Rome, or shall profess the Popish Religion, or shall marry a*  
*pist, shall be excluded, and be forever incapable to inherit, possess,*  
*enjoy the Crown and Government of England and Ireland, and*  
*Dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to*  
*have*

have, use, or exercise any regal Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such Case and Cases, the People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby absolved of their Allegiance; and the said Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoy'd by such Person or Persons, be Protestants, as should have inherited and enjoy'd the same, in case the said Person or Persons so reconcil'd, holding Communion, or professing or marrying, as aforesaid, were naturally dead. This solemn Act of the People, and the natural inherent Power they exerted in the late Glorious Revolution, which has made such a Noise in the World, is further acknowledg'd and declar'd in the Bill of Rights to be the ancient and undoubted Right of the People of England, by the Violation of which King James abdicated, and was dethron'd, as his Predecessors Edward II. and Richard II. for the same tyrannical Measures, were serv'd beforehand, and for which the Crown was settled, as aforesaid, in the Name of all the People of England, in Execution of their natural and inherent Power for as *Magna Charta* is not the Original of our English Liberties but only a Recognition and Declaration of those they were in a questionable Possession of, by immemorial Prescription deriv'd down to 'em from their Saxon Ancestors; so neither is this Bill of Rights any more than a fresh Recapitulation and further Confirmation of the indisputable Rights and Privileges of the People from the Time of the Great Charter to the present, and we hope shall ever continue to 'em thro' all future Ages.

To show how a free People, upon extraordinary Cases (as in the Instance before us of the Mis-administration of King James II. which gave Birth to this notable Revolution) may exert their natural and rational Powers for their own Security and Happiness as well as that of their Posterity, without incurring the Reproach and Guilt of Sedition and Rebellion, even against their legitimate Prince descending from the Ends of his Institution) is my present purpose; in order to which I think it necessary to premise something of the Nature and Original of civil Power and Government in general, and then descend to apply it to the Particulars of our Circumstances and the Constitution of our own, which I shall endeavour to do with what Brevity is possible, without being obscure. I shall not pretend to rake into the Ashes of *Heylin*, *Filmer*, and others, their Disciples, the Ignorance, the Nonsense, the Absurdities, and inextricable Difficulties and Contradictions of the *Patriarcha*, then recommended in a plausible and popular Stile and Dress to amuse and impose on such as are capable of searching no further than the Superficies of Things, have been so irrefragably answer'd and refuted by two great and honest Lovers of their Country, one of which, if I may speak so, had the glorious Misfortune to lose his Head by the Injustice and Violence of a Tyrannical Reign, I mean the two incomparable Persons, Colonel *Algernon Sidney*, and Mr. *Lock*, that it is long ago since the Enthusiasms of their mercenary Brains have been hooted out of the Commerce of all sensible and judicious Englishmen, who understand and love their Freedom.

their Freedom ; it were a Folly to throw away a Man's Time to  
 pursue him thro' all his ridiculous Chimera's, and a much greater  
 Presumption to offer at any further Confutation of 'em after the  
 performances of those two great and eminent Politicians and Phi-  
 losophers ; and were it not that many of his Disciples of the pre-  
 sent Times embrace and renew his exploded Opinions with the  
 same laudable Intentions of enslaving their Country, his Memory  
 and Infamy might have lain undisturb'd in his Grave, 'till the Day  
 when all such mercenary Traitors shall receive the Reward of  
 their Treachery to their Country ; but the Revivers of his Do-  
 ctrines, Opinions and Designs, may possibly sometimes lay me un-  
 der the Necessity to mention 'em, more to expose 'em to the Con-  
 tempt and Disdain they merit, than for any Weight they carry  
 with 'em ; for a Man, who solemnly and gravely tells us (amongst  
 innumerable other Ravings) that we are only to regard the Power  
 of the Prince, no matter how he comes by it, whether by Con-  
 quest, Usurpation, or Murder, and that we are to respect him as  
 the Lord's Anointed, pay him an unconditional blind Obedience,  
 and as such esteem him to be the Father of his People, deserves  
 rather Pity and Compassion than a serious Answer, and will  
 make a better Figure in the Colledge of *Bethlehem*, than the Li-  
 brary of a judicious, learned, and honest *Englishman*. This in-  
 famous Book, the whole Design of which was only to debauch  
 the Minds of a Free People, and banter 'em out of a Sense of their  
 Liberty, and lead 'em in the End into a blind implicit Obedience  
 to an absolute and Arbitrary Power, was cry'd up when it  
 first appear'd in the World, and extoll'd to the Heavens by all those  
 who profess'd his Principles and Designs, as a Master-piece of Politicks, and  
 answerable ; tho' the Labours of those two excellent Persons I  
 have mention'd have sufficiently convinc'd the World of so ill-  
 founded and ridiculous an Opinion ; and tho' No body hitherto,  
 at least that I have seen, has attempted to answer 'em in Defence  
 of *Filmer*, and I will boldly affirm, never shall be able to do  
 so with that invincible Force of Reason with which they have con-  
 founded his Whimsies, (for they don't deserve the Name of Argu-  
 ments) yet there is a numerous Brood of young *Filmer*s, who in  
 spite of Nonsense and Absurdity are not asham'd to propagate  
 the same unaccountable Doctrines, as the most proper and expedient  
 means to carry on the same traiterous Purposes to the Ruin and  
 Dishonour of their Country ; yet as I hope to advance more just  
 and rational Foundations of civil Power and Government, and  
 which are accommodated, and consistent with the genuine Sense  
 and Meaning of the Word of God, of Nature, and of Reason, I  
 will neither be asham'd or afraid with the few other, but much  
 more learned Men before me, to advance, *That it is not possible to  
 receive that what I call and hope to prove to be the only just and  
 rational Foundations of Civil Power should be any thing else than  
 the Consent of a Free and Willing People* : How far I shall succeed  
 in this honest Design I shall leave to the Judgment of every un-  
 prejudic'd Reader ; and tho' I freely acknowledge my self infi-



nately inferiour to those excellent Persons, who have gone before me in the Noble Design of asserting their Country's Honour and Freedom, yet will I be bold to maintain, that I will yield to none of them, or of those who shall come after me, in a steady and incorruptible Love for -it, which no Consideration in the World shall ever prevail with me to forsake, much less betray.

'Tis evident to a Demonstration, that there is no general and positive Rule given to Mankind by God for submitting without Reserve to the Will and Government of a single Person ; for if there had been any such general and positive Rule, all Men must have been under an indispensable Obligation of submitting and conforming to it without murmuring, or Exception ; for no human Power can dispense with, or elude the Force of a peremptory Divine Command ; and tho' the contrary Proposition has with wonderful Confidence been strenuously asserted, it neither has been nor ever can be fully prov'd from Scripture, which, as it is only the reveal'd Will of God, can alone furnish Authority to prove an Assertion of that Nature ; and since this is true, there can be nothing more evident than that God left it indifferently to all Mankind, by the Use and Means of their Reason, to frame what sort of Governments they esteem'd most convenient for their respective Good and Happiness. This is a Proposition so far from being repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, Nature, or Reason, that I maintain 'tis the only one has ever been advanc'd in Relation to civil Government, that can pretend to be supported by the undeniable Authority of all Three ; when They, who contend for the opposite Opinion, namely, That the Government of a single Person is establish'd by a Divine Right and Commission, shall convince the World purely by the Strength of better Reasons, than I shall offer in the Defence of the other, I promise 'em, I am not wedded to my Errors, and will bring a Mind to hear 'em free from Prepossession, and shall very gratefully acknowledge my Obligation for not deceiving me ; but till that be fairly done, they will excuse me if I persist in my present Sentiments and Opinion, founded upon the Authorities I have mentioned, viz, That the sole Consent of a free and willing People is the only just and rational Foundation of all the civil Power and Governments originally in the Universe. There can be but two ways conceivable how Governments came first to be establish'd in the World ; the one by a positive divine Law, the other by human Reason ; if by a divine and positive Law from God, then the Species and Model of it would questionless have been determin'd and regulated by that Law ; all Nations under the Sun would have been oblig'd to have submitted and conform'd to it, and there cou'd have been but one sort of it amongst Men, and that according to *Filmer* and his modern Disciples an absolute, despotick, and monarchical one, wherein the Lives, Persons, and Estates of all Men without Controul or Exception, must be subject to the Will of the Prince, which is to be the sole Rule and Guide of all his Actions. Now let any of the best and most celebrated of the Authors of this ridiculous and nonsensical

sensical Opinion, but produce to us but one single Instance from  
 the whole Book of God to justify and support it, and we readily,  
 if he pleases, will fall down, and worship his fantastical Idol ; but  
 the Doctrines of Obedience to the eldest Heir of *Adam* in a  
 right Line, or a Title to absolute Dominion in any Prince in  
 right of Fatherhood, be Chimera's which derive no Shadow of  
 authority from the sacred Writings rightly interpreted, or any  
 foundation any where else, but in the Brains of Traitors hir'd to  
 debauch their Fellow-Subjects, and to the Slavery of their Coun-  
 try ; we must seek for the Original of civil Power somewhere else,  
 that is in the other Fountain of it, human Reason ; nor I think  
 there be a more irrefragable Argument, that there is no Au-  
 thority from holy Scripture to assert the Right of an absolute Mo-  
 narch, or that God indeed has never prescrib'd any particular Form  
 and Model of Government to any Nation in the World, his own  
 people the *Jews* only excepted, than that infinite Variety that is  
 servable in the Constitution of the respective Governments in it,  
 which there never were any two which were in all Things a-  
 like, nay, that were not different in the Means and Manner of  
 dispensing the Operations and Acts of the supream Power, tho' the  
 ends of all of 'em are eternally, or ought to be the same, namely  
 the universal Good of the People, and the Distribution of Ju-  
 stice ; this Instance of the Variety of Governments is an undeniable  
 proof of their Original from human Counsels, which are ever ne-  
 cessarily found different and disagreeing ; perfect Unity and Har-  
 mony being only to be look'd for in the divine Essence.

When God brought his People of *Israel* out of *Ægypt* by the  
 hand of *Moses*, besides the admirable Character the Holy Scrip-  
 tures give that excellent Person, we cannot conceive of him but  
 as a Man adorn'd with all the great Qualities and Accomplishments  
 necessary to compleat him for so glorious a Command ; yet not-  
 withstanding the Assistance even of the divine Spirit, he found and  
 acknowledg'd himself unequal to the Burthen and Importance of  
 it alone ; and therefore by the Advice of his Father-in-law *Jethro*,  
 appointed the Council of Seventy to assist him in sharing the  
 weight of it, known afterwards by the Name of the *Sanhedrim*, in  
 which was continu'd the supream Power and Authority of that People,  
 as if they were a Nation ; so that this Form of Government  
 which was the only one that we know of that God immediately  
 ordain'd and instituted himself, is so far from favouring his Darling  
 absolute Monarchy, that it is diametrically opposite to it ; for it  
 manifestly appears both from the Authority of Scripture, and the  
 testimony of the most learned and eminent Rabbins of their Na-  
 tion, who may be suppos'd to be the best Judges of the Nature  
 of their own Oeconomy, that thro' the Course of all Ages for  
 four Hundred Years before they had any Kings, and even in  
 the rest after 'em, Nothing of Moment or any considerable  
 importance to the Nation could be transacted without the Advice  
 and Approbation of their *Sanhedrim* ; so that the Original Genius  
 and Constitution of their Policy seem'd to be an Aristocracy, or

rather a Theocracy wherein God himself presided, and was their King; and who assisted and influenc'd *Moses* and the following Judges in the Administration of the weighty Concerns both of Religion and State; and here I think is an Evidence as undeniable as can be desir'd, that there was no despotical Arbitrary Power vested in the person of *Moses* their first Commander in that Model of Government constituted by God himself; and it is as certain as one that God had no manner of Regard to establish the Succession in a certain Family by a divine Right; for tho' *Moses* left Children behind him, there was none of 'em durst set up a Claim in Right of their Father, but were laid aside, as if they had never been, and he was succeeded in his Command by *Joshua*, who was of no Kin to him; the same we know was observ'd upon the Death of every succeeding Judge, without any manner of Regard to Blood or Relation; so that I think here is a fair End and Conclusion both of Absolute Power in the Prince by any divine Right or Title in the Children to succeed in Right of Inheritance; and when this excellent Person by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit foresaw, that the Children of *Israel* would in their Wickedness rebel against, and reject the Government of their God, and at that Time desire a King, who like the rest of those of the neighbouring Nations should go in and out before 'em, and fight their Battles, to comply with 'em by the Permission and Influence of the holy Spirit, he instructs 'em what sort of King they should be contented with in the 17th of *Deuteronomy*, from

*Verse 14. When thou art come into the Land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and shalt possess it, and shalt dwell therein, thou shalt say, I will set a King over me, like as the Nations that are about me.*

*v. 15. Thou shalt in any wise set him King over thee whom the Lord thy God shall choose; one from among thy Brethren, thou shalt set King over thee; thou mayst not set a Stranger over thee, which is not thy Brother.*

*v. 16. But he shall not multiply Horses to himself, nor cause the People to return to Egypt, to the End that he should multiply Horses; for as much as the Lord hath said unto you, ye shall henceforth return no more that Way.*

*v. 17. Neither shall he multiply Wives to himself, that his Heart turn not away; neither shall he greatly multiply to himself Silver and Gold.*

*v. 18. And it shall be when he sitteth upon the Throne of his Kingdom, that he shall write him a Copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites.*

*v. 19. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the Days of his Life; that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the Words of this Law, and these Statutes to do them.*

*v. 20. That his Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren, and that he turn not aside from the Commandment to the Right Hand, or to the Left, to the End that he may prolong his Days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the Midst of *Israel*.*



This I think is such a Description of a just and good King, fearing God and loving his People, as can neither be objected against or denied, because 'tis of a King of God's own Appointment and Regulation; and certainly if any King was ever such by a Divine Right and Commission, this is he; yet I cannot for my Life see one Word in all this of a Divine Commission to oppress and enslave his Brethren and Subjects, nor any manner of Obligation upon the latter to pay an implicit blind Obedience to the Will of this King, if he deviated from the Observation of the Divine Commands, by which he was as indispensably oblig'd to be govern'd, as the meanest of the People. Only such Wretches as *Filmer* and the succeeding bubble of High-Church Disciples, have the Impudence to wrest the sacred Oracles to patronize the grossest Falshoods and Absurdities, and force Authorities from 'em to cover and support such Doctrines tend directly to the Subversion of all Religion, and Dissolution of the strongest Bonds of Civil Government; nor wou'd it have been worth the while to have taken notice of this ridiculous Notion, so long ago exploded by all honest *Englishmen*, if it had not been industriously reviv'd and propagated by *Lesley*, *Sacheverel*, *Wicks*, *Tilly*, and many others such corrupt and mercenary Incendiaries, to the same End and Purposes they were at first intended, debauching the People into Dispositions of again receiving the Yoke which their Fore-fathers and themselves of late with so much Cry have thrown off.

In the mean Time we proceed to consider the other Fountain and Original of civil Power, which is human Reason, and the Dominion which that derives to any Man or Family, is either by Fraud or Violence, which we call Usurpation; or by the unanimous Consent of a free People, willing to unite themselves into Societies for their mutual Security and Happiness; and this we call just and legal Dominion; which of all others does not only imply and confer an incontestable Right, but furnishes the surest and most efficacious Means to preserve and continue it; and if this be not so then I will be bold to maintain, that there is not a Prince in *Europe* or in the Universe can preserve himself in his Throne longer than he is able to do so by the Power of his Arms; and yet further to prove that the reigning Families now in *Europe*, owe the Original of their Power and Dominion solely to the Consent of the Nations they have good Fortune and Honour to command; of which Truth their History is not be a stronger and more convincing Proof than the Changes and Alterations which from Time to Time have been made by the Power of the People in the most potent and eminent of 'em, and particularly in our own, which I shall but briefly hint at in due Place as a undeniable Matter of Fact, without descending into a particular Relation of the Reason and Motives that gave 'em the Occasions of exerting the Powers God and Nature had vested in 'em; for such a Detail is more properly the Business of an Historian, and would swell the Bulk of this Essay beyond the Extent and Design of it.

It is impossible to conceive, that the Dominions founded upon the Fraud or Violence of Usurpation, should be of any longer Duration than

than the Fraud or Violence by which it was first obtain'd, continue to support it; all Men, even the most strenuous Asserters of the absolute Power of Kings, confess that Usurpation confers no Right, (*Filmer* only excepted,) and where there is no natural or legal Right, every Man who has Force and Courage enough to make the Attempt may endeavour by the Sword or Poison, or any other Way to effect the Destruction of a Tyrant and Usurper; and if he succeeds may establish himself in his Throne with as much Title and Justice as his Predecessor, till another stronger and as wicked as himself shall think fit to practise the same wicked Arts upon him, and so on *ad Infinitum*; this is evident from all History, and particularly from that of the Kings of *Israel*, which I choose to mention for the Honour of the Defenders of the divine Right of Kings by the Authority of the Scriptures; for that Crown was in less than the Space of Two Hundred Years or thereabouts transfer'd to eight or nine several Families, which had no Relation of Blood or Consanguinity each to the other, and all or most of 'em arriv'd at it, thro' the Blood and Murder of their Predecessors. No Title can be good that is not founded upon Justice; but Usurpation is in its Nature an Act of the highest Injustice that Men can be guilty of, in the Oppression and barbarous despoiling a People of their Estates, Lives and Liberties they have nothing to do with, as founded upon a better Title or Authority than that of the Will and irregular Ambition of the Oppressor; nor can any length of Time change the Nature, tho' it may the Manner and Circumstances of Things, or make that Good which is originally Evil and Vicious in it self, for what is naturally and originally Evil in its Beginning, will eternally continue so.

The first Account we have of the first Kings, is from the sacred History in the Person of *Nimrod*, under the Character of a mighty Hunter before the Lord, which the best Expositors interpret, a cruel Tyrant, or mighty Robber, 'tho it is altogether silent as to the Manner how he became so; but this we are assur'd of from the same Authority, that it is impossible he should be so either in right of Succession as the next Heir, or in right of Paternity or Fatherhood which are the two precious Foundations of absolute Monarchy advanced by *Filmer*; for he was but the sixth Son of *Chus*, the youngest and accursed Son of *Noah*, and by whose Curse he was subjected for ever to be the Servant of his Brethren; and besides his elder Brothers, his Father and Grandfather were then living; this first Kingdom being set up about a hundred and thirty Years after the Flood, and it is evident from Scripture that *Noah* liv'd three hundred and fifty Years after it, and *Shem* five hundred; and because the Scriptures do not any where distinctly specify the Manner how this Kingdom was at first erected, the most rational and therefore the most likely and probable Conjecture is, that upon the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*, those of the same Language found themselves under a Necessity of associating and uniting themselves for their better Security and Defence; and as Union and Association wou'd have been of little or no Effect

Such a Purpose without Order, and no Order can be establish'd but by certain Regulations and Agreements to a Subordination of Degrees of Power one to another, by which the common Safety could be best provided for; they by a common Consent chose *Nimrod*, who besides the Advantages of his Birth and Family, which doubtless gave him some Pretension to Pre-eminence, was questionless a Man of great Valour and reputed Wisdom, to be their Head or King; this is a natural and reasonable Supposition, and it is as difficult to conceive as prove how he could arrive at it any other Way; let the Partisans of the other Opinion offer their Reasons for it, and they shall be calmly and impartially consider'd, but let 'em be Reasons, and better than what they have hitherto been able to advance.

I lay down therefore as a Principle that the first single Person came to be a King or Monarch either by force or consent, and I think it is impossible he could become so by the Way of the former; for as he that forces must undeniably be stronger than he or they that are forc'd, I think it is not easy to form a Notion how a single Man can force himself and Domination upon a Number, a Multitude, and much less upon Millions of Men: Just Right, it is certain, he could have none, either by Succession or Father hood, even according to *Filmer* and his Followers, for the Reasons already mention'd. A usurpation upon a Supposition that this first Kingdom was erected upon it, confers no Right, for that which has no Reason or Equity in it self, can confer none, tho' he is pleas'd to affirm, that when the Thing is done, there is as much Obedience due to the Usurper in Possession, as if he had arriv'd to the Throne by the Means most allowable both by God and Man; yet there are no Absurdities so gross, no Falshoods so notorious, no Consequences so ever pernicious as these bigotted High-Church Politicians will not espouse and defend, rather than, allow the Original of civil Power and Domination to be founded upon the true Basis of the unanimous Consent of Freemen entering into Societies for their mutual Security, Support, and Happiness: Nay, even Conquest in a Necessary and just War can establish no Right in a Conqueror over the Lives and Fortunes of the Conquer'd, according to the Rules of Reason and Nature, which are the Rules of all just and legitimate Power; but only over those who are either actually in Arms themselves, or such who are by Ways assisting or abetting to those who are found to be so: And when in that Case there remains eternally with the conquer'd People an Equity whenever they are in a Capacity to attempt it, by all means in their Power to recover the natural Rights they may have been depriv'd of by the Conqueror. This therefore may rationally be concluded to have been the Establishment of the first regal Power in the Person of *Nimrod*, I mean the Consent of the People under certain Conditions and Limitations, since other Title 'tis demonstrable he had none; and it is as easy to conceive that when he was thus establish'd, forgetting the Simplicity of the first Ages, and Inhabitants who were either Shepherds or Tillers of the Land, either by the violent Impulse of his Temper and natural Inclinations, or the Fury of an unmeasurable Ambition, or debauch'd by the poison-



nous Flatteries of fawning Sicophants (for that deadly Vermin are as ancient as Power) he was prevail'd upon to break through all the Stipulations and sacred Obligations of Honour, cemented and founded upon Consent and compact, to establish'd a despotick and arbitrary Dominion over the Lives and Fortunes of those who rais'd him to that Degree of Elevation above his Brethren; and thus sacrificing the publick good of his People to the Lust of his Ambition, by the most detestable of all Ingratitudes, render'd those Men Slaves who had imprudently parted with too much of their Liberty to make him great. So easy is the Transition from regal Power, even when circumscrib'd by Laws, in the Hands of a single Person (who while he is wise, just and vertuous 'tis acknowledg'd may preserve his Subjects in a perfect State of Happiness) into an execrable Tyranny, wherein it is hardly possible but all Men must be miserable. We find in *Parus* this Account of him; *Nimrod filius Chus, nepos Chami, pronepos Noë, abolita patria potestate, vi et armis imperium in alias gentes primus affectavit, et Usurpavit; avitam religionem instituto ignis ejusdem sacri (Orimasda dictus fuit) cultu adulteravit*. Where by the Way we may remark, that a Tyranny can never be establish'd but upon the Profanation of the true Religion, and according to this laudable Usurpation upon the natural Liberties of Mankind, and Violation of the Worship of his Fore-fathers, (the usual Effects of Tyranny) was his Exit, for after a Reign of Fifty Years, *ex hominum conspectu subito abreptus disparuit*: Now as we are not very apt to believe that the first Tyrant was for his Vertue translated, it is much more rational to conclude that some one single gallant *Whig*, or Number of 'em, found the Means to dispatch him to free their Country and Religion from a Tyranny that became insupportable, for by a *Whig* I must be understood eternally to mean an Enemy to Tyranny and a Lover of his Country, in which Sense I constantly maintain that the first noble *Whig* is as ancient as the first execrable Tyrant: And I am the further confirm'd in the Opinion I advance, that Dominion is originally founded upon Consent under the Restriction of certain Laws, because we find, that about the same Time, that is, soon after the Dispersion at *Babel*, the Kingdom erected in *Egypt* by *Misraim* the Son of *Cham*, furnishes us with a notable Example of it; the Laws that the Kings were solemnly oblig'd to swear to before their Inauguration, were these; *First*, The Kings shall not govern according to the Lust of their Will, but by the Prescription of the Laws. *Second*, That for the Service and Splendor of the Court, not Slaves but the Sons of the Priests distinguished for their Vertue and Learning, shall be permitted to serve. *Third*, Certain Hours in the Morning partly for the Service of the Holy Mysteries, and partly for the Management of the publick Affairs shall be set apart and appropriated. *Fourth*, The Priests, the Ministers of Holy Things shall frequently admonish the King of his Duty and chiefly dissuade him from the Practice of Vice. *Fifth*, The King shall not determine of the Life and Fortune of a Subject out of Hatred or Anger, or raise Money at his Pleasure. *Sixth*, The publick Tributes shall be employ'd for the Use of the King and Kingdom,

Priests according to their Dignity and Distinction, the Soldiery, for the Reward of the deserving. *Seventh*, The King shall be contented with a moderate Table and Habit, nor neglect the Care of his Subjects by the Profusion of his Pleasures.

This then I offer as the most rational Supposition of the Original Manner of Establishment of the first Kingdom mention'd in the world, and shall continue to defend and maintain it, till some worthy High-Church Asserter of absolute despotical Monarchy shall propose another more agreeable to Nature and Reason, and leave in the mean Time to erect his goodly Fabrick of Tyranny upon chimerical Basis of his Divine Commission to do Evil. For since it appears that God has thought fit no where to prescribe any sort of Government by a special and particular Law, we need not consult or enquire after any other Principles of Civil Power than those of Nature and Reason which will always result and terminate in Consent; we readily agree that it is very probable, nay certain, that Monarchy was the first Species of it in the earliest Ages after the world, without granting the Necessity of a divine Institution for the Establishment of it; there seems to be no need to have recourse to the Almighty Power of God upon every Occasion, in Affairs which are easily within the Compass of human Reason to effect, especially when there does not appear any Evidence of such Necessity in any Part or Command of his reveal'd Will; in all such Cases God certainly leaves Men to act for their own Good according to the natural Powers of the Soul with which he has vested 'em; yet in subordination to his eternal Decree, without the Intervention of a particular Providence, which it does not appear to us he has been pleas'd to exert but upon great and extraordinary Occasions, when he has a Mind to convince a wicked or incredulous World of the Almighty Power of his Power by such surprising Miracles as are absolutely out of the Reach of any other than his own to effect. When we unnecessarily call for the Authority of Heaven and the holy Scriptures to support and countenance Assertions and Opinions, which may easily enough be suppos'd to be the Result of the Principles of Nature and human Reason, it gives Occasion to suspect that the Designs they are carrying on are not founded upon much Truth and Equity, and stand in need of more than ordinary Colours from the Church, not so much to enlighten Men's Minds to see into the Bottoms of 'em, as with the far fetch'd Lustre of a divine Authority to dazzle the Eyes and amuse the Understanding, the better to impose and deceive under the venerable Veil and Pretence of the Favour and Approbation of Heaven. This we know to have been the Practice of some of the wisest and most famous Founders of Governments in the Times of *Heathenism*, (in how many other Things our modern wise Men copy after 'em I don't enquire) who to induce the People to a more than ordinary sort of Veneration for their Persons and Institutions, scrupled not to feign, not only a certain Commerce and Familiarity, but their Descent and Pedigree from the Gods, the only way to cover the Defects of a mean, and very often scandalous Original.

'Tis very reasonable to believe that in the first Ages of the World, when Men began to multiply into infinite Numbers, and found the Necessity of uniting into Societies for their mutual Ease and Security against the Evils they were continually like to be expos'd to by continuing in their original Freedom and Equality, which we call the State of Nature, they did at first choose such as were excell'd in Vertue and Valour, and other eminent Qualities, as render'd 'em most capable of pursuing the Ends of their Institution, which is eternally the Good and Welfare of the People, who honour'd 'em with so important and noble a Trust; for, as amongst equals, and all Men by Nature are so, no Man can justly claim or pretend to any Right or Title of Authority or Dominion over another, but by his own Consent; 'tis evident that nothing could give this Preference, but a Distinction of Merit in a super-eminent and extraordinary Vertue. This we affirm confidently to have been the Original of supreme Power vested in the Person of a single Man, which we call Monarchy, without the least Trace or Footstep of absolute and arbitrary Power. I am not insensible, that the most excellent and judicious *Hooker* is of Opinion, that the Sovereignty of the first Kings was absolute and arbitrary; nor will it do me any Cause I pretend to maintain any harm, by granting the Concession, because it appears peremptorily in all his Writings, that he is to be understood to speak of the absolute Power of doing Good, which is ever to be suppos'd the Design of good and vertuous Princes, and not the arbitrary Power of doing Evil, which is ever the Effect of Tyrants. Of the Nature of the former, were all those Empires and Kingdoms termed by the *Greeks heroum regna*, which during the Integrity and Simplicity of the first Ages, preserv'd the Prince for Wisdom, Valour and Justice, in the Reverence and Esteem of his People, and the People happy and contented under the Shelter and Protection of his Vertues: This, then, was the original State of Things, where the Vertue of the Prince was in the Place of Laws. But when Pride, Ambition, and Luxury, by Time, encreas'd in the Eastern Countries, all Things chang'd in a great Manner with their Form and Condition; and the Prince, who in the more innocent preceding Ages, had made it his Glory to govern his People with the innocent Care and Tendernefs of a Father, as whose Interest was the same with his own, began by Degrees to harass and oppress his People with a high Hand, as his Slaves, and from a just Monarch, degenerated into an imperious Tyrant: This was the first Ground and occasion of Disgust and Animosities of the People against the Prince. The Prince began to think that the Power which at first he had only been intrusted with, was inherent to his Office and Character, and peculiarly his own; hence the Original of Despotick and arbitrary Power in him, who, as he esteem'd himself no longer under the Restrictions and Obligations of his first Institution, assum'd all the Rights of it, of doing all Things according to the Impulse of an insatiable Ambition, and made his sole Will the Rule and Measure of all his Actions. 'Tis under this Form of Monarchical Government, which was originally and in it self good, that the miserable *Asiatics* have



continu'd thro' all Ages to this Day, and are likely to remain so to  
 the Ends of the World, since they have neither any Taste left of  
 their Liberty, nor Vertue and Valour enough to attempt to free  
 themselves from a Slavery that is the Reproach of human Nature;  
 retaining only the Form, and nothing of the Blessings and  
 Happiness of the indulgent Reigns of their first wise, vertuous and  
 valiant Princes, groan under all the Miseries of an insupportable  
 Tyranny; by what sort of Fatality or Curse of Heaven upon a wicked  
 and degenerate People I don't pretend to enquire or determine.  
 The miserable Condition of these great, but wretched Nations, put  
 in mind of the ancient *Greeks*, their Neighbours, who grew wise at their Ex-  
 ample, upon the Attempt of forming other Models of Government,  
 which their Safety and Happiness might be better establish'd and  
 serv'd than they saw they had been under the Empire of single  
 Princes. This, natural Reason, as well as Experience, instructed  
 them, could no way be so effectually perform'd, as by constituting such  
 Governments as should consist of different Parts and Proportions of Power,  
 each, tho' in certain Degrees, lodg'd in different Hands, and in  
 subordination to each other, should equally contribute to the  
 Peace, Unity, and Preservation of the Liberties of the whole So-  
 ciety, by so tempering and balancing the Powers, as they might re-  
 ciprocally be a Cheque upon each other. Nothing, as I have already  
 hinted, more fully evidences the Reasonableness and Truth of  
 this Assertion; that Providence has left it solely to the Use of Rea-  
 son in all free People, willing to unite into Societies for their Pub-  
 lic Good and Security, than the great Variety in the Forms of  
 Government which have been constituted by that wise and valiant  
 People, and since them, by all other civiliz'd Nations in other  
 Ages, especially of our Western World; where, tho' they almost  
 all differ in the Manner of lodging, according to the Variety  
 of Judgments and Opinions, the supream Power, yet they all tend  
 to center in one common Point, directly opposite to the End of  
 Tyranny, the Publick Good of the Community in the Preservation  
 of their Lives and Properties; which I think is an Evidence to De-  
 monstrate, that all free People have naturally a Right to make  
 use of their Reason and Prudence in the Choice of all such Means  
 as they think will most readily contribute to the End they pro-  
 pose. Thus in *Athens*, the first Species of Government we read of,  
 was under the Administration of Kings till the memorable Death of  
 the last of 'em, *Codrus*, who devoted and sacrific'd his Life to the  
 Service of his Country; immediately upon which, the People having  
 consider'd their Inconveniencies under 'em, they were wholly laid aside,  
 and the People alter'd the whole Frame of the Government, and re-  
 turn'd the principal Share of Power in their own Hands, leaving to  
 the *Archontes*, of which *Medon*, the Son of *Codrus*, was the first,  
 such a Proportion of it as they judg'd necessary to enable 'em  
 to give Credit to discharge the Duties of their Office, in relation to  
 the Affairs in time of Peace, and Execution of 'em in time of War,  
 reserving the Judgment of all things of any Importance and  
 Con-

Consequence to the Commonwealth, solely in themselves to be determin'd by the Plurality of Voices : By this Means, they not only kept their *Archontes*, or first Magistrates, who were in the Beginning design'd perpetual, afterwards, as the People saw Occasion, decennial, and in the End annual ; but the rest of the Citizens a Distinction within the Limits of their respective Duties ; and whether either the one or the other, thro' Ambition, or desire of Revenge, attempted any thing to the Prejudice of the Publick, the People soon and easily reclaim'd 'em by the vigorous Exercise of that Power they kept in their own Hands, and often by Banishment, Imprisonment, or Death, made 'em pay the Penalty of their Folly or Rashness. In *Sparta* too they were under the Government of Kings, yet were they confin'd within such narrow Bounds, and limited and controll'd by the Power of their *Ephevi*, as is known to every Body who has the least Knowledge of the *Grecian* History ; yet it is wonderful to observe what memorable Advantages and Successes very small and inconsiderable Handfuls of these free and valiant *Greeks*, under the Conduct of their Renown'd, tho' shackled Commanders, obtain'd almost constantly over the infinite Multitudes of the effeminate and slavish *Asiatics*, under the Command of their absolute and arbitrary Tyrants : So certain it is that Courage and a Contempt of Death are the inseparable, I may say the Inheritance of Men naturally free and Lovers of their Country ; Fear and Cowardice are the eternal Partage of servile Minds, and under and inur'd to Slavery ; and it is observable, that whilst the noble People firmly adher'd to the punctual Observation of the Laws of their excellent *Lycurgus*, there were not in the Space of about 800 Years, above three or four of their Kings who were imprison'd, banish'd, or put to Death, for attempting to incroach on the ancient Liberties of the People. Other lesser Cities, or small Districts, form'd themselves into petty Democracies, which as they were not of a Constitution for Duration, were in little time devour'd by the greater ; till in the End, they were all swallowed up by that formidable Leviathan of the *Roman* Empire, destined to the Dominion of the greatest Part of the Universe, and so before foretold by the Prophet *Daniel*.

The like has been the universal Practice of all free and civil Nations in the rest of *Europe*, who, by Vertue of their native inherent Right, have establish'd what Forms of Government they pleas'd and thought most conducive to the Happiness and Security of the Societies they enter'd into ; and according to the Manner of dividing and lodging the supream Power, the respective Constitutions receiv'd both their Species and Denomination ; if it were pos'd in a single Hand, it is Monarchy ; if in Trust in the Body of the Nobles, it is an Aristocracy ; if with the People alone, it is a perfect Democracy, of which latter sort there is not now in the Universe one of any Note or Distinction ; nor is it possible that such a Form of Government should long subsist and maintain that Order and Stability which are absolutely necessary for the Support of all Public Communities. These are the three simple Species of Govern-

we have hitherto been known in the World; and as each of 'em  
 have been found to have had their Defects and Inconveniencies, the  
 Errors of former Times and Manners have instructed our Ancestors  
 to frame such a one out of the Three, as by a just Mixture and Di-  
 vention of the Powers, may either avoid or prevent the Confu-  
 sion and Disorders always incident to the others, and more aptly  
 to readily answer the Primary Ends of all Civil Power, the Good  
 of the People, and the obtaining of Justice, in which is included all  
 that is necessary for the Peace and Prosperity, the Continuance and  
 Security of all Publick Communities; and this we rightly call mix'd  
 limited Monarchy, wherein the Powers are, or ought to be so e-  
 qually blended and constituted for the mutual Intercourse and Sup-  
 port of each other; that as whilst they continue in their proper and na-  
 tural Situation, and due Execution of their respective Proportions, they  
 never fail of the Blessings of Peace, Unity, Strength, Riches,  
 Commerce, Stability, Order and lasting Security; so it is hardly  
 possible, when any one Part presumes to inroach upon the Preroga-  
 tive or Liberty of the other, that they should long subsist without the  
 greatest Hazard, I may say, Certainty of the Dissolution of the whole  
 by Politick. This is incontestably the Original and Foundation  
 of all the great and considerable Kingdoms at this Day in *Europe*,  
 on the Foot and Principles of what we commonly call the *Gothick*  
 Constitution; and it imports not at all whether we make use for the su-  
 preme Magistracy of the Words, *Emperour, King, Doge, Stadtholder,*  
*Advoyer*; or for the grand Councils, those of *Dyets, General As-*  
*semblies, Cortes, or Parliament*; for there is neither Magick nor  
 Sequence in Words or Titles, but the Thing meant by 'em is  
 essentially the same, and tend directly to one common End, the Pub-  
 lic Good; and to all and every one of these so constituted, the  
 Name of *Respublica* in Propriety of Speech, which we render Com-  
 monwealth, is properly applicable, without offending any Body in  
 Religion, but such as in secret Views and Designs would disturb the  
 publick Peace of the World, by investing Kings with an unaccount-  
 able Divine Commission, and an absolute Arbitrary Power over the  
 Lives and Liberties of their Subjects.

Without waving at present the Consideration of all other Species of  
 Government, I affirm, that all the great Monarchies in *Europe* are  
 originally limited and mix'd, and in a more particular Manner our  
 own, wherein the King has his part of Power, and the Senate and  
 People theirs, and it is in the Preservation of this *Equalibrium*, or  
 Balance of it, that the Happiness of a Nation can long and  
 principally subsist. The learned *Grotius* makes a Distinction of  
 Princes who have *imperium summo modo*, and such as only have it  
*non summo*. The former is the Phantom of the over-heated  
 Sons of the Progenitors of our noble High-Church Patriots, and is  
 in good round *English*, no better than Tyranny, founded solely up-  
 on the Arbitrary Will of the Prince, which they have labour'd hard  
 in the last Century and beginning of this, to compliment him with.  
 The other is, that just and legal Power we call Prerogative, which  
 is intrusted in his Hands by the Consent of the People only for their  
 Good



Good, and limited and circumscrib'd by the Laws, which are the undoubted Rule and Measure of just Magistratical Power and Authority, as well as of the Liberty and Property of the Subject; and this we not only chearfully allow our Princes, but will support and maintain 'em in it to the last Drop of our Blood and Fortunes to the Ends of the World; but I shall have occasion hereafter to speak something more particularly of our own Constitution: In the mean time, I think it will sufficiently appear from what has been said, that no Title to Dominion can possibly be deriv'd to any Person or Family, by Vertue of any Precept or special Law of God, or any Divine Commission for any such Establishment; much less by Fraud, Violence, Usurpation, or Conquest, which are the ones that have been trump'd up for the Foundation of absolute Monarchy, or any other sort of Government, by such, as either through Ignorance, do not understand, or Malice, willingly labour to betray the Honour and true Interest of their Country. Let us venture to lay down, then, as an undeniable Truth, that the unanimous Consent of a free People, willing to unite themselves into Societies for their mutual Support, Convenience, and Happiness, is the most natural, as well as rational Foundation and Original of all Civil Power and Authority, and of all Governments, of what Denomination or Model soever, and in due Place, apply the general Notion to the Particulars of our own happy Constitution. 'Tis certain, that there can be nothing compleatly perfect in this World; Errors, Imperfections and Defects, are the Conditions of Humanity, and of the most excellent Productions and Operations of it; yet I will boldly maintain, that our Constitution is compos'd of such sound and vigorous *Stamina*, such robust Principles of Health and Strength, such an equal Temperament and Mixture of vital Powers, such a harmonious Union and Melody of Prerogative and Liberty, that if it were permitted to exert its Vigour in the due Execution of all its Parts and Offices, and were not perplex'd and embarrass'd in its Tendencies and Operations by crafty and designing Knaves, who are prostituted to its Ruin, it would not be only capable of the most noble and generous Performances that can be expected from the Vertue and Valour of a brave, free, and gallant People; but only command what Portion of the Riches of the distant World She pleases, by the Strength and Power of Her Navigation; and only secure to her self the lasting Possession of all Things that render Life not only agreeable, but delicious at home, under the Temperature of a happy Climate, and Influence of a benign and auspicious Government, but become the Desire and Emulation of her Friends and Allies, and the Scourge and Terror of the most potent and formidable of her Enemies Abroad.

This Principle thus laid down being the Voice of Nature, Reason, and of Nations, granted and confirm'd by the Practice of all the Governments now in Being in *Europe*, it will be necessary to enquire into the Nature and Tendency of the Thing it imports. 'Tis granted by the most strenuous Asserters of the Absolute Power of Monarchs, that by Nature all Men are free and equal

equal, no Man has any Right to command another but by his own  
 consent, but every Man in that State had a Right equally to every  
 thing, that was not actually in the possession of another, for every  
 Man's Labour was the Foundation of Property, and was his Title  
 to what he was first possessed of by it ; no Man greater or less  
 than another, for those are Distinctions inconsistent with natural  
 equality, and crept into the World since the Discrimination of  
*sum* and *tuum* ; and every Man was not only the Judge of what  
 was offer'd him, but the Executioner of his own Revenge,  
 he had Strength and Power enough to effect it ; this Freedom,  
 though savage and subject to many and great Inconveniences, was  
 every Man's inherent Right, and could not without Injustice be in-  
 vaded by another ; and as there could be no lasting Security in  
 a Freedom by Nature, but every Man was liable to be op-  
 pressed by another more strong and mighty than himself, and all  
 being naturally suppos'd to desire and seek their own Good,  
 it was without doubt this Consideration that first laid Men under  
 the Necessity of entering into Society to avoid the Inconveniences  
 they were subject to, whilst they continued single in the Enjoy-  
 ment of their natural Freedom ; and as God had with a liberal  
 hand given all Men the Benefit of Reason and Understanding  
 and a Permission to employ 'em for their common Good, it will  
 necessarily follow that he left 'em the Liberty of their Choice to  
 enter into what Societies, and to give 'em what sort of Form or  
 Model they pleas'd, and thought most conducive to the Security  
 of their Lives and Properties ; nor can they be understood when  
 they enter'd into such Engagements to part with their whole Stock  
 of Liberty, but only to resign such a Proportion of it into the  
 Hands of the Community as might be necessary to secure and pre-  
 serve the Remainder under certain Conditions from the Violence  
 of particular Persons amongst themselves, or the Insults and In-  
 juries of turbulent Neighbours abroad ; for it never can be sup-  
 posed, that a great number of rational Creatures should conspire  
 to render their own Condition more miserable under a social En-  
 gagement and Combination, than it was before when they re-  
 main'd single and independent of each other ; which must un-  
 doubtedly have happen'd, if they had without certain Conditions  
 subjected themselves either to the sole Will and  
 Direction of a single Person, or to any determin'd Number of  
 Persons ; but it was the sole Consideration of the Miseries which they  
 saw People expos'd to by the Violence of arbitrary and unre-  
 sistible Power, whether it were first intrusted in the Hands and  
 of Families, or in other single Persons, who were prefer'd  
 to their Vertue and Merit, that first put Men upon trying and in-  
 venting other Models of Government, in which they might find  
 themselves better secur'd in their Lives and Properties ; and it is  
 no Dispute, that they, who had in themselves the Power to insti-  
 tute any new Form, had likewise the Power to change, to alter,  
 or even to abrogate it at their Pleasure, when those Persons, whom  
 they set up and intrusted only for the Good of the Publick, deflected

ed from the Ends of their Institution and employ'd it to the Disadvantage and Detriment of it ; I think that it is hardly possible to conceive that the first Men who united themselves into Societies cou'd do it for any other End than their common Welfare and Happiness, and to avoid the Miseries and Inconveniences inseparable from a State of savage and barbarous Solitude ; and it is as difficult to frame a Notion that any Number of Men cou'd prevail on themselves to intrust the supream Power over their Lives and Properties in the Hands either of a single Person, or any Set of Men without the Security of certain Conditions and Limitations of Power ; nay I maintain it to be impossible ( if there cou'd be impos'd any Men in the Beginning so brutally foolish as to resign their entire Liberties and especially their Lives to be at the absolute disposal and Pleasure of another ) that they cou'd do it ; for even that State of Nature where all Men were equal, no Man had Power over his own Life so far as to destroy it without a Consent ; neither cou'd he subject it in such a Manner when he enter'd Society as to put it absolutely in the Power of another to destroy it for no Man can give, what he has not in his Power to give.

But as the sole End that the first Contrivers of any Form of Government is allow'd even by our Adversaries to be only the publick Good of every Society ; it is most evident that this publick Good can never be obtain'd but by a due and impartial Execution of Justice, which every Individual may be both preserv'd secure in his Life and Property, and have Satisfaction made him for any Violence or Injury that may be done him by another ; neither is this possible to be effected if there be not some stated and known Rules, which may be the eternal Measures of Right and Wrong ; for Men shall in vain complain of any what we call Wrong and Injustice done 'em, if there are not some certain Means to determine and distinguish what is just and what is not ; neither is it sufficient that there are such stated Rules, if there be not a Power, some were lodg'd both to judge of the Controversies by 'em that may arise between Men, and punish the Transgressors, which must be Supream, and from which there can lye no appeal ; otherwise there is an End of all Governments let the form of Government be what they will, one of the principal Ends of all, being the obtaining speedy and impartial Justice, which includes every Thing that is necessary for the Good and Preservation of the Commonwealth. I think there can be nothing more manifest, than that the first Men who enter'd into Society parted with what Proportion of their natural Liberty they thought fit, and resign'd it as it were into a common Stock of the Community for their mutual Support and Benefit ; and as there can be no Order or Stability, where there is no just and regular Subordination of the Powers, 'tis necessary that there shou'd be such Degrees and Ascents till we arrive at that which is the End of all Governments whatsoever we call supream ; to this all others are to continue in a just Subjection and Subserviency as long as it continues within the Sphere of its own Activity and does not exceed or extend it self beyond the Bounds prescrib'd by the first Institution ; and



to be understood of mixt and limited Monarchies, in which we call the King in some Sense Supream, or rather Sovereign; for it is certain that the Power absolutely Supream is only that in all Governments of the whole Legislature; where by Supream we do not mean eternal or Infinite, but what is so only with Respect to the other inferior and subordinate Powers of the Society, and are a mutual check upon each other, the Power of the Legislature alone being controulable; and when ever the Sovereign, or any other Power deviates from the Rule and End of the Institution, and employs its Force and Authority to the Damage or Ruin of the Commonwealth, which was originally intended only for its Good and Welfare, it is actually dissolv'd and destroys it self, nor is more to be respected or consider'd then if it never had a Being. This is what I affirm to be the Voice of Nature, and can demonstrate to have been and continues to be the Practice of all wise, free, and civiliz'd Nations; 'tis as a common Notion implanted in the Heart of Mankind, that all men of all such as have any Taste or Relish of Freedom; for such have neither Vertue or Courage enough to free themselves from their Chains, are Slaves as it were by Nature, and are out of the Institution, as seeming to have degenerated into a lower Species than that for whom Governments were intended; and as besides its intrinsic Probity and Rectitude, it has the Testimony and Approbation of all wise and virtuous Legislatours and Founders of Governments, and all Historians Ancient and Modern of any Reputation, never be shaken or renvers'd by Assertions of particular Persons, who may be either ignorant or corrupted, or both, tho' advanc'd with the last Impudence that always attends the Performances of such Persons, who are hir'd to propagate for a Faction the most absurd and partial Falshoods for Truth.

Again, Men thus associating themselves for their common Good, cannot rationally be suppos'd to part with any Share of their natural Liberty, but upon the Score of living peaceably together, free from Violence and Oppression, and the Security of the Remainder: To this End, Men must necessarily be suppos'd to consult on the best and proper Methods to obtain such an End, and when obtain'd, so to establish it, as may render it least liable to Confusions and Disorders. This was done by the unanimous Consent of the whole Body, so proportioning the Powers, as by an harmonious Government might best contribute to the Publick Safety and Tranquillity; and because these Powers could not well be preserv'd, if they were left indeterminately to the sole Will of the respective Persons with whom they were intrusted. This put Men upon the necessity of agreeing upon certain Stipulations and Conditions, which should have the Force mutually to bind and engage 'em to a Execution of their respective Proportions, which, when appointed of, establish'd, and promulgated, were known by the Name of Laws, to which all Parties, without Exception or Distinctions, are reciprocally and indispensably oblig'd to pay a just Obedience and Subjection; and these are ever suppos'd to be founded upon Justice and Equity, and were therefore binding upon all Men,

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both

both from their intrinsic moral Rectitude, and from the universal Consent of the whole People ; for nothing can properly be said to be and carry the Force of a Law, and therefore obligatory upon every individual, but what in its Beginning has the unanimous and general Consent of the whole People, or such as they thought fit to invest with a Power in their Names, sufficient to frame and constitute 'em ; and whilst all the Parts of any Government, which ever continue to exert their Power in the Prosecution only of the Publick Good, it is hardly possible any Laws should be established that will not tend directly to that End. Now in this consists the Freedom we contend for, that Men cannot be oblig'd to submit their Lives and Properties to any Regulations or Laws to which either the whole collective Body, of which they are Members, or their Representatives they have delegated, have not unanimously, or by a Majority, consented to ; for Freedom in a Civil and Political Sense is by no means to be understood of an uncontroul'd Licentiousness of doing what every Man may think fit to do, that seems Good in his Eyes, but an Exemption and Independency from any Power in the Society, or any Laws invented by 'em, to which he has not given his Consent ; nor has any Law (if any such can be supposed to be fram'd) the Force of binding any Members of a Society, that has either any moral Turpitude in it, that tends any where than to the Publick Good ; or is wanting in this universal Consent which is as the Soul, and gives Life and Energy to all Constitutions to which they owe any Subjection or Obedience.

Nor is this Freedom at all inconsistent with a Subjection to what a free People have consented and agreed to constitute, and call their higher Powers ; for even those, of what Form or Denomination soever the Government may be, are as determinately circumscribed and limited by those Laws, as the Liberties of the People, and never exceed their Limits but to the Detriment of the Community. For Laws are, beyond all Dispute, as much the Rule and Measure of all just Magistratical Power and Dominion, as of the Obedience of the Subject ; and which ever of 'em shall go about to infringe or incroach upon the Rights and Liberties of the other, against the fundamental End of the Society, is accountable and punishable to the other, since each Part is equally concern'd both by Interest and Duty to pursue the Good of the whole ; otherwise it were not possible for any Government to subsist long, if there were no Power in Reserve lodg'd somewhere to call to an account and correct such as manifestly act against the Trust repos'd in 'em, and contrary to the Publick Good ; and this cannot rationally be supposed to be any where originally, but in the whole Body of the People, who, as they had at first the sole Power in themselves of framing by their unanimous Consent, such or such a Community, under certain Conditions and Stipulations, cannot be deny'd the Power of restraining such within the Limits of their Duty, who shall presume to transgress 'em to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth, or punish 'em ; if they grow incorrigible, by fairer Means ; nay, even change the whole Frame and Model of it, if they think fit, for the

greater Happiness. Laws then so fram'd upon the Basis of Reason and Equity, are the very Life, Blood and Cement of all well regulated Governments; and whilst they continue in their Nature, that *Cicero* excellently describes to be Law, *Sanctio recta iubens, & prohibens contraria*, carry with 'em an indispensable Force and Obligation upon every Individual of the Society to live in Obedience and Conformity to 'em, as their own proper Act and Deed; when they are once promulgated, which gives them their ultimate Force and Vigour, as Men are thereby taught to know their Duty, and what each Man ought to contribute to the Publick; so every Man left without Excuse, if he fails in it, and receives the Punishment his Transgression of 'em may deserve; for no Man can reasonably complain, if he incurs and undergoes the Penalty of a Law which he himself has given his Consent to establish, as just and necessary: And for this Reason it is, that tho' the Execution of Justice may sometimes seem too severe, 'tis always excusable; for Magistrates, by the Impulse of Passion or Prejudice, may pervert their own Power and the Authority of the Laws to do Justice, but the Law it self, which *Plato* calls, *Mens sine affectu*, is inflexible and inexorable.

This, then, I maintain to have been the Original and Foundation of all Civil Power and Governments that have ever been, or are at present in *Europe*, and every where else, tho' the Ambition and Avarice of the *Asiatick* and *African* Princes on the one hand, the Effeminacy and Cowardice of their Subjects on the other, have chang'd and reduc'd 'em thro' a long Prescription of Time to a servile Servitude under absolute Tyranny, that leaves 'em not the least Notion or Taste of their original Liberty; and it is so far from being repugnant, that it is the only Scheme that has ever been adord which is exactly conformable to the reveal'd Will of God, that has besides, the Practice of all wise Nations, and the Testimony of all learned Men of Antiquity, who have treated of this subject; namely, that it has been originally in the Choice of all free People to frame what sorts of Governments they pleas'd and thought most convenient for themselves, under certain Dispositions of Power, as they were inviolably engag'd to observe for each others mutual Support and Preservation; and as in this Choice in Freemen, both of the End and Means consists what we call Civil or Political Freedom, this reciprocal Agreement and Consent is what we understand by original Contract, without which it is impossible to assign any other rational Principle of Civil Power and Authority, or that Variety of Governments that have a Being in the World; as it is not my Business at present to enquire into the Nature and Reason of all the various and different Models of 'em, I proceed at present to consider that of our own, under which we may live more happily than any other Nation of the Universe, as founded upon the Foot and Principle of universal Consent. Out of the three simple Species, then, before mention'd, our Ancestors, to avoid the Inconveniencies of each of 'em, erected a strong and beautiful Structure of Empire, with such Regulations



of the respective Powers that compos'd it, as gave it justly the Nature and Denomination of a mix'd and limited Monarchy; but ours is not the only one of that kind, I must premise, that in some Places they have been originally constituted elective upon the Death of every Predecessor, after the first Establishment; which Power of Election the People ever preserv'd entire in their own collective Body, or consign'd it into the Hands of Delegates, who should employ it in the Choice of the Successor in their Name for the general Good of the Kingdom, and who was, for the most part, except in case of Male-administration, continu'd for Life. Others, by the same Authority of Consent either of the whole, or of their Representatives, duly and legally appointed, were made hereditary in Families, under certain Covenants and Conditions, of which nature is our own; and I challenge any Partisan of absolute Monarchy to point out one single Instance of any free People in the Universe, or that have now a Being in it, that ever consign'd over their whole Stock of natural Liberties into the Hands of a single Person, so as to subject themselves in all Things to be govern'd solely by the Dictates of his own Will; and tho' 'tis allow'd that there are such Governments now in the World, and great Pains taken to make more so, they are all of 'em founded upon Fraud, Violence, or Usurpation, none of which, by their own Confession, can confer any Right or just Title; and consequently, are beside the Purpose and not to be brought into Example; for I think it impossible to frame a Notion of Freemen consenting and conspiring to make themselves and their Posterity Slaves; the Distinction between a Subject and a Slave being principally this, that the former enjoys his Liberty and Property under the Protection of those Laws he has consented to, and has a Hand in making; the other has no Right to either, because they are under the absolute Power of a Master, without Reserve or Controul; for, as has been said, the Choice of the Society, and the Liberty of framing it, so as best to secure the Remains of their natural Rights and Privileges, is the Freedom that the Subject claims; this being also certain, that Men, whilst they form Governments, reserve to themselves a Power of judging how far they may with Safety recede, and for what Reasons, and upon what Occasions they may re-assume their Natural Liberties. In Kingdoms which by their original Constitutions are hereditary in Families, the first of which for his Vertue and Merit, had that Pre-eminence given him by the People, it has rarely been seen that that Rule has been observ'd without Exception in any one Nation we know, but is, that the eldest Son of the Family in Possession has constantly succeeded to the Throne of his Father, and particularly in our own, where, if I mistake not, it has not been known since the Time of the *Norman*, that any Family has succeeded from Father to Son above thrice, till the coming in of the present reigning One; and this is a Thing that the Defenders of absolute Monarchy mainly insist on, founded upon their chimerical *Jure Divino* Pretention, tho' they know that it has been ever contradicted by the Practices of every Nation this Day in *Europe*, which would be to the last Degree

ious, if there were any positive Law of God for the Sanction of such Title, which no human Power can presume to an Authority to dispense with, there being not one of 'em which cannot evidently be demonstrated, both to owe their Title originally solely to the Choice and Election of the People, and that the People have reserv'd and exerted their Power of changing and determining of the Succession upon certain extraordinary Occasions, as has seem'd most for their Good.

As for our own, this is a Truth which cannot be deny'd but by such as are either ignorant of the History of our Country, or maliciously bent, out of sinister Ends and Designs, to betray it. As far as History can afford us any Light into the Darknes of Antiquity, we know our Ancestors the *Britons* were a free, valiant, and independent People, living under the Influence of their own Laws, without troubling our selves with *Brute* and his *Trojans*, or other fabulous Relations of earlier Times. The first authentick Mention we find of 'em is above Seventeen hundred Years ago by *Cesar*, who, to their Honour, describes 'em a People of a fierce, but brave Courage, so tenacious of their ancient Freedom, that those Parts of our Country, which he conquer'd by the polish'd Valour and Experience of those Legions which had subdu'd the best part of the Universe, he or his Successors could never wholly effect, but by the Slaughter of all the Inhabitants who were capable of bearing Arms; and it is as evident that those noble *Britons* who made head against the *Romans* in the Defence of their Country, as *Morbelaun*, *Carcutat*, *Arviragus*, *Galgacus*, and others, were no more than Men, who for their extraordinary Valour and Vertue, were judg'd most capable to perform so great a Trust against the most formidable Power upon Earth, and chosen and appointed by the People upon those important Occasions of the War. We hear, indeed, of Kings in those early Times, and read of one *Lucius*, but they were only such as the *Romans* impos'd upon 'em after their Conquest, as was their Manner to all other strange Nations they subdu'd, and were no more than what *Tacitus* calls their *Instrumenta servitutis*, such as were design'd only to continue the conquer'd People in Subjection to their Tyranny. There happen'd little memorable in our Country from this Period to the Time of *Vortigern*, the vilest and most profligate of the *British* Race that had any Command in this Island, and who call'd in the *Saxons* to support him in the Violences he exercis'd over the People: These (as had frequently been the Practice of Auxiliaries in all Ages) had for the Reward of their service the County of *Kent* allotted 'em, and afterwards another Colony in *Northumberland*, till in time, invited by the happy Climate and Situation of the Country, the Weakness of the Inhabitants, render'd to Extremity by the conquering *Romans*, and the Divisions and Disorders of the poor Remains of 'em, by the leud Government of *Vortigern*, calling in greater Numbers of their Countrymen, in the End made a Conquest of the whole Island. 'Tis from these conquering *Saxons* we principally derive both the Original and Model of our present Constitution. At first, when they had made

themselves Masters of the whole, they were divided into petty Kingdoms or Districts, containing three or four Counties each, and were commonly known by the Name of the Heptarchy; and it appears evidently, that their chief Magistrate was solely elective without any Title or Pretence but the Choice and Consent of the People; nor is it any way probable, that a People of *German* born and bred up in Freedom, and whose Nation had perform'd great and wonderful Actions for the Defence of it in their own Country against the *Romans*, under the Conduct of *Ariovistus*, *Arminius*, and other renown'd Leaders, should so far forget their former Vertue, as to sacrifice that precious Liberty, by resigning it entirely into the sole Power and Will of a single Person, when they became Masters of another. Whoever has a Mind to be inform'd of the ancient Liberty of the *German* Nation, and the noble Things they have done to preserve it, I refer him to the excellent Treatise of the most judicious of the *Roman* Historians, *Tacitus de Moribus Germanorum*, where he particularly mentions the *Saxons* and *Angles* inhabiting the Borders of the *Elb*, from whom we are descended. He will there be inform'd by him, that their manner of choosing their chief Magistrate was by a general Meeting of the whole People arm'd, where the Person chosen and appointed to the Honour and Command by the general Consent was elevated and carry'd about upon their Targets in Token of their Choice and Approbation; and when they express'd their Dislike, or refus'd the Person propos'd, was always done with a confus'd Murmuring and Clattering of the Arms; and those who had the good Fortune and Honour to be elected, we are told by the same Author, had only the Power of offering his Opinions and Reasons in any Affair of Importance, and if they were found good and reasonable, only that of persuading, but none of commanding against the Judgment of the whole, the People always reserving to themselves the Determination of all Matters of the greatest Consequence to the Commonwealth; for, as he, *de minoribus consultant Principes, de majoribus omnes*.

Nor at this Day has an Emperor of *Germany*, with all his high and august Titles, any other Power than that of persuading, but none of commanding, but with the Consent and Approbation of the Princes and Electors that compose the Empire. A People so custom'd to Liberty, cannot be suppos'd, when they had made the Conquest of a noble Country, where they were establishing the Empire, should employ that Courage and Valour which they had generously exerted against the Power of the *Romans* in Defence of their native Freedom at home, only to make their Condition more abject and slavish under the Domination of tyrannical Masters abroad who could no otherways come to be so, but by their own Consent and Election. In these petty Kingdoms of the Heptarchy, we certainly know, that upon the Death of any of their chief Magistrates, the whole Body of the People (which might easily be done if we consider the small Extent of each Kingdom) always convened for the Election of a Successor, which Convention of the People in their Language was call'd by the Name of *Gemote*, and



and when their Numbers increas'd, of *Mickle-Gemote*. When I  
 speak of the People, I would be always understood of the whole  
 body of Freemen only ; for no Man, while he is a Servant, can  
 properly said to be a Member of the Commonwealth ; because  
 who by his Condition is not in his own Power, cannot be sup-  
 pos'd to have a Part in the Government of others, who are :  
 these *Gemotes* then, and *Mickle Gemotes*, which were the gene-  
 ral Assemblies of the whole Nobility, Clergy and People, were the  
 great Power of each Kingdom, whilst they continu'd thus divided,  
 determin'd of all Things of the greatest Importance rela-  
 ting to 'em both in Peace and War, in the Election of their  
 Governor, and making Laws to circumscribe his Power, and  
 secure their own Lives and Properties, and were the grand Council  
 of the Nation, and the Original of our Parliaments of this Day ;  
 if they then gave 'em their Names from their own Language,  
 was because they had no Communication with the *French*, and as  
 these petty Kings ow'd their Exaltation only to the Consent and  
 Election of the People, so were they by the same Authority abdi-  
 cated and depos'd as often as they were found to act against the Pub-  
 lic Good, and the End and Laws of their Institution. As I am  
 writing a History, if any Man doubts of the Truths I advance,  
 refer him to the Testimony of *Matthew Paris*, *Will. of Malms-*  
*bury*, *Matthew West*, *Hoveden*, and others, who will tell him that  
 (as did all the other petty *Saxon* Kings) acknowledg'd that he  
 was chosen for the Defence of their Liberties, not for his own Merit,  
 but for their Favour, *ad libertatis vestra tuitionem, non meis meritis,*  
*sola liberalitate vestra* ; and at the *conventus pananglicus*, at  
 which all the chief Men, as well Secular as Ecclesiastical, were  
 present, it was decreed by the King, Archbishops, Bishops, Ab-  
 bats, Dukes and Senators, that the Kings should be chosen by the  
 Nobles and Elders of the People ; and pursuant to this Decree,  
 when these petty Kingdoms were united into one about the Year  
 878. *Egbert*, the first *Saxon* Monarch of the whole King-  
 dom, was elected without any Right at all to the Succes-  
 sion, solely by the Consent of the People. After him, by the  
 same Means, came to the Crown *Ethelwal*, *Ethelwolf*, *Alfred*,  
 who in his Will declar'd, that he acknowledg'd, that as he had re-  
 ceiv'd the Crown from the Bounty of the Princes, Elders, and Peo-  
 ple, so he left 'em as he found 'em, free as the internal Thoughts of  
 Man : To avoid Prolixity, they, who came after him, succeeded  
 by virtue of no other Right, than the general Consent of the People.  
 When in time that Line was superceded by *Canutus* the *Dane*, the  
 Authors will tell us, that he made a Contract with the Princes  
 of the whole People, and thereupon was by general Consent  
 crown'd King of all *England* ; in the like manner were chosen the  
 succeeding Princes of the *Danish* Race, *Harold*, *Hardycanute*,  
*Edward* the Confessor, and the last *Harold*, to whose Line and  
 Succession *William* the *Norman* put an End in the Year 1667.  
 Whatever some Men may say in favour of the absolute Power of  
 Kings, as founded and deriv'd from the Conquest, as they are

pleased to term it, of the *Norman*, it is evident from History, that they advance a Thing notoriously false in Fact. He found, indeed, the Kingdom in great Weakness and Disorder; great Numbers of the Nobility and People destroy'd by the Wars, and particularly by the last great Battle fought with *Harold*; but he was receiv'd at *London* with great Joy, as is usual when a People expect an End to the Miseries they have long groan'd under, by the Clergy and People, and saluted King by all, having first sworn to observe and satisfy the ancient good and approv'd Laws of *England*; and though he did not adhere to and perform the Conditions of that Oath, yet after the Impossibility he found of ever possessing the Kingdom in quiet, but by governing a brave and warlike People according to the Honour of their ancient Laws and Constitution, he took the Oath a second time, and not only faithfully observ'd it, but seem'd to repent of the violent Courses he had taken to exasperate the Nobility and People by the Violation of his former, and only wishing (which I think is not very much the Language of a Conqueror) that his Son might be chosen King of *England* after him; for he acknowledged in his last Will made at *Caen* in *Normandy*, that he neither received or left the Kingdom as an Inheritance, *neminem Anglici regni constituo heredem, non enim tantum decus hereditario jure possedi*; and if he pretended no Right himself, but what was confer'd upon him by the People, he had no other but what was formerly enjoy'd by their ancient Kings of the former Lines, according to their ancient establish'd Laws, to the just Observation of which he had engaged himself by the Obligations of solemn-Oaths, which Laws confer no Power to any till they were elected, and that which they then did assign, was under such Conditions, that the Nobility and People reserv'd to themselves such a Degree of it, as to depose or expel such as should attempt to act against the Trust repos'd in them for the Publick Good; and the Practice of the Nation upon his Decease, exercising this natural and inherent Power reserv'd to themselves, sufficiently evince the Truth of what I affirm, both in relation to any Right pretended in virtue of Succession by any of his Children, and the Authority of the People to dispose of the Crown; for by their sole Will and Donation, they confer'd it successively upon his younger Sons *William* and *Henry*, in Exclusion of their elder Brother *Robert*, which could not have justly been, if he had had an undeniable Title (according to the Stile of our modern High-Church Politicians) in right of Succession to his Father, as the eldest Son; and when upon his Return from the Holy Land, he attempted to establish himself by Force of Arms, against the Will and Consent of the People, the Loss first of his Eyes and Liberty, and afterwards of his Life, were the Reward of his Folly.

'Tis evident then that 'tis upon this Foundation-Principle of Consent of a free and willing People our Ancestors have erected and compleated the noble Structure of the happiest and best established Government in the Universe; and if this be not so, let any Man who pretends to maintain the contrary Opinion of Kings by divine Right, make it out as demonstratively as we have ours, and then

what other Title any King now in *Europe* holds his Crown, and  
 will give up the Cause, and wear the Chains he wou'd prepare  
 us, with the most Ease and Contentment we can; but in the  
 mean while, he will excuse us if we prefer the Voice of Nature,  
 Reason and the known Practice of all free People, since the Word  
 of God is wholly silent in the Case, before the *jure divino* Chimera  
 of his Brain, which never enter'd into the Head or Heart of any  
 free or honest *English* Man, or was ever heard of amongst us, till  
 it suffer'd it to be broach'd to compleat the Wickedness of the  
 Age, and reviv'd to finish the Infamy of the Beginning of this.  
 Any Man who has but a moderate Tincture of History, but cast  
 his view upon the Commencements of all the Governments this Day  
 in *Europe*, and if he does not find 'em all originally founded upon  
 the fundamental Principle of Consent and Election, we will be con-  
 sidered to be Slaves. All the Kingdoms of the *Gothick* Polity,  
 of which Sort are all the considerable ones now in being in our  
 Western World are indisputably erected upon it: The Empire and the  
 elective Principalities that compose it have no other Beginning,  
 even the *Roman* long before, of which this is but the imperfect  
 resemblance, and all their Emperors in the Beginning, whilst there  
 remained any Regularity or Discipline, were chosen and confirm'd  
 by the Senate and People, and in the Times of most Disorder and  
 Corruption, by the Soldiery. The Kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohe-*  
*mia*, till they fell under the Domination of the House of *Austria*:  
 the Kingdom of *Poland* continues elective to this Day: *Sweden* till the  
 time of the renown'd *Gustavus Erickson*, to whom for his Vertue  
 and Valour in delivering 'em from the Tyranny of the *Danes*, the  
 State and People confer'd the Crown, and made it hereditary un-  
 der certain Conditions to his Family; and *Denmark*, till the Year  
 1460, when they exchange'd their ancient Freedom for the Servitude  
 they now are under. We do not read of one King of all the noble  
 Kingdoms of the *Goths* in *Spain*, who was not made by the Con-  
 sent of the Nobility and People; and tho' their Crowns were esta-  
 blish'd and made hereditary in Families, they seldom had Regard to  
 the next Heir in the right Line, but for the most Part prefer'd the  
 Son, if a Child, or the Brother of a deceas'd King before the Son, if a Child, or  
 the next Heir in Blood, without 'em. In *France*, the noblest and  
 most formidable in *Europe*, the Disposition of the Crown was always  
 by the People or general Assemblies of the States; it continu'd no  
 longer in the Race of *Pharamond* the Founder of their Monarchy  
 than to his Grandson by *Clodion*, who by the Consent of the People  
 dispossest in Favour of his Kinsman *Merovee*, in whose Family  
 it continued till they degenerated into those wretched worthless  
 Kings they call'd their *Rois faineans*, at what Time they depos'd  
 the last degenerate *Chilperick* of that Race, and confer'd their Crown  
 upon the Son of that famous *Charles Martel*, whose Conduct  
 and Valour freed 'em from the Inundations of the *Saracens*, by the  
 slaughter of two Hundred Thousand of 'em, under the Command  
 of the renown'd *Abderame* who had already over-run the greatest  
 and



and noblest Parts of *Spain*: His Posterity, in process of Time, falling into the same Vices as render'd 'em unworthy to command great a People, they in like Manner depriv'd 'em of it, to place on the Head of *Hugh Capet*, in whose Family it continues to this Day, and who are in a very fair Way of giving an injur'd and oppress'd People a notable Opportunity of recovering their ancient Liberties in another Revolution. I can but barely hint at the Things as known and manifest Matters of Fact, but as incontestable Proofs of the Power of the People of all free Nations to dispose of their Crown to whom and what Family they please when they have just Occasion to do so; and whoever has the Curiosity to be inform'd more at large, may find it amply satisfy'd in *du Bartolomaeus*, *Ican de ferres*, and *Mezeray*. Thus it continu'd in France in the Power of the general Assemblies of the States, which consisted of the prime Nobility, the Clergy, and the Noblesse or Barons, with their respective Parliaments, by reason of the vast extent of their Dominions, which had the Power of judging sovereignly of all Matters by Law cognizable, within their proper Jurisdiction, till *Lewis* the Eleventh by the Help of a deprav'd and indigent Nobility inroach'd upon the ancient Freedom of the People, and their Means broke in upon the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: this was what his *Sycophant* Slaves call'd bringing their Kings to the *du page*, that is emancipating 'em from the Reach and Power of the Laws, by which they were formerly circumscrib'd and restrain'd: his worthy Successors since were too well pleas'd with this Increase of Power, not to endeavour to extend it yet further, till they left their miserable People only the Shadow of that Liberty they formerly enjoy'd, and at length in the last Age compleated the Slavery by the execrable Villany of two dignify'd High-Church Priests, *Richlieu* and *Mazarine*, and continu'd at this Day under a faithless and pittiless Tyrant, in a Condition equally deplorable, not greater than that of the Eastern *Turk*.

It is not to be question'd but that our Ancestors in framing this excellent Constitution had their Eye upon a Balance of Powers necessary to preserve Stability, Order, good Agreement and Harmony of the Parts with the whole, for the general good of the whole; and 'tis in this Sense is to be understood that fundamental Maxim of Nature as well as Government, *Salus populi suprema Lex*; for wise People can ever be suppos'd to erect a Power that in the Execution of it may be employ'd to their own Damage or Prejudice; 'tis therefore that Laws establish'd by mutual Consent equally bind and circumscribe the Power of the King as supream, and the People in a just Subordination to him; and in this equitable Distribution of Powers, to the King chosen by the People and limited by the Authority of Laws agreed to by the mutual Consent of all Parties (to the Nobility by an inherent Right in 'em from the Beginning of the Government, as Mediators between the King and the People, and to the Commons chosen out of the Body of the People by the Suffrage and Election of the Freemen of our Nation) consists the Balance, that is both the Life and Force of the Government, and the general Safety of the People. No one or two of these joyning to

can make a Law without the Concurrence of the Third ; for no  
 with us can be bound to the Observation of a Law to which  
 as not consented, but they must all necessarily be made by the  
 al Consent of the whole, or else they carry not with 'em the  
 e and Obligation of Obedience in the Subject. Before Num-  
 increas'd, it is manifest from our Histories that the whole Body  
 reemen met in Concurrence with the supream Magistrate and  
 ility to frame such Laws as they found necessary for the Safety  
 Preservation of the Society ; but when their Numbers vastly  
 mented, and were dispers'd to the utmost Limits of the Country,  
 niversal Assembling of every individual Freeman for that End  
 utterly impracticable ; to remedy this Inconvenience and yet  
 e the End for which they were united, no beter Way cou'd be  
 d out then to institute Councils consisting of certain Numbers  
 ated from and by themselves, which, according to the Power  
 received, should act in the Name of the whole Body, and to do  
 for 'em which they had been accustomed formerly to perform by  
 selves ; for when a People by mutual Compact is united toge-  
 into a civil Society, there is no Difference between that which  
 e by 'em all in their own Persons, or by certain Numbers dele-  
 by all, and acting according to the Degree of Power they re-  
 from their Principles ; for no Man can be oblig'd to enter into  
 or such a Society but with his own Consent ; but when he has  
 enter'd into it, he lays himself under an Obligation of Obedi-  
 and Conformity to all the just Laws of it ; and if one of those  
 mental Laws be, that all Things shall be determin'd by a Plu-  
 of Voices, his Assent is suppos'd to be comprehended after-  
 in all the Resolutions of that Majority ; nor can he by his fin-  
 issent invalidate any act of the whole. This delegated Assem-  
 om the Beginning of the Union of the Kingdom in the *Saxon*  
 t they call'd in their Language *Wittenagemote*, and consisted of  
 King as Supream, of their Nobility, and such Numbers of their  
 ions or Freemen as they judg'd sufficient by Vertue of a dele-  
 Power to act and determine all Things in the Name of their  
 e Body ; this is the undoubted Original and Model of our  
 ements of this Day, and our whole Constitution ; and this Prize  
 wer was equally beneficial to the King and People ; for by it  
 authority and Dignity of the one, and the Safety and Liberties  
 e other were so balanc'd, that such of the latter as assum'd to  
 selves more than the Law did permit were frequently and severe-  
 h'd ; and such of the former as by Force or Fraud invaded the  
 ne, or manifestly abus'd the regal Power to the Damage of the  
 e when they were on it, were by the other Powers imploying  
 me Means of Force as often tumbled headlong from it.  
 ere is no Time wherein it cannot be demonstratively prov'd,  
 our Ancestors enjoy'd this Liberty of choosing their Kings, and  
 g such Limitations of the Regal Power, as might hinder 'em  
 exerting it contrary to the Trust repos'd in 'em ; but I am very  
 dent that there is not a High-Churchman alive can assign the  
 , or prove that ever there was a King in *England*, who by the  
 Pretence

Pretence of I know not what ridiculous Divine Right, or even Claim of Succession to his Father; which we allow, that ever encis'd any arbitrary and despotical Power over his Subjects but was a down-right Usurpation against the whole Tenure of the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom. The frequent Examples we have in our History of the Peoples exerting that original Power they serv'd to themselves of calling such of their Kings to an Account who presum'd to exercise the Power he was intrusted with beyond the Limits of the Laws, and imploy'd that to the Ruin of the Commonwealth which was lodg'd in their Hands solely for the Good and Preservation of it, are so many undeniable Instances that never by any Agreement or Compact with their Kings parted with or consign'd over their whole Stock of natural Liberty into their Hands, but retain'd as much in their own as was necessary for the Preservation of themselves and the Publick, and to restrain them within the Limits of their Duty, if Ambition, or Flattery, or any other wicked Motive hurry'd 'em to act contrary to their Institution; as in the Beginning they, who being Freemen and equal at first consented to unite themselves into Society under any sort of Government, might without doubt give it what Form or Model they pleased so they must necessarily be suppos'd to be the only proper Judges for the chief Magistrate they erect acts conformably to their Institutions, and still to retain so much in their own Hands as may be sufficient to restrain his Exorbitances, if he were wicked enough to fall into 'em to the Ruin of the People; this as it has been the constant Practice of all wise, free and civilis'd Nations that have been known in the World, so has it apparently been that of our own all Ages; neither in any other Respect if we were so happy as to be united now as we have been in our Affections, as well as common Interest, shou'd we stand in need of any Thing in this World to make us the happiest People in it. *Fortunate Britons!* If we but understood our own Blessings, and not suffer ourselves to be captivated and deluded by the wicked Artifices of mercenary Traitors, who labour to reduce us for their private Interest into a Desolation and Slavery, equal to that of our once great and happy Neighbours.

Under this excellent Constitution then were we originally fram'd and by the Vertue and Courage of our generous Ancestors continued in it to this Day. Our Kings, our Lords, and the Representatives of our Freemen legally elected, are the constituent Parts of the Commonwealth; which whilst they act in Concert together for the Publick Good, can never fail of producing Effects that will also be both honourable and advantageous to that End, and render us a rich, flourishing, and formidable People: Their reciprocal Interest is eternally one and the same, and whichever of the Parts sets itself for an Interest distinct and separate from that of the whole, is guilty of Treason to their Country, and liable to the Punishment the Law inflict in such Cases. In these Three Estates acting unanimously together consists the Legislature, which is the only absolute supreme Power of the Nation, who have the sole Authority of making and framing such Laws as they think necessary, and of altering, changing



negating such, which certain Occasions, the Change of Times, Customs, or unforeseen Accidents, may have render'd obsolete, useless, or unnecessary. Our Kings, as it has been made appear, originally ow'd their Exaltation to the Crown solely to the free Choice and Donation of the People, under certain Conditions which they were oblig'd by the Conscience of a solemn Oath to observe, according to the Tenour of the fundamental Laws, by which they were not only confirm'd and establish'd in the Regal Dignity, but the Power with which they were at first to act for the Publick was so limited and circumscrib'd by 'em, that they might be as a main Rule how far they might employ and exert it for that End, no further; and this is what is meant by original Contract, and which as it undeniably appears to have been the Origine of all Civil Power and Governments in the World, and particularly of God's People (which is the only one we know of he ever immediately interven'd to constitute) 'tis to be hop'd it shall be esteem'd continu'd so at least by us, for our Peace and Happiness, to the end of it, till we have some better Authority to depart from it than what has in the last Age been as unhappily, as impiously advanc'd, by traitors to their Country, founded either on their frivolous *Jure* no Title to absolute Power, or the more ridiculous one of *Fa-lood, Heir in the right Line from Adam, Conquest, or Usurpation*; with Pretensions, as they unhinge and overturn all the just and legitimate Titles of all the Crowns in *Europe* now in Being, so by their very Force and Tendency do they involve 'em in such inextricable Difficulties, as expose 'em to the last Confusions and Disorders.

The Consent then of a free People and the Laws constituted limited our first Kings; which Laws, as has been said, were solemnly by their Coronation Oath inviolably to observe and to rule conformably to the whole Tenour of 'em; and as it is the Foundation of regal Authority, so is it solely of our Obedience and Subjection, whilst they continue to do so, and no other; and as our Ancestors thought fit to render the Crown hereditary in Families, there can no Dispute be made, but that every Successor should receive and enjoy it no otherways than in the same manner, and under the same Condition with the first. This is evident by the same Coronation-Oath, which is respectively tender'd to every one of 'em as he succeeds to the Crown, and by the Virtue of which he is inviolably oblig'd to preserve the Church of God, the Liberties of the People, and to govern in all things according to the ancient fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; insomuch that the Prince, who wilfully acts contrary to so solemn an Obligation of Conscience, to the rest of his Wickedness adds the heavy Weight of the foulest that Men can be guilty of, Ingratitude and Perjury. This same Coronation Oath is no other than a Recognition, and recorded occasional Declaration of the original Contract; and the Act of the Archbishop, or the Prelate officiating at the Inauguration, four times during the Solemnity, demands of the People, when they will have this Man to reign over them, is an evident Demonstration

monstration both of such an original Contract, and that the Crown was from the Beginning the free and sole Donation of the People. A Prince so chosen, inaugurated, and under the Obligation of an Oath to govern according to the Laws of our own making, and on the other, we freely and chearfully receive and acknowledge, and obey all things warranted by our Laws, as our rightful and lawful King, who, as for just Reasons, he is entrusted with the executive Power of the Laws, which is but one Part of the Legislature, is therefore esteemed or reputed the Head or principal of the Commonwealth under the August Title and Character of King or Monarch, and the whole Constitution or Commonwealth a regular and limited Monarchy, exclusive of all arbitrary or absolute Power, free and independent of any other upon Earth, but their own entire Legislature, which we acknowledge to be the only supream and absolute, and which alone has the sole uncontrollable Power of altering, changing, or even abrogating the old, and creating any other new Form or Model of Government they may think more conducing to the Publick Good, and obtaining of Justice, and from whence there lye no Appeal. This, as it has been the universal Sense and Practice of our Ancestors, who founded our Government, will appear in the Succession to continue to be so now, by the Exertion of that Power upon the memorable Occasion which has made so great a Noise in the World within our Memory, which Papists, Jacobites, Nonjurors, and so many High Church-Priests, Traytors both to the just and legal Titles of the Kings, and Peace and Happiness of their Country, dishonour with as much Injustice as Impudence, with the odious and reproachful Title of Rebellion; and all honest Britons, who have any true Regard for either, rejoyce in, by the Name of a legal, righteous, justifiable, and most *Glorious Revolution* that ever happen'd in the Nations, and which we hope, and firmly believe, shall stand the noblest Monument of the Vertue and Honour of the fortunate Contrivers and Finishers of it, as an illustrious Example for the Imitation of our Posterity to the last Ages of the World.

From what has been said in general, may be rationally deduced the following Principles, as the Origine and Foundation of all Civil Power and Governments which ever have been, or are at this Day in the World, and in a very special and particular Manner, of our own.

1. That tho' it has been advanc'd in the last Age, and reviv'd in this, with sinister Designs of a High-Church Faction, hir'd to betray their Country, yet it never has, or can be prov'd, that there is any positive Law of God in his reveal'd Will, determining Nations only to one sort of Government, to wit, That of absolute and despotic Power in the Hands of a single Person or Family, wherein all things, without Exception, are left to the sole Will and Arbitrament of the Prince, without Regard to any humane Laws, by which they are not suppos'd to be bound, as enjoying and inheriting the Crown by virtue of a Divine Right, or of that of the next in Blood of Necessity to succeed; but that God, in his Goodness, left Men to the Direction of their Reason, and the Dictate

Motives of their own Will to choose and erect such Forms of it as they pleas'd, and judg'd most conducive to the Ends for which they first enter'd into Society, which was the Security and Preservation of their Lives and Properties.

That all Men, who were originally free and equal by Nature, should have a Power of uniting into such Societies as they pleas'd, which was not to be suppos'd to be done any other way than by resigning a certain Portion of their natural Liberty into the common Stock of the Community, for the Safety and Protection of the rest, of which the whole Body of the People were the only proper Judges, how much and in what Proportion they might recede from 'em, and how much the Magistrate whom they thought fit to appoint over 'em, as the Guardian of the Remainder, discharg'd the great and honourable Trust repos'd in him for that End.

That all just Civil Power and Authority in the World had their Rise and Foundation originally and solely in the Consent of a People, willing and agreeing to dwell together in Societies for their mutual Support and Defence.

That a People so agreeing amongst themselves, had the Liberty to form and erect what sort of Government they pleas'd in the Hands of such Magistrates as they thought for their Vertue and Capacity most likely to pursue and obtain their Ends, reserving to themselves a Power to correct, restrain, and change 'em, as often as they were found to act contrary to the first and great End and Design of their Institution.

That in an hereditary, but mix'd and limited Monarchy, there must necessarily be suppos'd at first some Agreement or Compact between the Person exalted by Consent to the Throne, and the People consenting to his Exaltation, to the inviolable Observation of which he was oblig'd by the solemn Sanction of an Oath; because it cannot possibly be conceiv'd that any Number of Freemen should consent to resign their whole Fund of natural Liberty to be absolutely dispos'd of at the Will of a single Person, or any Number of Men, that being a perfect Condition and State of Slavery.

That as no sort of Government whatsoever can possibly long subsist without Order, 'tis necessary that certain known and stated Rules should be establish'd to be the Measure of Right and Wrong, which are known by the Name of Laws; and that none but what are founded upon Reason and Equity, and those made by the unanimous Consent of the whole Society, can have the Force of obliging every individual to the Observation of 'em; this being the inherent Birthright of Freemen consenting to put themselves under the legal Subjection of another, that they cannot be bound to submit to any Laws that are not made by their own Consent.

That such Laws thus constituted and founded upon Equity and Justice, are the certain and determin'd Rule and Measure both of the Power of the chief Magistrate, of what Denomination soever, as well as of the Submission and Obedience of the Subject, and the punctual Observation of which all Parties, without Distinction, are



are indispensably oblig'd, and by 'em to be regulated in the Dispensation of the respective Trusts and Exercises of their Duty; there being nothing more absurd and irrational in any constituted Government, than that any one essential Part of it should lye under the Obligation of certain Rules and Conditions liable to Penalties, and the other be left at Liberty to act only according to the Dictates of their single Will and Pleasure.

8. That the chief Magistrate, of what Denomination soever when he acts directly contrary to the Ends of his Institution, and employs those Powers to the Damage or Ruin of the Community with which he was honour'd and entrusted solely for their Welfare and Preservation, by that very Act ceases to be a Magistrate, and may be justly call'd to account and depos'd for his Male-administration.

9. That as no Magistrate, so elected and appointed by the People has that Honour confer'd on him solely for his own Good, Profit or Pleasure, it remains that the Publick Good of the People is essentially the sole End of all Civil Governments whatsoever.

These are what all honest, judicious, and learned Englishmen have ever, and I hope, ever will esteem the only rational and natural Principles of all Civil Power and Government, and particularly of our own: nor will any but Papists, Jacobites, Nonjurors, and the rest of the Rabble of High-Church Priests and French Politicians, who demonstrably preach and propagate others that tend directly to the Slavery of their Country, and Ruin of the present establish'd Religion and Government, dare to load 'em with the odious and reproachful Title of *Republican* and *Antimonarchical*. By so unjust and ridiculous a Reproach they either betray their Ignorance or their Malice; for if by Republican they mean democratical Principles and Designs, as they manifestly do, only to abuse and impose on the People, we with much Plainness and Honesty tell 'em, they advance an impudent and notorious Lye; we scorn 'em both as much and more than they do, nor can they point out ten Men, nay possibly one in the Kingdom, of any Consideration, that entertain so much as a Wish that the present happy Constitution should be chang'd into any other Sort or Form of Government than what it is already, much less into such a one where the sole Power should be supremely lodged in the Hands of the People, which is of the Nature and Essence of perfect Democracy; nor can any of 'em, with all his Reading and Wisdom, show us where there is one of that kind under the Sun, of Consideration enough to be drawn into Example for our Imitation, if we were dispos'd to it. We know, as well as they, and we hope something better, that all the fundamental Laws of the Land are calculated purely to support and maintain the Honour, the Unity, and the Prerogative of the Prince, as well as the Liberties and Properties of the Subject, as they are the constituent Parts of the Commonwealth; by which we mean no more than the original Constitution of the whole Community under the Model of *Kings, Lords and Commons*, exclusive of all manner of Regards to Democracy; and maintain that our own, and all the regular Government

*Europe*, tho' under the Administration of Monarchs, are in Possession of Speech Commonwealths; nor have we any Word in our Language besides, that answers to the *Civitas* of the *Romans* in its Extent, by which they imported their whole Community and Union; for when that noble People, in the Time of their Vertue and Liberty (for as they were born, they expir'd together) by Act of Naturalization, admitted any People they conquer'd into Privileges and Honours of their Commonwealth, they were said to be *civitate donati*, that is, made *Roman*, and as it were, natural Members, free Denizens, and Partakers of all the Immunities, Advantages and Dignities of their *Respublica*, or Commonwealth; but this honest Word now is profan'd, and forc'd to have a gross Sound and Signification of perfect Democracy in the Ears of the Vulgar, when these Men have a wonderful Talent of abusing, upon all Occasions of the villainous Designs of enslaving their Country; and as to support their Cause by the most absurd and notorious Falshoods, and the Varnish of plausible Truths, 'tis therefore that with as much Injustice as Insincerity, they brand all those truly great and noble *Englishmen* who will not run into all their hair-brain'd Measures, with the reproachful Character of Republicans, and Men of seditious Principles, who labour to change the ancient Form of Government into an impracticable and fantastical Democracy. It is by the same sophisticated Spirit of modern High-Church Divinity, that all our most pious, learn'd, and most reverend Prelates, who have the Honesty and Courage to oppose the Violences of their Country, are dishonour'd by 'em with the undeserv'd Titles of schismaticks, or, to speak in the Style of their more modern, fronted Eloquence, Fanaticks. The only rational Concern an honest Man ought to have for so unfair and ungenerous a Licentiousness, is to shew the unhappy Influence such Notions have upon the Minds of our undiscerning Persons, not aware of the Snares are laid for them for the Infamy of it, when discover'd, will unavoidably rebound upon themselves and Faction, to their Confusion.

In like manner, if by antimonarchical, which they impudently put in reproach to us and our Principles, they mean that we are enemies to Monarchy as such, they are such worthless Triflers, that we are sensible that so poor an Injustice ought as little to affect us, as it deserves a serious Answer, unless they mean such to their disadvantage, absolute Power, which in our Language and Sense, is but another Name for Tyranny; and in that Notion we tell 'em with much plainness, that that *Englishman* who espouses and pretends to establish it amongst us, is in good old *Saxon*, a Traytor to his Country, and let him tremble at the Punishment that he knows is justly due by the Laws to such. We leave Slaves to adore their Idol of arbitrary Power after their own manner, with an Assurance, as *Englishmen* and Freemen, that we will employ our Hearts and Hands in the defence of our ancient, legal and limited Monarchy, against them who pretend to their hereditary, unalienable *Chevalier*, to the last Drop of our blood. Let these worthy Persons but be at the Pains, by Means of which they become Men who pretend to Learning, or to good Manners, as

Gentlemen, to convince us that by their absurd and slavish Doctrine of a *Jure Divino* Right, and unconditional Passive-Obedience which we shall consider a little more at large in the proper Place that they do not solely by 'em intend to pave the Way, in order to bring in upon us their darling Pretender ; and we will give 'em much better Security, than any they are capable of offering us, that not not a Man amongst us shall ever frame a Thought in his Head or lay his Hand to the infamous Design of changing our present happy Establishment into any other Form of Government, much less into the lowest of all of 'em, their visionary Democracy ; for I dare venture to affirm, that there is not an honest *Briton* in the Nation who desires or would contribute to make it more a Commonwealth than it is already ; and which is an innocent and proper Term and Thing, which cannot reasonably give Offence to any who is not for making it an absolute and arbitrary Monarchy, the inevitable Consequence of which is Slavery to us and our Posterity. In the Condition it is yet in at present, we have receiv'd it from our generous Ancestors, whom we shall make it our Glory to imitate, in transmitting it safe and entire to succeeding Generations. We maintain that it is solely upon the Force and Equity of our Principles, that our People derive their Right of defending their ancient and immemorial Liberties from the Violences and Incroachments of ambitious and tyrannical Princes, when-ever they shall so far forget their own best Interest, which is inseparable from that of their People, as to attempt the Subversion of 'em ; and it was the bare Design of the Violation of the establish'd Government and Religion together with all the fundamental Laws by which they were secured to us, which gave the Occasion to the People of these Nations to exert their natural Rights and Birth to the most happy and glorious *Revolution*, that has reflected more solid Honour upon a brave, valiant and valiant People than all the noble Actions of former Ages, or more stupendious Ones of this.

An Administration so full of Violence and Oppression as that of *King James*, pointing directly to the Ruin of the Government, and Subversion of all the fundamental Laws made to support it, put the Nation upon the Necessity of having Recourse to the only Means we were left to save themselves from the imminent Destruction was ready to overwhelm 'em. Petitions and Remonstrances, the indubitable Rights of the Subject when under heavy Grievances and Oppressions were not only no longer of any use, but the Persons thus exerting their legal Rights treated with Rigour and Contempt, and against all Law imprison'd, or otherwise punish'd for doing what was but proper to their Duty to do. An unhappy Prince, violent and imperious in his Nature, was no longer to be restrain'd within the narrow Limits of the Laws, bigotted to the most polluted and violent of all Superstitions, and hurry'd by the impetuous Influence of the Court of *France* and *Rome* (which instead of cultivating the Peace and Tranquillity of *Europe*, has been, thro' all Ages, the principal Author and Fomentor of all the Confusions and Disorders have so moulded the Nations that compose it) precipitated him into the



ruin he was preparing for others, by the hasty Steps he made to arbitrary Power, the *Popish* Religion, and Slavery inseparable from it; add to this the Treachery of his High-Church Sycophants who had prevail'd upon him to believe, that by their pernicious Doctrines of Divine Right, and absolute Passive Obedience, they had lull'd the Body of the People into Dispositions quietly and tamely to submit to all his Designs how fatal soever to the Nation; nor can it be imputed to any Thing but an Infatuation of Mind in those fawning Enemies of their Country, to persuade him to believe that a free and valiant People born and bred up in Liberty, cou'd be prevail'd with like Slaves to sacrifice so precious a Blessing, to the Insinuations of a treacherous and corrupted Priesthood; the Event happily justify'd the contrary; *perdere quos Jupiter vult, prius dementat*, was punctually verifi'd on this important Occasion; the People of these Nations are generally good natur'd, without the Reproach of the Term in a malicious Sense, and patient of Sufferings to an eminent Degree; they have a sincere Respect and even Veneration for each of their Kings, who by their Care and Tenderness manifest their Intentions of ruling 'em only according to Law; but they neither want good Sense to know when they are ill us'd and oppress'd, nor Courage to make use of the Means which God, and Nature, and the Laws have left in their Hands, either to prevent or remove themselves from Ruin; they have always made their Kings sensible, that all free as they are, they will bear heavy Burthens, but they must not be press'd too far; in each Cases, Resentment always gets the better of Obedience; they cannot be perswaded that they are Asses fit only to carry such Burthens as are insupportable, and be beaten into the Bargain if they don't. With many of their Kings who had the ignoble Designs of treating 'em at so vile a rate, the Struggle was often no more than to redress the Abuse; but in others (whom they found attempting to change the very Nature of the Government, and the Foundations of it in Danger to be undermined by such as affecting an absolute and arbitrary Power over their Lives and Properties contrary to their sacred Oaths and Intent in their Institution,) that dangerous and unseasonable Modesty has been laid aside; and in the Defence of 'em, they have had recourse to Force, where there was no longer any Expectation of Remedy by Law, and if sometimes they have not been able to prevent, or to deal the Injustice, were never ignorant, or wanting in the Means to revenge it.

This was the Case of the late King *James* and his People; Matters were reduc'd to that Extremity that there remain'd nothing to choose but Popery and Slavery, or Freedom and the Protestant Religion; the Choice was soon determin'd, and God who in all Times manifestly shown himself a Favourer and Protector of the Assertors of the Liberty of Mankind, crown'd it with a happy Success suitable to his Goodness and the Justice of the Cause; the Tyrant was deposed, banish'd, abdicated, and thereby the People at this Day, and I hope ever shall (notwithstanding the restless Endeavours of all their Enemies) enjoy the inestimable Blessing of their Original Liberty,

erty, as the Reward of their Vertue and Courage. I need not here multiply Words to give the Detail of the Measures taken to bring about this notable Revolution ; there are many Thousands yet alive, of which great Numbers had a Share in the Execution, and may such of 'em as still adhere to and maintain it, long live to enjoy the happy Effects of their glorious Labour. It is sufficient to intimate in this Place that it was the universal Sentiment and belief of the whole Nation, (*Papists, Jacobites, Nonjurors and Highchurch Priests* only excepted,) that the Body of the People have always an inherent reserve of Power in their Hands, which upon such extraordinary Occasions they have a Right to exert to preserve themselves from the Violences and Incroachments of their perjur'd tyrannical Kings ; there being nothing more certain than that the most eminent and considerable of all Ranks and Professions of Men in the Kingdom cheerfully and readily contributed every Thing in their Power for the Recovery and future Security of their ancient Freedom.

'Tis absurd and frivolous to the last Degree, what the Enemies of their Country and this famous Revolution, have and still daily urge against the Validity of the Acts and Authority of the Convention to dispose of the Crown after the Flight and Abdication of King *James* ; for tho' it be true, whilst there is a King in being, no Law can be made without the joynt Consent and Concurrence of the three Estates ; yet it has been told and prov'd to these Men, if good Reason were of any Weight with 'em, that the Person wearing the Crown originally by the Consent of a free People, who endeavour to overturn an establish'd Government, Religion, and the fundamental Laws, by assuming an absolute arbitrary Power of disposing all Things according to the Lust of his sole Will in Breach of his Coronation Oath, does that Moment cease to be a King, and puts himself upon a Level with the rest who exalted him to that Honour by the very Laws of this Institution ; and when by any overt Act of an illegal and usurp'd Authority he has so forfeited that Right to the regal Dignity, the collective Body of a free Nation, or their Representatives, have a full Power and Liberty inherent in 'em to convene themselves when they please to remedy the Disorders of present Male-administration, and to provide for the future ; and in a Case of a King's withdrawing and putting himself under the Protection of a foreign Prince their mortal Enemy, to recover what he calls his Right by force of Arms, he makes himself a declared Enemy of the People, and they are hereby left in full Power and Authority to dethrone and exclude him for ever, and to dispose of the Crown, which he render'd himself unworthy, on whom they please, as they may think better to deserve the Honour ; and I think it may be reasonably concluded, that the Babble and Clamours of such as are still in the Interests of King *James* in his pretended Son, of no Manner of Weight and Consideration put in the Scale against the unanimous Sentiments and Act of a whole Nation ; nor can any Thing be more reasonably infer'd, than that such as incessantly labour the Establishment of the *Pretender* are more the Friends of Popery and Slavery, than the Protestant Religion, and the Freedom

and Honour of their Country; but be that as it will, 'tis certain at the most eminent of 'all Degrees of Men in the Nation invited over *WILLIAM Henry Prince of Orange*, to whom by a secret Disposition of Providence against all the Rules of Policy, he had marry'd his eldest Daughter, the most Noble and most Illustrious Princess *MARY*, the presumptive Heir of the Crown, and joyn'd their Forces to his to expel the Oppressor; the Consequence of which was the Disposal and Settlement of the Crown, as is known to all the World, by the only Authority upon Earth that had the Power to do it.

In Pursuance of this inherent and immemorial Right deliver'd and confirm'd to us by the Practice of our Ancestors, it was by the unanimous Consent of the whole Body of the Nation, as a recognition of this Right of the People's exerting their Power upon such occasions, declar'd,

*That King James the Second by endeavouring to subvert the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of his Kingdom, did violate and forfeit the Government, by which the Throne became vacant; and that being so, and no legal Proof appearing that the pretended Prince of Wales had any Right thereto, but strong Presumptions to the contrary, it was lawfully fill'd by and settled upon King William of glorious Memory and his royal Consort, or the Survivor, and the Succession as has been already mention'd. And in the Bill of Rights it is laid down and further declar'd,*

*That the pretended Power of suspending or executing Laws by re- Authority without Consent of Parliament, is illegal.*

*That the same Power as it has been assum'd and exercis'd of late, is illegal.*

*That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissions and Courts of the same Nature, are illegal and pernicious.*

*That the levying of Money for and to the Use of the Crown by pre- ce of Perogative without grant of Parliament, for longer Time or other manner, than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal.*

*That the raising or keeping a standing Army within the Kingdom Time of Peace unless with Consent of Parliament is against Law.*

*That Freedom of Speech and Debates of Proceedings in Parliament, shall not to be impeach'd or question'd in any Court or Place out of Parliament.*

*That it is the Right of the Subject to Petition the King, and all Commitments and Prosecution for such petitioning are illegal.*

*That for Redress of all Greivances, and for the amending, strength- ning, and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently; with many other Particulars for which I refer the Reader, who has the Curiosity to be further inform'd, to the Acts themselves.*

Now we think this is as full and ample a Recognition and Declaration of the Rights and Power of the Nation to maintain and defend their ancient and undoubted Liberties from the Usurpations of tyrannical Princes as human Wisdom can devise, founded upon the natural Principles of Government I have laid down; and the Exertion of



this Right and Power is by the aforesaid Acts in the most authentic Manner can be invented, declar'd to be the ancient and indubitable Right and Privilege of the People of *England* and *Ireland*. 'Tis with as much Impudence as Ignorance or Malice, that the Partisans and Friends now amongst us of the pretended Son, maintain that it was not in the Power of the People, by any Act of Parliament to dethrone and exclude the Father for ever from what they call his Inheritance by a Divine Right; as well as what they urge and publickly profess in respect to the most illustrious Protestant House of *Hanover*; Viz. That an Act of an insuing Parliament may rescind and annul the Entail and Settlement as establish'd upon that Family: To the former I have spoke already, and to the latter shall only say, that I think no Body questions that the whole Body of the Nation legally conven'd together in Parliament as the intire Legislator, may not by their Act repeal what has been done by the former; but it is as well known, that a fundamental Law upon which the whole Happiness, Interest, and Honour of the Nation entirely depend, neither has or will be repeal'd, till such an Extream Necessity, if ever such a one can happen, as may make such an Act both just and necessary; for it is impossible to conceive that the Nation should ever be in such an universal Frenzy as to conspire its own Ruin; and I am confident that there is not an honest *Briton* alive that does not hope that he shall never see a Parliament so little Friends to their Country and Enemies to the *Pretender*, as shall ever entertain a Thought, much less attempt it, because it must necessarily involve the Kingdom in more Blood and Confusion than has been shed in it in all their Civil Wars since they were a Nation: yet this as wicked and monstrous as it is, is an Opinion and hope too which our worthy High-Church Friends to the *Pretender*, do maintain of 'em to my Knowledge publickly maintain and justify, which yet by the Blessing of God they shall never see effected, since it is not possible, but by the Destruction and Effusion of the last Drop of Blood of the Honest and Brave in the Nation.

'Tis a constant and undeniable Maxim of Policy, that no Government of what Form soever, can possibly subsist and be long preserv'd but in and by the Virtue of the same Principles on which it is originally founded, as that there eternally remains a Power in the Body of every Nation and People, by a Joynt and unanimous Consent of the whole or Majority, to change the whole Face and System of it as they please; for as there is nothing that can be devis'd by human Wisdom so perfect as not to carry many and great Defects along with it so as to stand in need of Amendment; and therefore Men uniting together for their mutual Benefit and Security, must either be under the Necessity of enduring the Inconveniences of a defectuous and ill constituted Government, or they must necessarily be suppos'd to have a Power to redress 'em when they become apparently insupportable solely from the Weakness of its first Establishment; for it is one Sort of Frenzy to imagine that a Community of free and rational Creatures should voluntarily continue under any grievous Pressures and Incommodities of an im-

politic

rick Constitution of their own framing when it is in their Power  
 free themselves from 'em; and another to believe that they will not  
 rt that Power upon any necessary Occasions to redress 'em; and it  
 upon this Foot I maintain, that it is not only lawful, but necessary to  
 nge the whole Frame of a Government, or any Part of it that  
 ns most defectuous and detrimental to the Peace and Tranquility  
 the Commonwealth, from worse to better by the legal Powers I  
 e already mention'd, when the first Institution of 'em appears to  
 e been deficient for the Pursuit of the publick Good which is not  
 y the original but primary End of all civil Power and Govern-  
 ts in the Universe.

As these are demonstrably the Principles upon which our own are  
 nded, whilst they are firmly adher'd to and maintain'd, they will  
 nally be the Support of the Peace, Welfare and Prosperity of  
 happy Nation; they are directly calculated for the Good of the  
 ble; and without Artifice or Detour, tend boldly and strait to  
 End; and whoever endeavours by any Means whatever to  
 titute others contrary to 'em in their Place, are not only the  
 infamous Bétrayers of God and their Country; but if ever they  
 eed, which good Heaven forbid, we may bid a lasting Adieu to  
 that goodly Fabrick of Liberty and Property, which the Wisdom  
 Valour of our Forefathers have erected upon 'em; there is an  
 of all that glorious *English* Freedom we have been blest with  
 the Course of so many Ages, which has hitherto been both the  
 y and Admiration of all our neighbouring Nations; for there is  
 one under the Sun can boast of the Happiness of a noble gene-  
 Freedom equal to ours, who have enjoy'd it so long, or main-  
 d it with so much Bravery and Courage, when they were possess'd  
 ; and when we cease to do so whilst we have a Drop of *English*  
 od in our Veins, or Courage in our Hearts, or Fortunes, or  
 rds, or Hands to draw 'em in the Defence of so glorious a  
 se, may we dye Slaves, or what is worse, live long to bear the  
 ue and Punishment of our Treachery and Cowardice, under the  
 ries of a wretched Bondage we shall bring upon our selves,  
 but too well deserve, in as deplorable a Manner as some of the  
 of our Neighbours once have done by theirs: 'Tis the sole Ver-  
 and Influence of these generous Principles that have animated all  
 great and good Men, Lovers of their Country in all Ages  
 ppose the Wicked and execrable Ambition of their Tyrannical  
 ces at the Hazard and Expence of their Lives, Fortunes, and all  
 gs dear to 'em, whose glorious Examples I hope we shall al-  
 ys imitate, and if possible, surpass in the Defence and Preservation  
 the Liberties and Honour of our Country. 'Tis as wholly from  
 inviolable Attachment to our ancient Constitution, that our  
 efathers have merited the glorious Title of true Patriots and Lo-  
 of their Country, than which there cannot be found one of more  
 ellence and Merit amongst Men; as on the contrary, they who  
 er deviate from these original Principles, or substitute others of a  
 erent Nature and Tendency in their Place, have and shall ever  
 esteem'd the most dangerous and detestible Enemies of it. 'Tis  
 upon

upon the Strength and Vertue of the former that the moderate Low Churchmen, or since I am compell'd to use a Term of Distinction the Devil and High-Church have brought in amongst us, the modern *Whigs* contriv'd to form and accomplish the late happy and memorable Revolution, when the Nation by the fatal Doctrines and Principles of the High were brought to the very Brink of the Precipice, and with an equal Courage and Constancy endeavour still against all the foreign and more dangerous Machinations of domestic Enemies, to support and defend it; 'tis not their ridiculous Cant and Jargon of republican, antimonarchical, or fanatical Principles with which as unjustly as insolently they labour to reproach us, that fool us out of the Sense of that Duty and Love we owe our Country, or fright us from a generous Defence of our precious Liberties and Religion; the nonsensical Ribaldry of the Return 41 shall never Influence us into such an infamous Degree of Cowardice or Perfidy as basely to lose, much less betray a Blessing invaluable as our native Freedom.

I shall only repeat what I have already said upon this Article that the Principles of 41 we honour, but those of 48 we detest more than they do: But I shall pretend ever to maintain that all the Miseries of that disastrous Time, and the lamentable Catastrophe of that unhappy Prince, were principally owing to pernicious Doctrines and Principles employ'd by the fawning High Church Priests and others, to invest him with a Power that never belong'd to any of our Kings of *England*; for whilst the King and People contain themselves within the Bounds of Royalty and Prerogative prescrib'd to each by the Tenor of the Laws, 'tis next to impossible there should be any other than one joyn't Joint Interest between 'em, which must always terminate in such an Union and Harmony as will ever tend to preserve the publick Good preferably to all private Considerations and Designs; upon these inherent and limited Conditions of our Birthright, we are contented to be, and always shall value our selves upon being most true, loyal, and faithful Subjects; but our dear High-Church Friends shall excuse us if they please, or let it alone, if we with much Ingenuity and Flattery repeat to 'em that we shall never prevail with our selves to be contented to be their Slaves; and that we know our selves to be in possession of an unquestionable native Right and Power of defending our Lives, our Fortunes, our Laws, our Liberties, and our Religion against all the Encroachments of ambitious and tyrannical Princes, without incurring or in the least deserving the odious reputation of seditious or rebellious, except with them whose Principles and Persons we heartily despise. As none but poor spirited Spectators can descend so low as to flatter their Princes with any Degree of illegal Power, such only are fit and deserve to be Slaves; but such Men know, that as it is out of our Principles or Practice to complement 'em with any such absolute Power, so are we as impatient of the deserv'd Punishment and fatal Consequence of it, Slaves. To brand us with such odious Characters in so noble and generous a Cause as the Defence of our original Rights, is to condemn



there has been of great and heroick in the renowned Commonwealths of *Greece* or *Rome*, that struggled so hard for theirs; and indeed every thing else that has been esteem'd commendable, or life-worthy amongst all brave and civiliz'd Nations. But let the Animations of our High-Church Friends or Enemies, be what they will, we desire 'em to believe, that we by no Means place the Merit of our Actions in their poor slavish Notions and Sentiments, but in the native probity and rectitude of our Intentions. And as we make it our glory, to have equall'd the bravest of Antiquity in Gallantry, and generous Preservation of our Liberties, for more than any of 'em have been able to do theirs; we hope and trust not by the Blessing of God, in transmitting ours to our last Posterity, to surpass the most renown'd of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, whose noble Struggle in the End, by the Ambition of great Men, Corruption of Priests, and Treachery of others, (for we cannot impute it to want of Courage,) terminated in the worst and greatest of all Evils in this World Slavery. And as we have hitherto continued in a happy Condition of Freedom, that has so eminently distinguish'd us from the rest of the Neighbouring Nations, who were once as free as we are, but at present groan under the weight of Chains of their own making, in this we hope to exceed 'em by continuing so till there is an end of Time.

We are not insensible what Impressions the Notion of Republican, Monarchical and Fanatical Principles, have made on the Minds of such Men, who judge only by Sounds and Appearances, and do not penetrate into the Fund and Nature of things, not so much by the Virtue of any Weight in the reason of 'em, as from a certain Air and Appearance of the Popularity. The Principles we advance, are the Will of God and Nature, supported by the universal Consent of Mankind, to whose Judgment we freely submit 'em upon the Truth and Reasonableness of 'em, without forcing of 'em any other way upon their Belief, or begging their Assent but for the intrinsic Evidence they carry along with 'em; which if I am not in an Error, is a Practice quite contrary to that of our Adversaries, who dogmatically inforce their's, as Oracles not to be disputed. The Approaches of Republican, and Fanatical, so injuriously thrown upon us by the Artifices of High-Church, are as ridiculous as they are base and malicious; they have neither the Sanction of divine Authority, nor the Voice of Nature or of Reason, or the Consent of Mankind to support 'em: They are no more than the lewd Visions of Chimeras of a small number of Men, who either thro' Ignorance and Want of Application, understand not the nature of Government in general, or the particular Interest of their own; or who, which is worse of such as thro' Malice, or the Corruption of a slavish and mercenary temper of Mind, endeavour to pervert and debauch their fellow Subjects, in order to promote the scandalous Designs and private Interest of a shameless Faction. The violent and dangerous Attempts that were made within the Memory of our Fathers, to change the Government establish'd upon Monarchy and Liberty, and reduce it to the Form of a perfect Democracy, which,

I must repeat is what our reverend High-Church Politicians mean by a Commonwealth, are undeniable Evidences of the natural Strength and Vigour of our Constitution, which has only the Error, if I may speak so, of too much Health, which may render it liable like the natural Body, to be shock't by external Incidents and violent Conclusions of Faction, which is the Fever of a State, but make it impracticable wholly to subvert and overturn it; nay, even absolutely impossible to change the whole face and ancient system of it, otherwise than has been said by the joint and unanimous Consent of the whole Legislature. This then is what we justly call meer Vision and the Chimeras of a Faction, the Language of Fools who know no better, or of Knaves who in private Views are hir'd to betray the true Interest and Liberty of their Country. For there is nothing more certain, than that it is as impossible for perfect Democracy, to enlarge their Dominion and Power by the glory of their Arms, as to preserve themselves long in a state of Freedom, from the Invasions and Insults of ambitious Princes more potent and formidable than themselves. For where there is continually difference of Opinions and Sentiments, and clashing in Councils, which are utterly unavoidable, where the Voice of every individual is necessary for the Forming and Execution of an important Design, there nothing of Security, Stability, or Order can be reasonably expected; and where they are wanting, a Community of that sort can neither pretend to extend their Conquests abroad, defend their own Freedom long, nor enjoy that Peace and Happiness and Security at Home, which are the natural End and Interest of their Association. This then is the airy Fantom of a High-Church Commonwealth, which they would make the World believe by the most false and infamous Insinuations, we are labouring by our Principles to introduce, in the room of the ancient substantial one of our Fore-Fathers; a Form of Government long since exploded out of the World, (if ever there was any such in it of Consideration,) in the Place of the most beautiful, vigorous, and best constituted Government under the Sun; a mishapen Bitch, the Spawn of a bigoted High-Church Zeal, resembling the intemperate Heat of some parts of *Africk*, which is observ'd to ingender more Monsters than regular Productions, with which they have labour'd hard to fright the People into a Belief of the horror of our Design to banish the genuine Offspring of our Ancestors, to make room for their awkward illegitimate Monster of an imaginary Democracy.

The good God be prais'd, their frontless Practices have not had all the Success with which they flatter'd themselves; tho' they have had but too much both by this and others, which I shall take notice of in the Sequel, for the Repose and Happiness of the Country. The Eyes of People are pretty well open'd to discern the wretched Shifts and Artifices they have not been ashamed to employ to carry on the glorious Cause of High-Church; our honest Country Men and Fellow Subjects are well enough appriz'd at this time of Day, which of the two contending Parties are truly continuing our ancient Constitution, upon the noble and general Principles

principles of legal Liberty, and legal Prerogative ; and which are  
 introducing new Schemes and Principles absolutely destructive of  
 former, and stretching the latter beyond all the Bounds and  
 limitations prescrib'd it by our Laws. The World is at length sen-  
 sible who it is that is for bringing in, and establishing spurious or  
 spurious Births of any kind, to the Ruin and Slavery of the  
 Nation. We cannot prevail with our selves to embrace, much  
 less propagate such dangerous and pernicious Absurdities as were  
 known to all the honest, wise, and civiliz'd People of former  
 Ages. Tho' we maintain that all civil Power and Dominion origi-  
 nally derive from and center in the People, yet we maintain that  
 the execution of it is ever lodg'd in Magistrates legally elected and  
 constituted by their unanimous Consent, and confirm'd by the San-  
 ction of the Laws. Without troubling our selves with the Titles of  
 Supreme Magistrate in other Communities, we more particularly  
 consider that of our own, as it has been deliver'd down to us by our  
 Forefathers, and as re-settled upon its first Principles by the  
 glorious Revolution, under the Administration of our rightful  
 King as Supreme, and the Lords and Commons in Conjunction  
 with him. We abhor all Thoughts of a Government solely popu-  
 lar and democratical, tho' I shall boldly affirm, that even such a  
 Government, if one under all its Disadvantages, is infinitely preferable to that  
 which makes all things servilely depend solely upon the Will and Pleasure  
 of a single Person ; for I may enjoy my Life, my Fortune, or my  
 Liberty, tho' but, insecurely under one ; but there is nothing that  
 I can call my own an Hour longer, than an absolute despotical  
 Government shall think fit to permit me. Let 'em reproach us as much as they  
 please, with Principles Anti-tyrannical, Anti-absolute, and Anti-arbi-  
 trary in our Prince's acting against the Tenour of our Laws, we  
 will own and make it our glory to profess 'em ; but as for their  
 Principles Antimonarchical, in respect of our rightful and legally  
 constituted Kings, who have the fear of God, and the Laws before  
 their Eyes, as the Rule of all their Actions, their democratical  
 Principles in the Sense they would basely insinuate 'em, we let 'em  
 know that we disown, that we detest and reject 'em, with the  
 Scorn and Contempt, that we do their impotent Malice, and  
 Villainous Designs, as more befitting the Designs and Practices of Men,  
 than as they have not yet convinced the World, that they are  
 men of more good Sense, than is to be found amongst us, yet  
 sufficiently discover'd that they are of a stock of Knavery, and  
 most infamous Prevarications ; which as we are sure we shall  
 be guilty of with Respect to our Kings, our Country, or any  
 other Occasions of mortal Life, we neither envy nor grudge 'em.  
 These are the Principles of the modern Whigs, consider'd as  
 the very Basis and Essence of a Constitution, which so eminently  
 distinguishes us from all other Nations, and by which alone the  
 Honour, the Interest, the Religion, the Liberties and  
 Rights of the Subject, can be entirely preserv'd in the Vigour and  
 Duration of their first Establishment ; by these we hold our selves  
 sensibly oblig'd to honour our Kings, and without Scruple  
 to pay 'em all the just Deference to their legal Authority, which  
 the



the Laws of the Land limit and circumscribe, by the same Vertue and Power that they fence in and secure the Liberty of the Subject; we with all Cheertulness pay 'em that Submission and Allegiance the Law requires, whilst they employ the Powers, the Law invests 'em with for the good of the People committed to their Charge; but we do not hold our selves oblig'd by our Religion or Conscience to pay 'em more; we do not set up for Ways of Supererogation either in Religion or Politicks. We leave the Flights to those Worthy Persons, who are something more than related to a certain Church, that makes a Profession of 'em, and pretend to more Grace than the rest of their Neighbours. For we are humbly contented to discharge the Duties and Offices both, with that Resignation and Modesty of Men, who as we are sensible, that we are subject to the Frailties and Imperfections of Humanity, have Grace enough to acknowledge it, and square our Duty to God and our King, by the Rule and Measure of our natural and imperfect Capacity; yet with a sincerer Devotion to the one and more ingenuous Fidelity to the other: For the Words Loyalty and Allegiance, about which our more refin'd High-Church Politicians, keep such a terrible Pother, import, or demand no more, as the very Etimology of 'em, *ad legem*, manifestly determines. As he of our Princes, who does, or shall at any time exert a Power which the Laws do not allow him, has, and ever shall be esteemed a Tyrant, which is a Monster, not properly of the Productions or Growth of our Soil. We cannot by any Means think our selves oblig'd to pay, either in Reason or Conscience, the same Submission and Obedience to such a one, as we hold our selves indispensably to render to all just, wise, vertuous and valiant Princes, who for the good of their People, the sole end and rule of their Administration, by the Obligation of our Interest as well as Oaths. And as in the Vertue of our Principles, we freely acknowledge the Superiority and legal Authority of our limited Monarchs, so are we in return committed to expect and demand from 'em, all the reciprocal Obligations, his Power, for the Defence and Maintenance of our Religion, Liberties and Properties. And as these are the Principles of the Modern Whigs, to which they have firmly and constantly adhered, I am bold to affirm, that by the very Nature and Vertue of 'em, no Man cannot be otherwise than a true Patriot, and a faithful Subject. And with the same Confidence I hardly maintain, that upon any other whatsoever, especially those known and noted of High-Church, it is impossible for any Society of Men, to be either the one or the other, in a free and limited Monarchy constituted as ours is.

In such a noble and generous Nation, where we enjoy a Freedom as ancient as our Original, when for our Sins the Devil is permitted by any Instruments Foreign and Domestick, to sow Seeds of Division amongst us, that grow up into a Distinction into two formidable Parties; as it is the greatest Misfortune that can befall us, and the greatest Occasion of Rejoycing to all our Enemies, a Man without the Spirit of Prophecy, may venture boldly to tell, that the Ruin of that Country is not far off; unless by a

Providence, and the extraordinary Care and Vigour of the  
 Nature, it be timely prevented by the Suppression of one of  
 Fatal Instances of this kind in ancient Story, are the Factions  
 Blew and Green, in the *Bizantine* Empire, and of the  
 and *Gibelins* in the *Roman*, and that of Whig and Tory in  
 own. Whoever is but little acquainted with the Circumstances  
 of, which it is not of this Place to be particular in, will easily  
 perceive how fatally those unhappy Factions contributed to pre-  
 sent those great Empires into their Destruction : The one expo-  
 sed the *Greek* to the insupportable Slavery of the *Turks*, which to  
 day they groan under, to the utter Subversion, both of Empire  
 and the Christian Religion. The other to the aggrandizing the  
 Power of the Popes, and their corrupted Clergy the High-Church-  
 men of those Times, upon the Ruin of the *German* in *Italy*, and  
 of the whole Empire, to the infinite Scandal, as well as pre-  
 judice of all the crown'd Heads of *Europe*, even of the same Com-  
 mon. And we have but too melancholly an Instance, of the  
 present Situation our own Affairs are in from the unhappy Di-  
 vision of Whig and Tory ; to prevent the terrible Consequences,  
 which it ought to be the constant Prayer and Application of e-  
 very honest *Englishman*, who loves his Religion or Country, since  
 the ruin of the one can never be effected, but upon the Extirpa-  
 tion of the other. Yet where there are two great contending  
 Parties, who upon different and even opposite Principles, equal-  
 ly pretend to pursue the good, and honour, and true Interest of  
 Country ; it is impossible for 'em both to be in the Right,  
 and will always be found this remarkable and essential Diffe-  
 rence. That that Society or Confederacy of Men, who act confor-  
 mably to the known and fundamental Principles of the Government  
 established upon Nature, Equity and Reason, may properly be called  
 the Right, and that the honest one too : Whereas, they who upon  
 their Schemes, act against those known and fundamental Princi-  
 ples, against the Dictates of Nature, Equity and Reason, who by  
 their lying and propagating novel Doctrines in their Nature and  
 Principles, destructive of all civil Power and Government, who by  
 their art and illegal Artifices, surprize the Prince, disturb the pub-  
 lic Peace, either to subvert the ancient Establishment, or upon  
 the Ruins of it, to lay the Foundation of their private Fortunes,  
 are the Property of Speech but Faction, and that the most pernicious  
 and dangerous one that can arise in a State. So that the only cer-  
 tain Rule, whereby to judge of the Sincerity of the Intentions of  
 Parties, are the establish'd fundamental Laws, and the common Prin-  
 ciples, on which the Government is originally founded, where such  
 an unhappy Division is in Force. I have already fairly shown the  
 Principles and Doctrines of the Whigs or moderate Low-Church  
 ; and proceed now more amply to enquire into the Nature  
 and Import of those of the Tories or High-Church-Men, and  
 apply the whole to the Reflections of my honest Country Men,  
 my Fellow-Subjects to make what Judgment they please ; nor shall  
 I advance any thing but what is publickly known to be both their  
 Principle and Practice.

Far be it from me from believing or asserting, that there are amongst the Tories great Numbers who are entirely in the true Interest of their Country, upon the original Foundation as it is established by the Laws, and who will cheerfully spend their Lives and Fortunes in the Defence and Preservation of it. I think it impossible to conceive that Gentlemen of that Distinction, of noble and ancient Families, many of 'em possessed of great and considerable Estates; bred up with a Taste of the noblest Liberty, can so far forget those generous Ancestors, who by their Wisdom and Valour purchas'd and transmitted 'em, or indeed themselves, so as to run the Hazard of endangering their Loss; and by that Means, deprive both themselves and their Posterity of those Estates that may enable 'em to make so considerable a Figure in their Country; or renounce that inestimable Treasure of their native Freedom, which is the true Compliment of all the other Blessings and Advantages of a free Life; yet as every Man is not capable of making a Right Judgment and Estimate of Things, either thro' want of Capacity, or the common Defect of an ingenuous Education, or a natural Slothfulness and Inapplication to inform himself of the true Nature of the Government he lives under, we see, by a too sorrowful Experience which in this Case is superior to all reasoning, that there are too many of 'em who blindly espouse those Principles of the present Faction, which are destructive of the very Essence of our Constitution; and with a blameable implicit Faith and Assent, give up all the Frenzies of such who devise and propagate 'em only for their secret Designs, without giving themselves the time or trouble to enquire into the true Nature, or to weigh the terrible Consequences of such Principles and Doctrines; but if there be any amongst 'em who are really sensible of the dangerous Poison and Design of 'em, and yet continue to defend and maintain 'em, they must be supposed to be in the Secret, and are so far from being true *Englishmen*, or *English* Tories, that they are manifestly *English* Traitors, and the worst and basest Enemies of their Country; for if the ancient Constitution of a free and generous Nation be to be overturn'd, or swallow'd up in Slavery, it imports not much by what Means such a calamity is to befall it, whether by the Ignorance and Cowardice of some, or the Malice and Treachery of others; tho' with this notable Difference between the Fool or the Knave, that the ignorant and timorous have at least some Appearance of Excuse from the defects of Nature or Education, and by a common Sentiment of Humanity, may deserve Compassion; whilst the other shall ever be held in Execration by all that there is of wise, of honest, or of generous in the Universe; the former may be an honest Man in the bottom, and an Enemy as it were by Accident, the other is always a Traitor in Form, and of Profession.

But there is a Third Species lately sprung up amongst us, who herd and cover themselves under the Distinction and Character of the *Tories*; a sort of new Refiners in Divinity and Politicks, who have found the Wonder-Secret of securing a Protestant Government, under the Domination of a Popish Prince, and the Protestant Religion, by the tender Care and Affection of the Pope,



Courts of *Rome* and *France*; who glory in the Honour of the  
of *High-Church-Men* and *High-Flyers*, who not only insinuate,  
with a bare-fac'd Impudence, inforce these Doctrines, to intro-  
the Popery and a *French* Government, the Consequence of which  
honest *Englishmen*, in their Senses and Integrity, are apt to  
Slavery: These are a sort of a monstrous Motley Offspring, be-  
by the Jesuit upon the spiritual Whore, who, under the Cover  
the most pure and holy Religion, are manifestly the most impla-  
Enemies both of the State and National Church. Ask one of  
the Reverend High-Church Bigots, whether he has any Intention  
disturb the Peace and Settlement of the ancient Constitution, he  
with a very grave Face and compos'd Countenance tell you,  
or if there be any Emotion appears in him from the Question,  
will arise from his seeming Resentment, that you should suspect  
capable of being guilty of such a Wickedness; if you ask him,  
whether he has not a certain strange sort of a Hanking after his  
'd Pretender and Popery? He'll start as if he had seen his Fa-  
's Ghost, and with the same sanctify'd Hypocrisy, tell you, No:  
you demand, whether in his Heart he is not a profess'd Enemy  
the Succession of the Crown, as establish'd on the Illustrious  
stant House of *Hanover*? The Answer is ready, with lift up  
nds and Eyes, No; he has taken an Oath of Abjuration against  
Pretender, and others of Allegiance to her Majesty, and Fidelity  
his Country, and those are the Security for his good Beha-  
r, and in lieu of all Justification. 'Tis certain that one cannot,  
out a notorious Breach of Christian Charity, suppose Men of  
Function, making Profession of Religion, to act wilfully a-  
st the Obligation of a solemn Oath, which is the strictest Tye  
enforcement that human Wisdom can, or the Divine has hither-  
communicated to restrain Men's Consciences, and oblige 'em to  
ithful Discharge of their Duty and Engagements; but when  
, by an impious Presumption, shall pretend to discover and as-  
to the Divinity they pretend to adore, the notable Distinction  
secret and reveal'd Will, whereby they make the God of  
h acting Contradictions, whilst they make Him, by the Autho-  
of his reveal'd Will, enjoying Men the Observance of Statutes  
Ordinances, under the Pain of the most dreadful and eternal  
ishments, and by the Decrees of his secret Will, allowing him-  
st contrary, and in Opposition to 'em, and yet reconcile his  
dness and Justice, when they think fit to descend from the su-  
Power in the Heavens, and place the same secret and reveal'd  
in Princes, who in a just and legal Sense, are esteemed su-  
m, and his Vicegerents here on Earth, and make them by Ver-  
of the one, ordain all the honest and commendable Means ima-  
ble, for the Good and Conservation of the People committed to  
Charge; and by vertue of the other, put in Practice all the  
icious ones, that may tend to the Destruction of the State in  
ery. It may with great Reason be imagin'd, that such blasphe-  
Casuists, those Reverend Privy-Counsellors of the Holy Trini-  
nd Kings, under the Influence and Spirit of their Darling  
ol-Divinity, have reserv'd a notable Share of this same secret  
and

and reveal'd Will to themselves, as particularly, what may be a singular Use and Succour to 'em in the frivolous Article of an Oath, which under this execrable Distinction, they may swallow in their own Sense and Meaning, and disgorge it in that of the Legislature; discharge in Appearance the Obligation of their Oath, and at the same time elude the Force and Intent of it; and thus for Instance your High-Church Casuist may by his reveal'd Will, make all the Professions imaginable of an inviolable Attachment to the Honour and Interest of his Country, the establish'd Religion, and the Succession in the House of *Hanover*; and at the same Moment, by his secret Will, with some of 'em subverted and chang'd, and others the Devil.

God preserve me from ever entertaining so uncharitable Thought, as to believe that all Men of this boasted Denomination of High-Church are of this Opinion; but I am but too sorrowfully convinc'd that there are but too many of 'em who are: There are without doubt, amongst 'em, many who are eminently distinguished by their Piety, Learning, and the Probity of their Manners; but there are far greater Numbers, who blindly follow the Orders and Commands of their Superiours, either for the Reasons I have already mention'd, or in view of Preferments and a private Interest; a miserable Purchase, God knows that such Men make at the Profanation of their Judgment and Conscience! Let 'em no longer pretend to amuse and deceive us with the Professions of their Lips, when we know their Hearts are far from us; we are not to be banter'd out of our Religion and Liberties by ignorant, presuming Fools, malicious and designing Knaves. Mens Actions and Designs are better known by the Nature of their Principles, and their Actions are more lively Images of their Thoughts and Intentions, than their Words and Expressions; nor does the Severity of these Reflections concern or affect any, but such who are obstinately and maliciously bent with a study'd Application to the Ruin of our common Country, our dear Country, and amongst such I freely bestow 'em, which were intended for 'em. If such Men would in good earnest desire to re-establish in the World the Opinion and Reputation of that honesty they have taken so much Pains to forfeit, let 'em renounce and disown those shameless Principles and Doctrines, which to complete the Scandal of our Time, they have so industriously propagated, which, if continu'd and maintain'd, will in all Probability terminate in the Ruin for which they are design'd; yet, tho' their Poison has been but too general, and like Vermin and ill Weeds in a bad Soil, has spread fast and far, God be thanked, there are good antidotes to prevent a further Contagion, and good Specificks at hand to divert the last and fatal Consequences of 'em. We are again in our Senses, and we know how to employ 'em; we have Swords by our Sides, and have not forgot the Use of 'em; we have great Numbers of honest *Englishmen* at home, and gallant Friends abroad; we have an adorable Providence, that has been ever watchful for the Deliverance of these happy Nations; and we have the Consolation to know, that whilst the adversary Faction shall continue to promote the Designs of their Doctrines and Principles,

the Authors of 'em, in the Opinions of all honest *Englishmen*, never be accounted as the most despicable of all Traytors both to God and their Country. Those of most Note, which have been industriously spread amongst the good People of these Nations, or modern High-Church Politicians, the genuine Offspring and Sins of Jesuitism, are

That our Kings are in Possession of the Crown, by virtue of a Right and Commission, which place 'em above the Reach of Laws and Power upon Earth, and make 'em accountable for their Actions, how impious and detestable soever, to God alone.

That they are invested with an absolute, arbitrary, and despotical Power over the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of their Subjects, without any respect to the fundamental Laws which protect them.

That of an unconditional, slavish Passive-Obedience in all without Exception to all the Commands of such Princes, under the most dreadful of all Punishments, Damnation.

That of an hereditary, indefeasible, and unalienable Right, which it is pretended to be impossible to transfer the Crown from one Text in Blood of the Family in possession upon any Pretext, or by Power under Heaven whatsoever.

These our Reverend High-Church Priests, who were the Authors of them, from the Beginning of the last unhappy Century to this Day, have with the utmost Artifice and Application propagated; to seduce and alienate the Minds of the People from their Sense and Reason of the ancient establish'd Government, and to set up an illegitimate Power and Interest in our Kings, distinct and separate from the People; and I shall endeavour, and hope to prove, that as they were Monsters unknown to former Ages, they have been the only Source and Origine of all the Confusions, Disorders, and publick Calamities, that have so sorely afflicted these Nations, and continue still to do so in this; and as I believe that it is difficult to conceive that they could be set on Foot at any Time for any other Reason, than to carry on some secret villainous Design; so I hope that it will be made appear, that at this time of Day they have been employed, and with more than ordinary Vigour, and spread abroad the sole Ends of making us by our Divisions a more easy Prey to our Foreign, and more dangerous Domestick Enemies; for the Perversion of our ancient Constitution, originally founded, as has been said, upon Prerogative and Liberty; for the more easy Introduction and Establishment of the Pretender, and as an inseparable Consequence, the two most desirable Blessings of Popery and Slavery; and to compleat our Misery, to erect and establish what they pleas'd to call their Church Superior, and independent of the People; yet how far soever these Men's wicked Ambition may hurry us to attempt the Accomplishment of such infamous Designs, we know that God has not, or ever will so far abandon us, as to deliver us up to Sacrifice to their Frenzy, but will add the Blessing and Increase of his good Providence upon our Courage and Vertue, to preserve us in our Preservation from the insupportable Burthen of Popery and Slavery; and when with Detestation I mention 'em,



I desire to be understood to mean those of the Church, as well as the Crown; and I earnestly exhort every honest *Englishman*, who heartily loves his Country and Religion, that he will with me in his daily Prayers and private Litany, that God will never suffer this great and noble People, originally free, to fall under the Curse and Damnation of being Priest-ridden again, as the worst and most dreadful of all Evils in this World. *Amen.*

Nor shall it, I hope, with less Evidence be made appear, besides the present Disasters that afflict the Nation; our own untractable Divisions, that render us the Sport and Contempt of our Enemies; our bitter and unchristian Animosities to each other, which expose us to their audacious Insults, unknown to these Nations at all times, but when under the Curse and Disgrace of a bad Church Administration; besides all these, I say, our Junction with the *French*, by the very Principles and Maxims of their Religion and Policy, our most mortal Enemies in respect of their Neighbourhood, their Power, their Situation, and ambitious Designs of a Universal Empire; the Investiture of the Crown and Dominion of *Spain* and *America* in a Son of the House of *Bourbon*; our gross and senseless and ridiculous Quarrelling with the *Dutch*, the most potent and formidable of the Protestant Religion and Interest in *Europe*, and our selves; our faithless and scandalous betraying the Interest of the Emperor and House of *Austria*, to whom the restoring the *Hapsburg* Monarchy and the *West-Indies* in their Entire, together with a secure Barrier for the *Dutch*, were the Principal, if not the sole Reasons of entering into this last bloody and expensive War; the Disgusts given to all the rest of our noble Allies concern'd and engag'd in it; the unweary'd Endeavours of Domestick Traytors to overturn the goodly Fabrick erected upon the Basis of the late *glorious Revolution*; the unexampled Ingratitude of the same Monarch load with Reproaches and bespatter the Memory of that immortal Prince, who was the chief Instrument in the Hands of Providence of delivering us from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power; the Disgrace of the noblest Set of Ministers, Civil or Military, the most eminent for their great Abilities and Capacity, their Wisdom, Courage, and incorruptible Love to their Country's Honour and Interest; that the Nations were ever blest with; and whose Administration Heaven approv'd by a glorious Train of wonderful and surprising Successes, which, as they surpass all that were the Honour and Glory of former Ages, will be the Subject of the Wonder and Admiration of all succeeding ones; an inglorious, dishonourable and disadvantageous separate Peace, with the Infamous Breach of publick Faith, which reflects a Reproach and Ignominy upon an honest, gallant, generous People, poorly deserting and betraying a Confederacy form'd only for reducing the common Enemy of the *English* Nation and Religion, as of all the rest of *Europe* beside. Oh it will sound nobly in the Ears of after Ages, when they shall be told, that the brave, the bold, the free, the generous, the valiant *English* were the first that basely deserted and betrayed their Friends and Confederates upon the very Point of finishing their glorious Labours, and left 'em nobly fighting for the Honour

God, of Religion and Liberties of *Europe*; all these and many others, which I shall have Occasion to take Notice of in the Sequel the fatal and undeniable Consequences of these precious modern High-Church Principles, *tantum religio poterat suadere malum!* I proceed, and begin with the first I have mention'd and that maintains,

That our Kings are in the Possession of the Crown by Vertue of Divine Right and Commission, which place 'em above the Reach of all Laws and Power upon Earth, and make 'em accountable for their Actions, how impious and detestable soever, to God alone.

This seems at first View to be a Notion so wild and extravagant, barely to advance it, is sufficient to confute and destroy the credit of it; it may indeed sound well enough in the Mouth of an *Indian*, or an *African* amongst whom when there is a Man Child, there is born a Slave; but it is hardly possible to conceive how it could find room in the Head of an *English* Man born and bred up in a legal establish'd Liberty; yet to the Scandal of our Nation, we have, and are still to be found amongst us, but it has already been so roughly handled by several learned and honest Lovers of our lawful Kings and Country, and confuted with such a masculine Spirit and force of reasoning as has never been answer'd, and is no longer in any Esteem but with such who with an Heroick (if I may so profane so good a Word to so vile a Quality) Impudence, carry still the same Designs for which it was first calculated, I mean of enslaving their Country. There are no Arguments of so much Weight as those deduc'd from the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, with such as are convinc'd of the Truth of 'em; which when they are natural and rationally inforc'd, carry an Evidence of 'em which we are not permitted to dispute; yet those brought thence to prove it by *Filmer*, *Haylin* and their modern Diskinners have been prov'd to have been so shamefully wrested and misapplied, so manifestly absurd and inconclusive of what they pretend to prove, that it is but loss of Time to endeavour further to refute 'em; since there are but one sort of Men amongst us, I mean those of High Church who are not sufficiently convinc'd, both of the Falseness of the Arguments and the Wickedness of the Design. I shall therefore the more briefly touch on this Point here, since in the foregoing Part of this Discourse I have already exposed the Absurdity of it from the nature and original of Civil Power; I shall only take leave to add to what I have formerly said, that there were any Instances of the Institution of Kings by a Divine Right, which must of Necessity make 'em sacred and inviolable, they were certainly to be look'd for amongst God's own People the *Jews*; yet we not only find God himself raising up particular Men to execute his Vengeance upon unjust, wicked, and tyrannical Kings, as in the Case of *Nabuchodonosor* and the House of *Abah*, with others; but the High Priest, the Sanhedrim, and the People by Vertue of their natural Right, the Inspiration, or Permission of Heaven frequently doing the same Thing, sometimes punishing their divine Kings with Death, and often transferring their Power to other Families exclusive of the former forever; and yet

we never find 'em branded with any Mark of Infamy, or of the Displeasure of their God in the sacred History; we often hear 'em indeed reproach'd with Rebellion, and severely punish'd for it too; but that is always understood by learned Interpreters, of their frequent and abominable Idolatry, which is always in the Scripture term'd by the Name, and was the worst of all Rebellions against God; but not one Word of Reproach for the Justice they did themselves and Nation, by the Punishment of their wicked and tyrannical Kings, which it is impossible to conceive shou'd have been omitted, if the Persons and Crowns of their Kings had been sacred by a peremptory divine Institution, no human Power having the Capacity to alter or dispence with what has once been establish'd by Divine.

In that formal Description of a King in the foremention'd Book of *Deuteronomy* we plainly see his Power, his Duty, and his Office regulated by God himself, and limited into a narrower Compass than those of a present Doge of *Venice*, and infinitely in a less than a King of *England*; we find there no Manner of Authority to oppress and use a great People like the vilest Slaves; nor of his being accountable only to God, when he was wicked enough to do so; no frantick Dreams of High-Church Monarchs exempt from Punishments due to the Transgressions of the Laws by which God pleas'd to circumscribe 'em: These are the Fumes of the modern School Divinity Prophets, which have more of the Ravings and Delusion of the Pagan, than of the Lights of Jewish or Christian Priests. I wou'd against their Opinion, from the very same Authority, and I hope better apply'd, desire these Men to consider, that the Prophet *Samuel* in the 17th Chapter of the first Book of *Kings* in that elegant and pathetick Description of the Manner with which the King they so much desir'd shou'd reign over 'em, describes the series they should be reduc'd to, like the rest of the neighbouring Nations, by his Tyranny over 'em; which shou'd be so grievous, and insupportable as shou'd compel 'em in the Bitterness of their Anger to cry out in that Day because of the King they had chosen, and the Lord should not hear 'em in that Day. This was the easy, the happy, the flourishing Condition of a People under the Tyranny of a divine commission'd King of the High-Church Stamp, unlimited and unaccountable for all the Wickedness of a Male Administration; and tho' the Prophet animated with a Holy Zeal, was angry and blam'd 'em for rejecting the Government of their God and desir'd a King; yet if they wou'd have been contented with such a King as was describ'd according to the Tenor of the Law of *Moses*, he had not said 'em in the 13th Chapter.

v. 13. Now therefore behold the King whom ye have chosen, whom ye have desir'd; and behold the Lord has set a King over you.

v. 14. If ye will fear the Lord and serve, and obey his Voice, not rebel against the Commandment of the Lord, then shall he be your King, and also the King that reigneth over you continue following the Lord your God.

v. 15. But if ye will not obey the Voice of the Lord, but reject his Commandments of the Lord, then shall the Hand of the Lord be against you, as it was against your Fathers.



ere we see a Duty prescrib'd both to the King and People, which  
 isted in their Obedience and Conformity to the Commands of God,  
 rding to the tenour of their first Institution, which imports nothing  
 the good and happiness of both; and which is absolutely incompati-  
 with the notion of an absolute and unaccountable single Person act-  
 urely by the Dictates of his own Will, which will always result to  
 Oppression and Ruin of a People, into Tyranny; in such a Case of  
 rry in the one, and Oppression in the other, by which is principal-  
 and always understood the wickedness of the *Jewish* Kings and Nati-  
 Hear the terrible Sentence of the Prophet in the same Chapter,

er. 24. *Only fear the Lord, and serve him in Truth with all your*  
*heart; for consider how great Things he hath done for you.*

er. 25. *But if ye shall do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and*  
*your King.*

this admirable Description of the Prophet, the Character of a  
 ed King bears a wonderful Resemblance and Analogy to an exor-  
 t, unaccountable, absolute and arbitrary King of *France*, with all  
 valuable Blessings of a tyrannical Government; that of a good one, to  
 lawful and limited one of *England*, with all the real Happiness  
 advantages of a beneficent and moderate Administration of a Prince,  
 has both the fear of God, that of the Laws, and the good of his Peo-  
 ternally before his eyes: The one is the Divine, Glorious and  
 lful Monarch of the High Church; the other, the Elected, Belov'd  
 onour'd Majesty of the Low. I shall conclude this Head with this  
 reflection, that if our Learned and Judicious *Bracton* is bold to af-  
 that he of our Kings, who deviates from the end of his Instituti-  
 which is ever the good of the People and Common-wealth, ceases  
 the Vicegerent of God, and becomes the Vicegerent of the Devil.  
 I take leave to add, that the High-Church Priest, by what Name or  
 soever dignify'd or distinguish'd, who by his impious Flattery and  
 fines, shall influence his King against the known Commands of  
 and Laws of the Land which circumscribe him, to exert an u-  
 and arbitrary Power which no way belongs to him, to the preju-  
 and ruin of his People, will make a very fit and excellent Chaplain  
 Sitanical Unholiness.

When this Monster for its grossness and deformity was exploded out  
 World, the same restless and impatient Spirit that was the Father  
 as Wickedness is ever fruitful, soon begat another as like the for-  
 as a High-Church Man to a Jacobite, which is,  
 ly, That which invests our Kings with an absolute, arbitrary and  
 tical Power over the Lives, Liberties and Fortunes of their Sub-  
 without any regard to the fundamental Laws that protect 'em.  
 is Doctrine, as it is the natural Effect and Consequence of the  
 er, tends directly to the same traiterous Purpose of enslaving our  
 try, and has as little Foundation on Reason or Nature, as the o-  
 on the Holy Scriptures. When Men have abandon'd the Ways of  
 e and Honour, to follow the Insatiations of a false Policy, and  
 king the sweet and venerable Influences of the most pure and excel-  
 Religion, are animated only with a furious, fiery Zeal for what  
 ly the Appearances of it, what Wickedness are they not capable  
 of

of designing; what Mischiefs of introducing and executing in a Nation? A boundless and irregular Ambition of a few great Men, supported by the Bigottry of a false, intemperate Zeal for the Church, has been the Fountain of all the Commotions and Calamities have afflicted in all Times the most flourishing Kingdoms of *Europe*; and to a melancholy Demonstration of those of our own, which have at this time brought both the State and Church to the very brink of their Subversion. Before these cursed Doctrines were propagated amongst us, were we not the most happy People upon the face of the Earth, in the Enjoyment of our Religion and Liberties, under the Protection of our Laws? Were not our Princes enabled to maintain the Honour and Majesty of their Character, when they were contented with the Extension of the Power which the same Laws allow'd 'em? Is there a Prince in *Christendom*, or in the Universe, notwithstanding the disparity of his Dominions, more formidable for his Riches and Power, or more lov'd at home, than such of our Kings, who, tho' limited, have fully discharg'd all the Duties of their Trust, according to the Law and End of their Institution? Have they not in all Times been the Admirers (wou'd to Heaven I cou'd say still continu'd to be so) of all the Differences of the contending Potentates of *Christendom*? Have they not been ever enough to make themselves formidable, nay, both to be envied and dreaded abroad, without assigning 'em so much, as must necessarily render 'em despicable and odious at home?

All wise Men have ever been of the opinion, That the Love, Affections and Hearts of the Subjects, were not only the best Strength and Security, but the greatest Glory and Honour of the Prince: How are they oblig'd to such traitorous Sycophants, as flatter 'em with an imaginary Excess of uncontrollable Power, as must unavoidably deprive 'em of so precious a Gage both of their Honour and Security? What can that Prince expect from a free, generous and gallant Nation who makes his own Interest, and that of his Family, distinct and separate from that of his People? Do these upstart, High-Church Politicians imagine that we are weary of our glorious Liberty, or that we can be fool'd and banter'd out of so inestimable a Blessing, as has cost our Fore-fathers and our selves so much noble Blood and Treasure to serve and establish? Let 'em not doubt, but they shall find our Valour, our Courage, and our Love to our dear Country, immoveable and superior to their wickedness who wou'd betray it; we are not infected with *French* Slavery, *French* Religion, or Wooden Shoes, tho' they may; and as they are at present, to their immortal Infamy influencing and introducing *French* Maxims of Government into the State, 'tis to be much question'd from their present Dispositions and Sentiments, but that they are in a very forward way to unite themselves to the Discipline and Religion of the *Gallican* Church: What have we to do at this time of Day with a detestable Doctrine, that in a very short time of time must reduce us into the same miserable Condition which we once noble and happy, but now wretched and oppressed People? This was nothing more frequent in the Mouth of their inexorable Tyrant at the beginning of his Reign, while his Parliaments yet retain'd the poor Remains of their ancient Liberty, than that golden Saying that

of France were under, *L'hearcute impuissance de faire du mal*.  
 py inability of doing Evil; but the natural Vanity and Ambiti-  
 the Man, the infamous Flattery of vile Court Sycophants, and  
 anous and servile Zeal of High-Church Priests and Jesuits, the  
 e Fathers of our own, and Pest of every Country they infect,  
 d him in contempt of all Divine and Human Laws, in every in-  
 of a long and Tyrannical Reign of above Sixty Years, to con-  
 the World and his miserable People how little regard he had, or  
 reality affected with that noble and generous Maxim. And what  
 en the Consequence? Why even one of the most beautiful  
 ies under the Heavens depopulated; immense Treasures, either  
 Profusions of Lewdness, Corruption of Foreign States, or  
 nance of Armies, (to usurp with as much Injustice as Violence  
 e Rights and Dominions of his Neighbours) exhausted; the  
 in a more miserable Slavery, as having been once free, under  
 vernment, I cannot but say, Tyranny of the most Christian  
 Turk, than those under that of his singular dear Friend and  
 in the East; himself in Execration with all Men, hated at  
 despised abroad, beaten, reproached, contemned, (till ———  
 n-Church! High-Church held him out a succourable Hand) by  
 Powers in Europe, except the Brave, the Wise, the Honest, the  
 , the Good-natured Protestant ——— High-Church of

and the blessed Estate and Condition of a People, under the  
 tion of a Prince, invested with an absolute arbitrary Power,  
 neither God, or Nature, or Reason, or the Laws of any free  
 ever allow'd or approv'd off! Behold the happy Situation to  
 these reverend High-Church Doctors wou'd reduce their Coun-  
 and Fellow-Subjects! Misery of every Fashion and Nature  
 inseparable Appendage of Slavery, and Slavery is the insepa-  
 pendage of absolute and arbitrary Power. Show me a Prince  
 the Sun invested with it, and I will shew you a miserable herd  
 es; for they don't deserve the Name of Societies of Men,  
 ve neither Sense enough to know their Misery, nor Vertue and  
 e enough to free themselves from it, or Generosity enough,  
 to hazard all Things in attempting it, and burying all the  
 tunes of inglorious Life in the Grave, if they miscarry; for it  
 tely preferable not to be, than to be Slaves. If these High-  
 men would let us know for what other end they propagate  
 avish Doctrines amongst a free People, we shall gladly hear  
 easons, and endeavour to answer and confute 'em; but if it  
 ossible to assign any but that of breeding Divisions and Di-  
 ns amongst us, to betray us to the common Enemy, what re-  
 out to esteem and treat 'em as the most infamous and profligate  
 Traitors? We are already as happy and contented with the  
 Power and Authority of our Kings, as we desire to be; but  
 nowledge our selves under no Obligation to allow 'em more  
 necessary for the Support of the Honour and Majesty of their  
 ter, nor under any not to oppose and resist 'em when they of-  
 usurp it; we are very well contented to be True, Loyal and



Faithful Subjects, but we despise and abhor the condition of Slavery if we can prevail with our selves tamely to put on the Yoke, deserve it; hitherto our generous Ancestors, and we our selves defended our Country's Freedom from the Usurpations and Incroachments of our ambitious Kings; and I hope both we and our Posterity shall ever keep up and maintain the same noble Sentiments, may everlasting Slavery, I mean in this World, be the Lot of no cowardly or treacherous *Englishman* who departs from 'em; and in my Opinion that there will be but very little Incouragement for Cowards and Traitors to hope for much better in the next.

But this Doctrine of an absolute and arbitrary Power in our Kings does necessarily support and include another laudable High-Church Doctrine that when the Crown is once settled upon a Family, it must of necessity ever remain in it by an hereditary, unalienable and indefeasible Right, exclusive of all Parliamentary Right, which is the consent of the People, by which it is pretended to be impossible to transfer the Crown to the next in Blood of the Family in Possession, upon any Pretence by any Power under Heaven whatsoever. But I shall premise to these notable Modellers of Government, that this was never the Opinion of the wisest, the most honest and far greatest part of the People of this Nation, though we are sure it is theirs, which is an Honour we don't grudge 'em; besides the whole Current and Practice of former times and History in frequent Instances are directly against 'em. But this Doctrine of hereditary Right, with the other Words attending it, is so absolutely necessary to support the Pretensions of their Pretender, which appears to be the sole end and aim of their Design, that I think it properly falls to be considered in this Article of absolute arbitrary Power, they are so mutually contriv'd to support and maintain each other; for it is nonsense to suppose such an absolute Power in any Prince or Family, while a wicked People of a Nation shall pretend to the Power of transferring the Crown from any one Prince or Family, who may fall by Maladministration, to another; and it is as great to imagine a Prince established upon the Throne by a Title that cannot be altered or touch'd by the People, will not assume the Exercise of the absolute Power over a Nation of Slaves and Sots who will obey him; so that according to these worthy Mens System of Politics the Crown once belong to a Prince by their Cant of an hereditary unalienable and indefeasible Right, and it is with them, by a High Church Legerdemain, the most easy and plausible thing in the World to tack to him their beloved, absolute and arbitrary Power, that is, in plain *English*, their hereditary, unalienable and indefeasible Right; King is neither better or worse than an hereditary, unalienable and arbitrary Tyrant; and yet I think I have already prov'd the nature and origine of all Civil Power and Governments in the World, the People either by themselves or Representatives have an unquestionable Right, upon some certain occasions, to transfer or dispose of their Crowns as they see and think most for the Advantage of the publick good; of which I must remind these reverend Gentlemen, that in a very particular manner the good People

have, in our memories, given the World and them a right notion of their Power of that kind, when they sent packing our *Jure Divino* King of their establishing, together with their Trifles of hereditary, unalienable, indefeasible Right, with their precious Jargon of absolute arbitrary Power; and I take leave to assure 'em, that we will take great care that their Darling, our purged Son, shall never return to disturb the Peace and Tranquillity of these Nations, notwithstanding all the cunning and endeavour of them and their new *French* Friends to accomplish it. There is a Man of Sense amongst them that is not in his Heart convinced, how absolutely incompatible these unnatural Doctrines are to our original Establishment; that we are a mix'd and limited Monarchy, wherein the Liberties, Properties, and Security of the People are provided for, by Laws as strong and obligatory as humane Laws can devise; and that the Royalties, the Prerogative, the Dignity and Majesty of the Prince have the Sanction of the same Laws to defend and support 'em; that whilst we preserve this happy Temperament of Prerogative and Liberty, and there continues a perfect Harmony and right understanding betwixt the King and his People, we form a Body so strong and vigorous, which tho' Attempts from abroad, or more dangerous Diseases arising from Faction at home, sometimes shock, and put into some disorder, yet will it be impossible to be intirely chang'd, much less subverted by the Treachery of any number or sort of Conspirators; for Liberty is the very Life and Soul of a State, which whilst maintained, not only fits and enables it to attempt and perform great and glorious Enterprizes abroad, but provides equally for the security and happiness of the People at home; Peace and Plenty, and Riches and Commerce are the natural Results of such harmonious Unity and Consent; and as the Glory of a free Nation can never be better established, than upon the Power and Reputation of their Arms, a brave and a People so united can never fail of rendering themselves formidable to their Neighbours in what degree they please. Our natural Freedom is the Principle, if not the only Fountain of our natural Courage, and that Freedom can never be long liv'd in the People when they become the Slaves of absolute Power in a tyrannical Prince; nor indeed is it possible to preserve it but by a right understanding betwixt him and his People, under the happy Influence of legal Power, and legal Subjection. This is a Truth that our foreign Enemies are but too well apprized of, and therefore they are ignorant, that the only infallible Way to hurt us, is by Divisions taken us, that under the Distractions that attend 'em, they may by a greater Hope of Success make Impressions upon a People, who never durst attempt to attack whilst united; and to our great Honour (where it is due) be it spoken, they have never wanted many Knaves amongst us at home, whom they have always found ready to join with them, to carry on the laudable Design of enslaving our Country.

This is the Case directly before us; the *French* wanted a favourable Mixture to introduce and establish the tyrannical Maxims of Policy,

licy, and abominable Superstitions of their Religion, in the Estab-  
 lishment of the Pretender; and our dear High-Church Brethren plain'd  
 the Way for him, by their detestable Doctrines, setting together by the  
 Ears to facilitate so commendable a Design. The natural Effect of a  
 Principle diametrically opposite to the ancient Constitution; for whilst  
 the Prince shall grasp at a Power unlimited, which the Laws do not  
 allow him; nay even and in contempt of all Laws, but that of his own  
 Will, and the People as obstinately contend for the Liberties they were  
 born in, can nothing insue from so disastrous a Contention, but Disorder  
 and Confusions, which for the most part terminate either in Civil War  
 at home, or Conquest with Slavery from abroad; a very blessed Cure  
 yet to this deplorable Necessity are we reduc'd, by the very Nature  
 of the whole Design of these Doctrines of absolute Power and heredi-  
 tary Right: We must either of necessity become as miserable Slaves  
 to some of our Neighbours, or of drawing our Swords to defend our  
 Lives, our Honour, our Religion and Liberties; and of the two the  
 honest Forefathers, Blessings on 'em for it, have taught us by their  
 generous Example which to choose. Whatever Frenzies these wild  
 Ideas of new Politicks may feed their foolish Fancies with, they  
 do not but know, that humanly speaking all their Attempts of this  
 kind are utterly impracticable; though the Poison of their Doctrines  
 infect considerable Numbers of the Weak and Credulous, it never  
 can disperse it self through the whole Body, or a Majority of the Nation.  
 Let a Conjunction be never so favourable or propitious; tho' there  
 may be some Knaves in great Places they don't deserve, and some  
 Fools with great Estates which wiser and honest Men may want  
 yet, by the blessing of God, there shall never be wanting Numbers  
 of the Brave, the Wise, the Vertuous and the Powerful, as will be  
 more than sufficient to baffle and confound all their wicked and chimerical  
 Designs. These Men knew, as well as we, that a King of England  
 whom they could flatter with an unlimited Power, even with an  
 Assent of the Estates cannot make a Law, or dispence with the Execution  
 of it, without the Consent and Concurrence of the other; nor the  
 one without the other; but it is much more reasonable to conclude, that  
 the two Estates comprehending the whole Body of the Nation, the  
 Nobility by their inherent Birthright, and the People by Delegation  
 shou'd have the Right of prescribing Rules, and limiting the Power  
 of the King who sits upon the Throne, than that he shou'd have the Power  
 to over-rule and limit them by the sole Dictates of his single Will; and  
 may without Controversie be depended on, that the Concerns  
 of a Nation, as their Religion, Liberties, Properties and Civil Rights  
 are more to be intrusted on the Votes, Wisdom and Integrity of  
 many eminent Persons as compose the two most August Senates in the  
 Universe, and amongst 'em many prudent and good (I wish I could  
 say a great Majority) will be found, who in all Respects  
 necessarily have the same Interest with the Nation they represent  
 on the single Will of one who may want all the rare and great  
 Qualities that should render him worthy to go in and out before  
 a People; nay, who possibly may either be Weak, or Ignorant.



ked, and who either may think he has, or be persuaded by sycō-  
 nt Flatterers and Slaves that he ought to have an Interest of his  
 , distinct and separate from that of the other two; for such a  
 ce, with an unlimited High-Church Power, will ever be apt to  
 nce the Establishment of his own and Family's Fortune and Au-  
 ity upon the Debasement and Suppression of the People. Kings  
 hemselves are but very little oblig'd to these liberal Bestowers of this  
 bitant and lawless Power, however agreeably it seems to flatter  
 Vanity or Ambition; for there is certainly an insatiable Licentious-  
 in Ambition, which all human Vertue is too feeble to restrain, so  
 of a sort of necessity a Prince with such an unlimited and un-  
 rolable Power, degenerates into a Tyrant; such a one is always  
 d, but never below'd, for as Men can never love, whatever Pro-  
 as they may make, that which hurts or oppresses 'em; they are  
 rally inclin'd to hate what they fear; and this every Tyrant is but  
 well convinc'd off; his Condition in this Respect, with all his  
 ver, being of all others the most unhappy, in that his continual  
 s from the Abuse of that Power which he knows are but just,  
 ough possibly otherwise not prone to Evil) puts him upon such Vi-  
 ces to preserve himself, as rightly consider'd is a thousand Times  
 e than the Punishment, or even the Death he is afraid of.  
 he hereditary Right of our Princes, according to the Tenor of  
 Laws, we always shall defend and maintain with all the Affecti-  
 Fidelity and Allegiance that we know we are oblig'd to, as the  
 line and legitimate Offspring of our original Constitution; but  
 spurious Spawn of hereditary, unalienable and indefeasible Right  
 disown, and leave to the Care of its High-Church Fathers to pro-  
 for as they think fit; and must acquaint 'em, that when in the  
 nning, as has already been made appear, our Ancestors thought  
 establish their Crown on the Head of the first Prince, who for  
 Valour, Wisdom and Justice they thought best deserv'd it, and  
 id'd it in Succession upon his Family, they did it under such Con-  
 ons and Limitations as they thought sufficient to restrain both him  
 all his Successors, and keep 'em within the Exercise and Duties  
 limited Power, so as to hinder all and every of them from devi-  
 g from the end of their Institution, which was to support and  
 ntain the Lives and Privileges of their Subjects, the Peace, Hap-  
 ss and Security of the Nation, and in one Word the publick Good  
 he Common wealth. If these High-Church Politicians can as-  
 any other natural or more rational end of Civil Power and Gov-  
 ernment, one wou'd think that they were oblig'd, for the honour  
 their Opinions, to communicate it to the World, and we shall  
 e care to consider and answer 'em; but we desire them, above all  
 gs, to offer something new, and not banter us any longer with  
 nonsensical Fanaticisms of *Heylin*, *Filmer*, and such like Merce-  
 es, with their Title to absolute Monarchy by Descent in a right  
 e from *Adam*, or the later Patriarchs, who honest Men never  
 am't off or ever exercised any such Power; with their Divine  
 unction for Tyranny deduced from the Holy Scriptures, though  
 e is not in them one single Word for their Purpose from one

end to the other; with their absolute Power of Kings from the very Nature of legal Authority, together with their more modern Climaticy of their hereditary, unalienable and indefeasible Rights; every one and all of which are destructive of the common Rights of Mankind, and as such have been exploded out of the World.

As God without all Controversy left to all Nations, when they came to multiply, divide and separate, the liberty of choosing what form and model of Government they thought most proper for their mutual Happiness and Security; I think it impossible for a Man in his senses to suppose a Community of reasonable Creatures, to make a sacrifice of their intire natural Liberties to any single Person or his Family in Succession with such an unlimited and uncontrollable Power as might enable them, whenever they pleas'd, to use them like Slaves that is, to have the absolute Disposition of their Lives and Fortunes at the sole Arbitrement of their single Will: History is abundantly fruitful of Instances of many great and formidable Nations, originally free, that have in process of time been reduced into the deplorable Condition of Slavery; and we have a very dreadful one in our Neighbourhood, of one of the noblest Kingdoms in the Universe; but this is, by no means, to be attributed to the nature of regular monarchical Power as such, but to extrinsical and foreign Causes, either a secret Disposition or Decree of Providence, as a punishment for their Sins, the Ambition of wicked and aspiring Princes, the Degeneracy of an ancient Nobility, the Villany of flattering mercenary Sycophants, or the general Corruption of a People by a strange fatality design'd and predispos'd to Ruin; for there are other great Nations of the same Model of Government, who by their Wisdom and Valour, upon the Vertue of their first Principles, have had the good Fortune to preserve and defend their precious Liberties from the Usurpations of wicked and tyrannical Princes; which, as they deserve all the just and great Praises that can be due to the most eminent Vertue and Merit, shall be of glorious Example for the imitation of all succeeding Generations. God be thanked that we are this Day, however dangerously beset and undermin'd by these invading Doctrines, not only one of, but the happiest of all free Peoples under the Sun; and we shall make it our Glory to preserve our selves so against all the fraudulent Designs of our *French*, and all other Popish Enemies abroad, and all our treacherous High-Church Opponents at home; ours, Heaven and our Wise Ancestors be prais'd, is a mixt limited Monarchy under the Administration of our Kings at the Pleasure of it, but with such Restrictions as is known to all the World; our Laws are the sacred Term and Barrier, equally of the Power of the Prince, and the Liberty of the Subject; we acknowledge our Crown hereditary, by the next of Blood in Succession, upon the same Conditions with the first, who for his Vertue and Merit was thought to deserve it; the Principal of which obliges the King in being to govern his People conformably to the Intention of the Laws. Every Successor is indispensably oblig'd to bind himself to observe the best of his Power, by an Oath as solemn and obligatory as can be thought of amongst Men; by which, as has been said, he ingages

maintain the Church of God, and the ancient Freedom, Laws and Liberties of a great People committed to his Charge. This then is the indispensable Duty that all and every of our Kings puts himself unto before his Coronation; and notwithstanding his hereditary Title to the Crown which our Laws allow, a King of *England* who should refuse to exercise the regal Authority, by Vertue only of his hereditary Title, forfeits his Right; for he is not nor can be accounted a King with a Capacity to act, till he be inaugurated, and has taken the Coronation Oath. This was the Case of the late King James in *Scotland*, when he presumed to exercise, not only the regal but an absolute and tyrannical Power, without having ever taken the Coronation Oath, and was one of the principal Articles and Reasons of his Abdication and Expulsion from that ancient Kingdom; this is the only Foundation of that Fealty and Allegiance we afterwards swear to him; he by Vertue of his Oath swears first inviolably to maintain and defend the Rights and Liberties of his People, they afterwards, by the same Sanction and Solemnity of an Oath, swear to bear true and faithful Allegiance to him, and cheerfully concur by all the means the Laws allow to support the Dignity and Authority of his Character. This is of the Essence of our Constitution; if he religiously adheres to the Observance of his Oath for the good of the Nation, the People owe him by Vertue of their indispensable Fidelity and Allegiance; but if he wilfully violates the manifest Detriment and Ruin of it, I speak with the Voice and Sense of the Nation to all High-Church-Men, that the People are then absolved from that Allegiance which was only conditional.

The nature of a reciprocal Oath in Matters of Contract, is with equal Force to bind the respective Parties to a sincere and religious Performance of the Conditions mutually stipulated between 'em; but it is both nonsense and madness in the highest Degree, to suppose that one, and that the greatest of the Parties shall only be obliged to observe and perform those Conditions, and the other a single Person left at his liberty, not only not to observe, but despise and break 'em by any Right pretended to be inherent to the regal Power; one of these two things must necessarily follow from these High-Church Doctrines of Hereditary Right and absolute Power, either a King of *England* by such a Title is under no obligation to take the Coronation Oath, (for in their Account, he is a King without it by superior divine Commission) which is directly contrary to the fundamental Laws; or for the same good reason when he does take it, he is not indispensably obliged on his part to observe the Conditions of it, which engage him to act and rule conformably to 'em. If the former, I leave it to every *Englishman* to consider what will become of his antient Liberty, when it is solely at the Will of the Prince, without regard to the Laws that are made to preserve it; if the latter, one would be glad to know a reason why the People should be still obliged to continue their Allegiance, which on their Part they have sworn to a Prince, who by the breach of his Oath no longer continues his Protection to them, nay, who may visibly labour to destroy 'em;



'em; nor is it much to be wonder'd at, that the Authors of these testable Doctrines, who thus allow their Kings to break thro' the most sacred Obligations of their Oath, should reserve to themselves Liberty of taking their own to him in their own sense and meaning without any regard to the intention of the Legislature. This is impudent a piece of licentiousness, which as it leaves them a loop-hole to creep out at when they please, whilst they would engage the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, who differ from them in Opinion, to a nice and strict Observation of theirs; so it invests the Prince with an immoderate Degree of an illegal Power, that enables him to do evil and oppress his People with the greater Impunity. Our wise and glorious Ancestors have always paid the utmost Obedience and Allegiance to such of their Kings, as continued to govern according to the Laws and Constitutions of their Government, and so have we, and I hope ever shall do, and think our selves oblig'd to it, by the very Nature and Spirit of our Principles, tho' we were not under the Obligations of an Oath; but as they have in all Times bravely made use of their natural Rights and Means in their Hands to oppose the Violence and Usurpations of tyrannical Princes, who abused the Power intrusted with them solely for the Good, to the Ruin and Oppression of their Subjects, so have we, and by the Blessing of God shall ever continue to do so. There has not been one of our Kings who has gone about to abuse this deposited Power, or to betray the important and honourable Trust reposed in him, who has not paid the Penalty of his Wickedness; some with their Lives, some by Deposition, and others by translation of the Crown from their Families to that of others. Hereditary, Unalienable and Indefeasible were a Cant unknown to the simple honesty of those Times, and were Monsters left to be produced by the pregnant leudness of the Church Divinity, to compleat the Infamy of our inglorious Kings. There was a Time in our own Kingdoms, and that in the height of Popery too, when the Arch-bishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and the generality of the Clergy, as vigorously exerted themselves in opposition to their usurping Tyrants, as the other generous Lords, Barons and the Commons did; whereas their degenerate Offspring and Successors, the High-Church Priests of our Times, are the principal publick Betrayers of their Country's Honour and Interest, flattering their Kings with such Rights, and such a boundless and uncontrollable Power, as can terminate in nothing but the Slavery of their Subjects. All the terrible Confusions and Distractions that have been in all Ages, and which at this Day turmoil and harass these Nations have been intirely owing to the unnatural Attempts of our Kings, encouraged by these flattering Sycophants, to grasp at this destructive and arbitrary Power; but has always ended in their just Punishment, the Confusion of the Traitors, and good Heaven grant it may ever do. Peace and Happiness, and universal Prosperity and Security will be the blessed Results of an harmonious Agreement and right Understanding between our Kings ruling, and the People chearfully obeying according to our Laws; but Blood, and Rapine, and Murder, Seditions, Rebellions, and Civil Wars the worst of all Evils in a State.

the inseparable Concomitants of Violence and Usurpation in a Monarchy constituted as ours. What Punishments those Wretches deserve, who are the Authors and Instruments of promoting 'em by propagation of such Principles and Doctrines in a free State as are unavoidably productive of 'em, I leave to their own Conscience in all Blood to reflect, and to the Legislature in proper Season to consider in this World, and the great and just God to bestow in the next; Thus I think it evidently enough appears, that the noble and beautiful Fabrick of our Government stands firmly erected upon the solid Foundation of the Peoples Consent and certain Stipulations and Conditions between them and the Prince, whereby it is mutually provided for the Grandeur and Legal Majesty and Authority of the one, and the Tranquillity and Happines of the other, in the peaceable Enjoyment of their immemorial Rights and Privileges. 'Tis very surprising to see these wise Bigots ridiculing the notion of what we call original Contract, without in any manner assigning a more rational and uncontrovertible Principle and Foundation of Civil Powers, if they had not taken too much pains to convince the World, that as there are no Truths ever so rational, self-evident, or demonstrable, that they will not renounce, when they stand in the way of their Designs; so there is no absurdity or nonsense so gross, so monstrous or ridiculous, which they will not espouse and extol to the Skies, when they seem proper to promote their Interest, and the wicked *Chimeras* of their Faction. Will Men believe nothing, but what they actually see and read with their Eyes? Is it impossible for them to give their assent to a thing, that from Reason and Nature, and the universal Consent of Mankind carries all the Evidence that the nature of such a thing is capable of, unless they read the first Deed of Settlement, that was framed betwixt our first Kings and their People? Or is it at all absolutely necessary, that such an Agreement should have, when first made, been registred in form? Or if it was, which I do not in the least question, may it not by length of time, carelesness, treachery, or a thousand other Accidents, through the Succession of so many Ages, be supposed to have been lost or destroyed? What are become all the antient Monuments and Records of the first *Assyrian*, *Chaldean*, the *Persian*, the *Median* and *Egyptian* Monarchies? And yet there is little or no authentick Evidence in any History, more than a bare Tradition of their once having had a Being in the World. Shall we therefore deny, that there were such Men as *Nimrod*, *Belochus*, *Cyrus*, *Aban*, *Arfaces* and *Sesostris*, with the wonderful Revolutions they were Authors of, because we have not before us the detail of their prodigious Enterprizes? But to come nearer both to Home and the present; Can the most noble and antient Family in *England*, in all their Records and Archives produce any Patent or Deed by which their Progenitor, and they after him hold their Estates, or derive their Honour but of twelve or thirteen hundred years standing? And yet no body doubts, but that there was originally such Deeds or Patents for them. And when I mention only that space of time, I don't intend thereby by any means to restrain our native Freedom to it, for I have already it appear, and will ever maintain, that the Birth of our Liberty

is as early and antient as the very Beginnings of our People, as far as least as any Light of History can inform us; yet, supposing that there never was such an original Contract as we insist on, reduced into Law and recorded, it will at least be necessary for these Men to allow of some other Principle of Civil Power, than what they have hitherto offered, and that may, not like the rest, deserve to be exploded by all of the World, with the same contempt and derision with their others; but till that be done, they will permit us still to maintain, that it is as plain to us as Light at Noon Day, that there was such a thing, whether recorded or not imports not much; because it is absolutely inconceivable, how upon any other Principle any Government should have commenced or continue; it being the most incomprehensible Frenzy imaginable to suppose, as I have already hinted, any number of Men as rational Creatures, to resign their whole Stock of natural Liberties into the sole Arbitrement and Disposition of the absolute Will of any single Person, without the necessary Precautions for the Security and Happiness, which was the only End of their entering into such Societies. The Inauguration and Coronation of our Kings after our solemn manner, is as antient amongst us, as their Being of that Character. We desire to know, if there be any time wherein this Solemnity has not been performed, with very little difference from the manner that is at this Day in Practice? What then is this for? Is it only a piece of Pageantry for a King of *Brentford* to amuse a gaping Crowd? Or is it an Essential of the Constitution of one of the greatest and most potent Princes of *Europe*? Either let our very divine Right and absolute Monarchy Mongers show us when this august and formal Solemnity of Crowning our Kings was not; or let them confess, that it is no more than a repetition and confirmation of a Custom immemorial, and of absolute and indispensable necessity to the very Essence of legal Power and Authority amongst us; which every King from the beginning, and each of them in Succession have been, if I may speak so, consecrated to the Office and Exercise of the Royal Power; and if these Men would but seriously consider the manner and nature of this Solemnity, the placing the Crown upon his head, the Scepter and Globe in his hands, the Sword of Justice by his side, the anointing him with the Oil, all which have their important Meanings and Significations, and confer a mystical Vertue and Power which he had not before; the demand of the Archbishop officiating, which demonstratively implies originally the Consent of the People; and the administering after all this a sacred Oath in the most solemn and venerable manner, to engage him to a faithful Discharge and Execution of the great Trust that God and the People have called him to.

Whoever, I say, will seriously reflect on all this, will find himself obliged to acknowledge, that the whole Ceremony is no more than a certain plenary Recognition and Confirmation of an original Contract, and a repeated Declaration of a Usage beyond Prescription; otherwise the whole is but a dead and senseless Letter, a sort of Stage Farce, and ridiculous Mummery. It cannot, I think be reasonably supposed, but the first Donation of the Crown by the People was



to the first Person for his reputed Vertues and Capacity, to  
 protect and defend them; and if as ours, it were entailed on his Fa-  
 mily, it is as unquestionable, that it could be only upon the same  
 conditions, and upon a Supposition at least of the same Merit and  
 Abilities, in sufficient proportion for the same end; and in this mean-  
 time there is no Man in *England*, in his right Senses, who denies  
 the Crown is Hereditary to such or such a Family, while they  
 have the Capacity or Inclination to govern according to the Tenor of the  
 Law; but if in time, their Descendants degenerate from the noble  
 Vertues of their Ancestors, by which they merited the Royal Dig-  
 nity; if they grow, Foolish, or Wicked, or Mad, or Betrayers of their  
 Country's Honour and true Interest; if they endeavour the Subver-  
 sion of the fundamental Laws, the extirpation of the Religion and  
 Liberties of the People they ought to protect, there is no *En-  
 glishman* I think who is not out of his Senses, that is, who is not in-  
 fatuated with our modern High-Church Divinity and Politicks, who  
 can imagine that a great, wise, and free People, are under the same  
 obligation of Allegiance and Obedience to such, barely upon the  
 account of their Hereditary Title to Kingship by Succession, as to  
 a weak, unjust, Valiant, and Religious Kings, upon account of their  
 personal one; at least, whatever their Practice may be in such Cases,  
 and they have given the World within our own Memory, frequent  
 instances of their Dispositions) I am very apt to believe, that they  
 can hardly prevail upon the rest of their Fellow-Subjects to follow  
 their Example, till they find out better Reasons to influence and en-  
 courage their Practice, than any they have yet offered in defence of  
 their wild and unaccountable Doctrines and Principles. We leave  
 them to fall down and worship their Idol of Hereditary Right of  
 their own setting up, and pay him their hasty Obedience in what  
 manner they please; but we are contented before we offer ours, till  
 the Laws give our King a Legal Title to demand it; and then we  
 will honour and defend him to the last drop of our Blood and For-  
 ces; and in this, whatever the Opinions of those others may be, we  
 are very sure that we have the Suffrage and Concurrence of the Wi-  
 se, the Greatest, and far most Honest Part of our own Nation, be-  
 sides the Practice of all the other few civilized Kingdoms in *Europe* to  
 defend our own; and I must take leave to tell those worthy Persons,  
 that a Parliamentary Legal Right, that is, the Consent of a free and  
 assembling People, is of infinitely more Force and Strength, than all the  
 hereditary Titles in the Universe, from *Adam* down to this Day.  
 Without it; for the One will never make but Tyrants, and the Other  
 ways just and limited Monarchs, or lead them into the way of their  
 Ruin again if they forget it.

Our Gracious and Religious Queen, though these dangerous Do-  
 ctrines have been revived and trumped up under Her Reign, by  
 Her Friends in Appearance, but in Effect Her most dangerous En-  
 emies, holds the Crown She wears by an unquestionable Hereditary  
 Right; but I humbly conceive, it would be both a Violence and  
 affront, offered to Her Judgment and Goodness, to think that She  
 should not believe Herself more secure and firmly established on the  
 Throne,

Throne, by the Consent and Affections of Her People, than Her Title barely of Descent and Succession from Her Ancestors ; for She has had but too fatal Instances in Her own Royal Family, besides the many of Her more distant Progenitors, that nearness of Blood is not always the best and securest Title to the Crown. The Illustrious House of *Hanover* has undoubtedly a Right after Her Majesty, to the Inheritance of these Kingdoms ; yet we firmly believe that no Prince of that Family could promise to himself the Honour of Swaying the Imperial Scepter of these Nations, merely in Right of his Title by Consanguinity, if it had not been confirmed and established on them by the Authority of the Legislature ; nor will any Wise and Understanding Prince ballance a Moment which of the two Titles is stronger and preferable to the other. Neither our present Gracious Queen, or that Illustrious Family, are much obliged to these wretched Broachers of a Divine, Hereditary, Unalienable and Indefeasible Right ; for by the very Nature and Necessity of such a Principle, upon Supposition that the Pretender is the Legitimate Son of King *James*, the Queen can have no manner of Title to the Crown She wears, I mean, in right of Succession whilst he lives, or any Legitimate Children he may leave behind him ; so that in Effect, these false and pernicious Friends of Hers make of Her Majesty, no more than what we call in plain *English*, a downright Usurper ; and yet there is no Man in *England* besides, that does not esteem Her his Rightful and Lawful Queen, by virtue of Her Parliamentary Right, added to strengthen Her Hereditary One. The very same Obligation has the Illustrious Protestant House of *Hanover* to these Slaves, who are drudging for their Pretender ; who with all their seeming Affection for the Reformed Religion, if they find of him, (so full are they of their Divine Hereditary Right) would rather bring in a Popish Branch of the Houses of *Orleans*, *Savoy*, or *Bavaria*, in exclusion of them ; and yet when it shall please God to call the rest of that Illustrious Protestant Family to the Crown of *England*, we will spend the best Blood we have, with our Fortunes to defend and support their Legal Pretensions to it, which the Legislature by a Parliamentary Right have thought fit for the Security of the Protestant Religion, both at home and abroad, with much Wisdom, as well as Justice, to bestow it. A King of *England* with this Title, who is a Wise and Valiant Man, by the Extent and Exercise only of a legal and limited Power, is capable of making greater and more formidable Figure, than any Crowned Head in *Europe* : And if he is obliged by the Duties of his Office, and by the Obligations of Gratitude and Honour, to watch over, and promote the general Good of his People ; if there are eternal Cares and Anxieties, and almost insupportable Fatigues that surround and agitate him in the Discharge of a Duty ever troublesome and tumultuous ; if a loving, generous, and grateful People have endeavoured with Profusion, to recompence his glorious Toils : First, by the return of their Hearts and Affections, which are a Prince's most valuable Treasure, as well as greatest Strength ; and next with an Estate and Revenues, more than sufficient to maintain in the utmost Splendour

Magnificence the Grandeur and Majesty of the Royal Character; I lay, that Her present Majesty, and our late Kings of *England*, have a greater clear Income and Revenue than any other Prince in *England*, considering the vast disproportion of their Dominions to the Number of Provinces and Kingdoms, I think I shall advance a Position not far distant from the Truth. Far be it from me upon this Occasion, to censure the Wisdom or Generosity of our Predecessors; nor to show how far it may be consistent with the publick Good of a Nation, to make a Prince who may happen to be bold and enterprising, so rich and powerful, as to be able of his own Fund to make Attempts to break in upon the Liberties of his People, (this is no thing for such a one to offer at) I leave to abler Politicians, whose whole whom it may more nearly concern, to consider and determine.

I shall conclude this Head with some few Reflections upon what is called the Royal Prerogative, and the dispensing Power of the Prince, which though there is nothing more frequent in all Mens Mouths, yet few understand it rightly. There are unquestionable several Royal Privileges and Powers, as Marks of Authority and Distinction, and all of which are inherent to the imperial Dignity, all of which that are just and Legitimate, are specified and confirmed to it by the Laws; and as they are peculiar Characteristicks of the Grandeur and Majesty of the Prince, invested in him by the Consent of the People, so they are always supposed to be of such a Nature, as shall lead him directly only to their Preservation and common Happiness; for to suppose that they are to grant an excess of Power to him, whereby he may be enabled to hurt and oppress them, is what we vulgarly call Non-Resistance; and in High-Church Men, who by their Principles, permit him the Exercise of such an exorbitant and destructive Power, in more violent and violent Terms, Knavery and Madness; and even those who are not distinctly mentioned and specified by our Laws, and which Princes have pretended to assume as inherent to their Royal Character, if they are not such, as in the Exercise and Execution of them, promote the publick Good of the Commonwealth, as they are always the infallible Occasion of Disgusts, Complaints and Murders, which often terminate in Seditions, Civil War and Rebellion; they have seldom failed to end to the Prejudice, and not ultimately to the Destruction of the Prince and his Family; for I think the Royal Prerogative is rightly and excellently designed to be the Power of doing Good without a Rule; so that whatsoever Act of Power of the Prince does not directly and solely tend to that End, is not so properly Prerogative as Usurpation; yet how often this Power of doing Good without the Authority of the Law may be advantageous and consistent with the Liberty of a free limited State, has not that I know been determined by any Man; but this we have been assured of by Experience, and that in these Nations, that the Exercise of such a Power in Wise and Vertuous Princes, even of doing Good without or beyond the Law, has been drawn from Examples by violent and wicked Ones, to do Evil contrary to the Law, under the Vertue and Pretext of Prerogative, inherent to the



the Royal Dignity ; so dangerous a thing it may prove to grasp the Exercise of any Power whatsoever that is not authorized by the Sanction of the Laws ; for as there are infinite Hazards and Dangers in Ambition, which few Men foresee, and most Men sink under, there are doubtless to the bold and aspiring bewitching Charms in that most human Vertues are too feeble to resist ; the Nature of which is insatiable, is eternally employ'd for the enlargement of Power, which in Princes, though possibly their Intentions may at first be upright and tending to the publick Good, when it grows exorbitant is always pernicious ; and to preserve themselves in an Authority though unjustly usurped, they are frequently put upon Practices to maintain and continue it, as often in the end envelope them in certain Destruction ; so much both safer and more honourable has it been always for the Kings of *England* to be contented with the limited Power and Authority that the Laws allow them, than to strive for an illegal and exorbitant One, which they have never attempted, but to the Ruin of themselves, and frequently that of their Families.

The whole Legislature is the only supream and absolute Power, independent and uncontrolable by any other under Heaven ; our Kings a high Mark of Honour and Distinction, are plac'd at the Head of it ; and because in a Constitution, like ours, it is neither possible nor necessary that the whole Legislature shall always be, and actually consist ; yet on the other Hand, as it is absolutely necessary that there should not be a Moment wherein Justice may not be demanded and administered, they have therefore intrusted in the Hands of our Kings who are always supposed to be, what we call the Executive Power of the Law, which is but one Part of it, with the illustrious Distinction of Supream or Head of the Common-wealth ; and as he derives this Royal Mark of Power solely from the Authority of the Laws, which imply the consent of a free People, so can he not without Injustice manage any of the most important Concerns of the Nation, without the concurrence of the other two Parts, which with him compose the intire Legislature. This we know is a Doctrine that will doubtless displease our strenuous High-Church Asserters of an uncontrolable Power in our Kings, though it be never the less most certainly true ; and I challenge any of them to disprove it, by Reasons and Authorities, either from Scripture, the common Consent of Mankind, or the nature of Civil Power, all which we understand to have in the Defence and Justification of our Opinion ; and I further affirm, that as our Kings have no manner of Power to make a Law, which is only the Work of the whole Legislature, so neither can he, without the utmost Ingratitude and Perjury, attempt to alter 'em ; for what is the Work of three distinct Powers necessarily by common consent united to constitute 'em, can never, with Justice, by any separate one of them be destroyed ; yet these High-Church Sycophants are not ashamed to place their Hereditary Absolute Kings above all Laws, which they know they are not of Power alone to make ; and knowing that a barefac'd Violation of them is too gross to put upon the Nation, they have therefore found out the ingenious Way of complementing him with the Power of dispensing with

execution of them; though they are not insensible that this pre-  
 Doctrine of theirs was one of the principal Occasions of bring-  
 ing their Martyr King, in the last Age, to an untimely and violent  
 death, after a manner that all honest Men and truly loyal Subjects  
 abhor and detest; for it is the same thing in effect to have no Laws,  
 in all wise Common-wealths ought to be rigorous and inflex-  
 ible, the impartial and speedy Administration of Justice, as to have  
 the Force and Vigour of them eluded by the Virtue of a dispensing  
 Power in one part, which could be only framed by the joint Con-  
 sent and Concurrence of the three. A King of England may so far  
 go with the Execution of some Laws, as to commute or wholly  
 remit the Penalty they inflict upon Criminals, for Faults they com-  
 mit against his own Person, his Crown or Dignity; though even that  
 Indulgence has often proved of fatal Consequence and Example; but  
 he cannot remit the Penalties they inflict for Reparation of damage  
 to the meanest of his Subjects; nor command their Lives, For-  
 tune or Properties in any Instance without the highest Injustice; and  
 I firmly affirm, that whoever place our Kings above the Power of  
 Laws, or invest them with any Authority of eluding the Force  
 and Design of them by any sort of dispensing Power, do it only to  
 the detriment of establishing such an absolute and arbitrary one, as is not on-  
 ly diametrically opposite to the nature of our original Constitution, and  
 the Laws which equally support the just and legitimate Autho-  
 rity of the Prince, and the Liberty and Property of the Subject, but  
 which the immediate and inseparable Consequence is the ineffi-  
 cient High-Church Blessing of perpetual Slavery.

I proceed to examine the Third of their Doctrines, which is  
 of an absolute, unconditional, passive Obedience in all Cases,  
 without exception, to all the Commands of the Prince, under the  
 terrible of all Punishments, Damnation.

As the Terms of this Proposition are not within the reach of  
 the Capacity of every weak Understanding, and the Penalty of it of  
 universal Latitude and Extent, as to affect all Degrees and Ranks  
 of Men; that the meanest of my honest Countrymen may know  
 what is enjoined them by this Doctrine, and the Punishment  
 annexed to their Disobedience, I shall explain it in more easy  
 and intelligible Expressions, and which, in plain *English*, is this; that  
 our Kings be never so Wicked, Bloody, Rapacious, Unjust or  
 cruel, if they attempt upon the Estates, the Lives, Liberties and  
 Properties, the Honour of the Wives and Daughters of their Sub-  
 jects, all his Commands in every Instance are to be submitted to and  
 obeyed with a blind and implicit Obedience, without murmuring,  
 without repining, without resisting; no redress, no recourse but to  
 Prayers and Tears, the feeble Refuge of Women, Fools and Chil-  
 dren, under the dreadful Penalty of being damned for ever. How  
 could this Doctrine enter into the Hearts and Minds of Men born  
 and educated under the happy Influence of a free and limited Monar-  
 chy, is indeed very difficult to conceive; since the glorious Liberty  
 of the Sons of God, that is, those who have the Happiness to be  
 brought up in the Protection of the Christian Religion, is in no in-  
 stance

stance or manner inconsistent with their civil Liberties as good Subjects; yet by the fatal Experience of these Nations and to our sorrow we find, that there have not been wanting such, as to carry the Designs of Faction, have not been ashamed to preach and propagate a Doctrine, that unavoidably tends to the Ruin and Subversion of all Freedom and all Religion; and it shall be allowed them, a greater Plausibility and Appearance, at least, of the sacred Authority of the Holy Scriptures, than either of the former. The Application of formal Texts that seem to countenance and authorize the Doctrine, has had but too great Effects upon the Minds of great numbers of honest and well-meaning People, who have not Capacity to inquire into the true nature of things. There is nothing more common than for the Authors of all such Doctrines, when they are with a Text of Scripture for their purpose, to prostitute the venerable Authority of those Divine Oracles, to the most lewd and extravagant vagancies of a corrupt and overheated Imagination. God forbid that I should believe, that all who have espoused this Doctrine in the greatest Latitude, should deserve and fall under the Severity of Reflection; there are, and have been, without doubt many true and religious Men, who have themselves believed it, and with much honesty and simplicity of Heart have recommended it to the Belief and Practice of others, deceived by the speciousness of Arguments deduced from the Authority of the Word of God; as Failings and Errors are inseparable from Human Nature, it is a breach of Charity to advance, that through a want of Ability some to examine and comprehend the whole Tenor and Nature of the Doctrine and Authorities produced to enforce it, and want of Application in others who are too apt to take things upon Trust, by an obsequious and servile Resignation of their Judgment to the sayings of their Teachers as they may have conceiv'd a good Opinion of them, say it is not a Breach of Christian Charity to advance, that they have been and may be deceiv'd; but for such of them as against the Light of Nature and Reason, and even the Convictions of Conscience, have used and force those sacred Authorities to support and countenance the most impious of all Purposes, debauching the Minds of the ignorant and credulous, by the influence and impressions of such Doctrines, which are designed by them only for enslaving their Country, as they are without all manner of Excuse, we leave them to reflect what account they shall surely give for the impious Abuse and Violation of those divine Truths, which they know shall be the Rule by which they shall be judged in that great Day of Retribution, when it shall be done to all Men according to their Works.

The Errors, the Absurdities and gross Illusions of this Doctrine have been so evidently demonstrated to the World, by so many learned and ingenious Discourses of true Lovers of their Country, the most pure of all Religions established in it, and particularly the excellent Efforts of the learned and judicious Managers of the famous Tryal of an infamous Incendiary who reviv'd it, that there is indeed but little now of Moment remains, to add by any new Arguments; I shall attempt it after them; yet with much Submission, I shall



to throw my Mite into the common Stock of their Treasury, nor only as is necessary for my present Design, which is to show both this Doctrine and the former (the genuine Product of the modern High-Church Divinity) are calculated for no other end at time or Day, but to undermine and subvert the ancient Principles of our original Constitution, and to introduce another both Government and Religion in the Person of the Pretender, absolutely incompatible with the Honour, the Liberty and Happinesses of the Nation. Their principal Strength and Arguments for the Defence and Enforcement of this Doctrine, are from the famous Words of St. Paul in the 13th Chapter to the *Romans*.

*Ver. 1. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God.*

*Ver. 2. Whoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damna-*

The Words are formal and decisive of what Duty we owe to the Supreme Magistrate, and we acknowledge them in the fullest Extent of Force to be obligatory on the Minds and Consciences of Men living under any Form of Civil Government, solely in Vertue of their Divine Authority, which it is Impiety for any Man making Profession of the Christian Religion to call in question or deny; and we take leave to say, that we understand the Sense and Meaning of this Command with such Limitations as it will naturally admit without Presumption or the least Offence to the Divine Spirit and Authority of its Author, and with regard to natural Reason and Equity, which are never repugnant to the revealed Will of God; we do it upon no other Authority than that of the same inspir'd Apostle who at the same time, and in the same Breath that he teaches the indispensable Duty we owe to the Higher Powers in the Person and Character of the Supreme Magistrate, manifests and extends to us in as formal and decisive Terms, the Nature, the End and the Office of the Magistrate to whom this Obedience is so justly due from us. *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power but of God, the Powers that be are ordained of God;* we acknowledge it, and most cheerfully pay all that Obedience which we are commanded for that very Reason, because the Powers that be are ordained of God, and therefore of necessity just, reasonable, for the good of Mankind, and fit to be obey'd. It no where appears to have been the Business or Design of this or the rest of the Epistles in the Propagation of the meek and peaceable Doctrine of Christianity, (happy had it been for the World if all those who call themselves their Successors had been of their Opinion too) to intermeddle with, or change, or alter the civil Governments they found established in the World; but to make it appear that the novel, but false Moral they introduc'd, was so far from being opposite to, much less destructive of the civil Powers, that by the very Spirit and Nature of it, it was of all others the most efficacious and fruitful of the means to preserve that Peace and Unity that are so absolutely necessary for the Conservation of the publick Tranquility and

Happiness of civil Societies; nor do they any where limit this Obedience to this or that special sort or model of Government, but in general and indefinite Terms to all higher Powers; though St. Paul himself liv'd under the most unlimited Tyranny then upon the Earth, from whence we may justly conclude that the same Duty of Obedience was as religiously to be paid to all higher Powers under what Form or Species soever constituted, directly in opposition (as if the Inspiration of the holy Spirit he foresaw the Wickedness and calamities that were upon this important Article to afflict succeeding Generations) to *Heylin*, *Filmer*, and the rest of their inspir'd Moulded Disciples, who connive and restrain this Duty of Obedience only to their absolute and arbitrary Monarch, as the only one to be obeyed, as deriving his Authority and Institution by a divine Right and Commission immediately from God; if those holy Apostles, who preached nothing but Peace, Unity and Love to Mankind, were inspired by the Spirit of God, by whose Spirit are these Men animated who preach nothing but Confusions and Distractions, with Envy, Rivalry, Malice, and all Uncharitableness?

So that if there be a Duty of Obedience enforced from the Word of the Apostle to the higher Powers or supream Magistrate, as he says they are the Ordinance and Ministers of God, on the part of the Subject; there is, I think, in the Opinion of the same Apostle, a Duty on the part of those higher Powers or supream Magistrate, to shew that he does deserve that glorious Title, by Offices and Ways conformable to the divine Will and Commands of that God who is the Ordinance he or they are, and to which they are as indisputably submitted as the meanest Subject. If then the higher Powers are the Ordinance of God who never can order any thing but what is just and reasonable, and for the good of his Creatures, and as such they are conformably to this end of their Institution, we hold ourselves without Restriction oblig'd to pay 'em that Obedience commanded by the Apostle; because they can never be supposed to act or command any thing in which they may not expect to be readily and cheerfully obey'd; whereas if these higher Powers are unjust, if they are wicked, if they study the Hurt and Ruin of Mankind, Men will be oblig'd and have good Reason too to believe, that they are not the Ordinance of God, but of a certain Being, whose Business it is to destroy whatever there is of Just, of Reasonable, and Vertuous among Men, and consequently can have no manner of Claim or Pretence to our Obedience. The higher Powers then of the holy Apostle as the Ordinance of God we obey, we honour, we reverence; the other Idol of High-Church Divinity we freely leave to the fullness of Flattery, the Respect, and if they please Veneration of her or his Reverend Clergy; we for Conscience sake, and they for Wrath, it is impossible in any well regulated Community to preserve the publick Peace and Happiness but by a certain Subordination of Powers, there must of necessity be some that must be esteem'd Supream to which all the rest must be subservient, from which there can be no Appeal to any other upon Earth; and which naturally employs all the challenges that universal Obedience, without which no Govern-

possibly long subsist, tho' there were no positive Command for in the Word of God; and tho' this supream or highest Power only the Creature of the People who originally invested it in more, for the common Good of the whole, in what Form, or Measure they thought fittest for that End, yet it is always to be primarily from God, who as he is the Fountain and first Principle of all Things, so is he of all Powers, tho' instituted by Wisdom and Deliberation of his Creatures, Men as his Instruments; and this will help us to reconcile the seeming Difference betwixt two great Apostles upon this Article of Power and Obedience; for as they were both animated and inspired by the same noble Holy Spirit, it is impossible they should utter Contradictions in Effect, tho' they may at first Sight seem so in Appearance, which is enough to give wicked and sceptical Men a Handle, to abuse their Authority, by putting forced Constructions upon Sense and Meaning, or wholly reject it, as they see most convenient for their impious Purposes. St. Peter therefore says, *Submit yourselves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake*; the Expression sufficiently justifies what I have already offered, that is left to the Determination of Men, to erect what Sorts and Degrees of Government they pleas'd, for the end of obtaining Justice and the universal Good of the People; whereas St. Paul describes Power to be the Ordinance of God: This I say is easily reconcilable without the reproach of Contradiction, which for the Reason justly mentioned, it is impossible they could be guilty of; they are exactly agreeing in describing the Essentials of the higher Power, whether they call them the Ordinance of God or Man, as well as the Duty of Obedience annexed to them upon the same Conditions, which on the Part of the higher Powers or supream Magistrate is the Nature and End of his Office, to wit, the publick Good, as becoming the Ministers of God for Good; and on the Part of the Subject the Duty of Obedience to him as such; so that as the same Powers are properly said to be the Ordinance of Man, as the Exercise of the Prudence and Deliberation which God has left them Liberty to exert in the Choice of what Government they think proper for their Safety and Protection, may with the same propriety be said to be the Ordinance of God, inasmuch as being not repugnant to any Precept of his Divine reveal'd Will, he by his approbation establishes and confirms them; for I think it is equally possible to conceive, that the Great and Just God should appoint Masters of Power over his People (except in Case of Punishment for their Sins, which has nothing to do with the Question before us) as such; the Relation between them being solely founded upon Protection from the Power of the Magistrate, which is only the Effect of Obedience from the People.

This we take to be the genuine Sense and Meaning of this important Precept of the Apostle; we acknowledge all Powers to be originally from God as the Fountain, but by his Permission and Appointment, mediately from every People to whom he has left the



Liberty of framing what sorts of Government they should think convenient for their Commodity and Advantage; we confess ourselves under the strictest Obligations of Conscience, to pay the Debt of Obedience to all the supream Powers we live under, who conformably to the Will of God, and the Precept of his Infallible Apostles, whilst they maintain the Character of his Ministers for good and evil, whether they be the Ordinance of Men in *St. Peter's* Sense, the Ordinance of Men in *St. Paul's*, the Ordinance of God, the Confirmers and Establishers of them. We know better than our Adversaries can teach us, that our Interest, as well as Duty, indispensably engage us to a just Submission to all legally constituted Powers, even without the Sanction of a Divine Command: We know the Ties and Obligations we lye under, from Reason and natural Equity, in the Obedience before us; and we are not to learn from them, what more profound and particular Respect and Deference we are to pay, when the common Sentiments of Nature, and humane Reason, are enforced by the Authority of a divine and positive Law, which no good Christian can impugn or dispute; but if these designing Bigots shall presume to erect themselves into Legislators, if they would have us receive their Opinions magisterially as Decisions in the most important Interests of Mankind, if they expect that we should blindly and servilely complement them with our Assent and Belief, without requiring and examining into the true Meaning and Nature of Words and Things, they will do well to vouchsafe to convince us of the Authority of their Mission, and that by such Reasons as we cannot either deny or answer; or if not, at least give us leave to continue our Opinions, which we conceive to have a much better Foundation, both in Reason, Nature, and the Word of God, than theirs; if they will force Meanings upon an Apostle divinely Inspired, which could never enter into the Head of any rational Creature in his ordinary Senses, and rack their Brains to give convulsions to Words plain and intelligible in themselves, solely to carry on the wicked Designs of a Faction, they must produce an Authority that we dare not question, that is, something better than their own; their *ipse dixit* has no manner of Weight or Importance with Men of as good Capacity and Understanding, and I hope of much more Probity and Honour than themselves; if they will pretend to decide dogmatically, let them do it by an Evidence and Force of Reasoning, that may convince our Judgments past a possibility of Disputing; we swear to our Words but those of the Master; nor can we complement our Equals or Inferiors at the Expence of our Senses, our Liberties and our Religion; but if they are not able to produce any Authority of the same Kind, let them give us leave to confront their Impudence and Presumption, with the Divine Authority of the same Holy Apostle, who as he must be allowed to be the most certain and infallible Interpreter of his own Meaning, will as plainly tell them at the same time he describes the Office and Character of the Magistrate to whom Obedience is due, after what Manner, for what End and Reason the same is to be paid; not for any Chimerical Inherent Right annexed to his Person and Dignity as such, but only as he acts

ance of the Ends of his Institution, and approves himself the  
 ter of God for Good to those whom he has by the Consent and  
 on of a free People placed under his Care and Administration.  
 I shall only premise, that in all Texts of Holy Scripture which  
 capable of more Meanings and Constructions than One, that is  
 to be chosen and followed that is most conformable to common  
 and sound Reason; which whilst they are pure and untainted,  
 without Prejudice or Preposition, are never repugnant to the  
 ed Will of God; and I leave it to the Reflections of those  
 in it may concern, whether a Sense easy, plain, and natural,  
 infinitely preferable to that which is forced and constrained,  
 us, figurative, or problematical; for I think nothing can be  
 er, than that such Violences upon the sacred Truths are of no  
 er of Necessity, but to carry on the private Designs of Men,  
 in their own Dress and Nature are not warrantable, and there-  
 stand in need of a greater, though far fetched and disguised Au-  
 thy of the Word of God.

his premised, I shall only desire these Reverend High-Church  
 s, who are the Fathers of this Unlimited, Absolute, Uncondi-  
 l Passive Obedience in all Cases without Exception whatsoever,  
 as I have described it, and such as they assign as indispensably  
 to all Kings and Monarchs as such, from the Divine Authority  
 oly Scripture, only to cast their Eye upon the Verses immedi-  
 following this Command of the Apostle, from which they de-  
 their whole Authority for their Opinion; his Words are these,  
 the second to the eighth Verse.

er. 3. *For Rulers are not a Terror to good Works, but to the Evil: Wilt  
 then not be afraid of the Powers? Do that which is good, and thou  
 praise of the same.*

er. 4. *For he is the Minister of God to thee for Good: but if thou do  
 which is Evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain.*

er. 5. *For he is the Minister of God, a Revenger to execute Wrath  
 him that doeth Evil; wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only  
 Wrath, but for Conscience sake.*

er. 6. *For for this cause pay you Tribute also, for they are God's  
 sters, attending continually upon this Thing.*

er. 7. *Render therefore to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute  
 e, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom  
 ur.*

his is, I think, as ample and declaratory a Paraphrase upon the  
 er Command as can be comprized in plain and intelligible Words,  
 leviate and soften, and dispell the Fears and Terrors that wicked  
 designing Glossers have from the former imprinted on the Minds  
 he Weak and Credulous, to predispose them to the Exercise and  
 Rice of such an Obedience as must necessarily terminate in their  
 ery; which cannot be imputed as an End of any Ordinance of  
 without the highest Blasphemy, or of any Precept or Command  
 n Inspired Apostle, but with the same Degree of Impiety. I  
 e the more willingly transcribed the whole Words of this formal  
 age, that the meanest of my Countrymen may see into the Ma-  
 lice

lice and Wickedness of those Impostors, whose Business it rather to watch over and instruct them in the Ways of Peace, of Truth and Righteousness, than lead them into Destruction by the Errors and Illusions of an ungodly Sophistry. Here we are plainly told the Office and Duty of the Magistrate, with Respect to those who are Subjected to him; For *Rulers are not a Terror to good Works but to the Evil*. To speak in the Language of these Times, there can more be meant by these Words, than that he who in effect is the Minister of God for Good, will always approve himself to be so, by acting agreeably to the Laws and End of his Institution, which is the Ordinance of God, who designs all Things for the Good and Advantage of his Creatures, and can never be supposed to exert an unjust and illegal Power, to the Hurt and Prejudice of the People committed to his Charge, by any Acts of Fraud, Violence or Oppression, which are directly contrary to the Nature and Goodness of the only Supreme and Infinite Being; and that those of the People who shall live in Conformity to the known Established Laws, in the necessary Duties of Obedience and Submission, can never reasonably be apprehensive of any ill Usage or Oppression from him; whereas Evil Works on the part of the Subject, such as are a manifest Breach and Violation of the Laws, as Fraud, Deceit, Rapine, Injustice, Violence and Disobedience, are justly liable to the several Penalties the Magistrate in the Execution of his Office, as a Terror to Evil Works, can inflict; and therefore the Apostle's Advice is, *If thou wilt not be afraid of the Power, do that which is Good, and thou shalt have praise of the same*; that is, do thy Duty in all the Instances of it required by the Laws, and thou shalt be so far from fearing the Severity of the Magistrate, that thou shalt be commended and rewarded by him; *For he is the Minister of God to thee for Good*; but if thou do that which is Evil, be afraid, for *he beareth not the Sword in vain*; that is, God and by his Permission the People have given him a Power to employ for the Preservation and Happiness of the Common-wealth, by his Severity of Punishing such who he can be found the open Disturbers and Violators of them; for he is the Minister of God, not only in his Capacity to reward and encourage the Vertuous and Obedient, but in that of a Revenger to execute Wrath, that is, Punishments on the Vicious and Refractory. Wherefore, says he, *We must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake*, which is a nobler and more generous, as a more Christian Obligation and Incitement to the just and regular Performance of our Duty. For, for this Cause *you pay Tribute*; by which no more can be rationally meant, than that a Proportion of each Man's Substance who enjoys the Protection of the Magistrate, as is sufficient to answer the Exigencies and Necessities of the Government; for they are God's Ministers, attending continually upon this very Thing, namely, the Peace, Prosperity and Security of the Common-wealth. *Render therefore to all their due, Tribute to whom Tribute is due*; which Expression imports no more than what is due by Obligation of the Laws, and not by any Right of commanding it otherways by the Magistrate; *Custom to whom*



om, *Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour*; that is, cheer-  
 contribute what the Laws allow every legal Magistrate acting  
 the Minister of God for Good, both for the Support of his Dignity  
 Character, and what shall appear necessary for the Defence and  
 Maintenance of the Government of which you are Members; fear  
 Power you ought to fear if you do Evil, as capable of puni-  
 ing you; and honour those who have the same Power to praise  
 recompence you if you do Well, by living consonantly to those  
 to which you are in Subjection. And I do not in the least  
 ot, that the Design of the Apostle, by so often mentioning the  
 er Powers or supream Magistrates to be the Ministers of God  
 Good, was to let the Magistrate know the Extent, Nature, and  
 of his Power; and to restrain him as well within the Compass  
 Exercise of it for the publick Good for which he was solely in-  
 tered, as much as to enforce the Necessity of the Subjects Obedi-  
 to him so Governing, which can only be supposed to be the In-  
 tion, or to speak in the Language of the Apostle, *The Ordinance*  
*of God*; since all Laws, Divine and Humane, are equally binding  
 obligatory in their respective Stations, both on the Magistrate  
 Subject, or else there is an End of all Government: But there is  
 one Word in all this from which it can be rationally, or indeed  
 out the utmost Violence infer'd, that the same perfect Obedience  
 to be paid to a wicked Magistrate as to the good; for if the  
 er, acting for the general Good of a People, is certainly the Or-  
 nance of God, the Former, who acts only for their Ruin and  
 ruption, is as certainly the Ordinance of the Devil, and has no  
 mer of Claim to the Obedience but of such, who as out of their  
 es carry on his Works; for his Servants, and I will add, his  
 ects ye are whose Works you do; which may be matter of so-  
 Reflection to the Authors of this Doctrine, so destructive of the  
 al Good of Mankind. This short Comment, design'd for the  
 uction of my honest Countrymen, who may possibly have been  
 ed, is a plain and natural Explication of the genuine Sense and  
 ning of this great and important Precept, which has been by  
 h-Church Priests so shamefully abused to countenance the Do-  
 ine of Absolute and Unlimited Passive Obedience, in all Cases  
 out Exception, to all the Commands, how wicked or unjust so-  
 e, of their Arbitrary and Tyrannical Princes; with how much  
 on and Equity, with what Regard to the Veneration due to the  
 y Apostle; with what Reverence to the beneficent and pacifick  
 it and Genius of the most pure and divine Christian Religion,  
 with what Advantage to the general good of Mankind or their  
 icular Fellow-Subjects, I leave to every impartial and unpreju-  
 d free-born *Englishman* to determine.

What is there that can naturally be deduced from these Words more  
 a Duty of Obedience to the Supream Magistrate, legally exerci-  
 a Power for the good of the People, and which every honest Man  
 liged to acknowledge and pay? What rational Authority from  
 e for a wicked and tyrannical Prince, by the sole Motives of his  
 e Will, to usurp upon the Lives and Fortunes of his People with-  
 out

out redress or control? What Obligation upon a People tamely submit themselves to such unjust and violent Usurpations? If the Apostle commands me to submit to the higher Powers or Supreme Magistrate, as the Ordinance of God for my good, does it follow that I must pay the same Deference and Obedience to them, if they exercise an unjust and illegal Authority only to my ruin and oppression, must I be damned if I don't? Can it enter into the Heart of a man but a corrupt High-Churchman, that we are equally obliged under the same dreadful Penalty, to pay the same Respect and Obedience to a lewd, vicious, sanguinary, rapacious, or libidinous Tyrant, as to a wise, just, virtuous, peaceable, moderate and valiant Prince? If this be so, the Authors of such Enthusiasms must found their Opinions upon some other Authority, than that of the Holy Apostles, which they have so impiously profaned, for they command us no such thing. The Business of Christianity was to make Men both better and happier, and to teach them a purer and more excellent Morality than that under the *Levitical* Dispensation, to conquer their unruly Lusts and Passions, to inspire them with the divine Sentiments of Meekness, Humility, brotherly Love, and universal Charity, and by these heavenly Graces to refine the grosser Virtues of common Humanity; and this, under the Promise and Assurance of eternal Rewards to such as sincerely endeavoured to observe and perform the Precepts and Conditions of it, and of eternal Punishments to such as obstinately contemned and neglected them. Nor does it anywhere appear, that the Holy Apostles thought, or made it their business to concern themselves with the Powers they found established in the World, farther than to convince it, that the Doctrines of Liberty and Obedience which they preached were of all others most conducive to the Preservation of the publick Peace and Tranquillity of Nations: For there is nothing more certain, than that the Christian Religion in its natural Purity and Influence can never be the occasion of any Commotions or Disorders in the World, tho' all the Wars have ever happened in it are owing to the Abuse of it in the Hands of wicked and ambitious Men; yet this is by no means to be attributed to the Genius and Spirit of Religion, but to the Malice and Perverseness of such Wretches as dare prostitute the Excellence and Majesty of it, to the most shameful and execrable Purposes: For it could be reasonably affirmed, that the Christian Religion laid Men under any indispensable Obligation of a blind Obedience, without restriction to all the lawless Commands of wicked and tyrannical Princes, we might with much reason affirm, that Mankind are a little indebted to it. We have no reason to believe, that God, who created all Men free, loves either Slavery or Slaves; and it is visible from all History, and from none more than the Sacred, that he has always manifestly favoured and encouraged all the Attempts of generous People in all Ages, who had Virtue and Courage enough to free themselves from a miserable Servitude; and it may, without presumption be said, that he has still permitted as a Punishment of their Cowardice and Baseness, great Nations of the *Asiaticks* and *Africans* to continue in the Darkness and Superstitions of Pagan

worthy the inestimable Blessing of the glorious Liberty of the  
of God, who did not know how to hazard all Things to reco-  
ne natural Liberty of the Sons of Men. It was one of *Machie-*  
Errors, that the Christian Religion, by the softness and sweet-  
of its Spirit, and peaceableness of its Doctrine, contributed to  
and abate that natural Fierceness of Mankind we call Courage,  
the apprehension of the terrible Punishments it denounces after  
life, which make Men fear to dye: But with respect to the  
st Genius of his Age. I maintain, that a Man cannot be truly  
and Valiant, who is not truly a good Christian; and that from  
consideration and certainty of those Glorious and Eternal Re-  
that shall infallibly be the Partage of all such as religiously  
large the Duties they owe to God and their Country; and if in  
of Civil Government, it teaches nothing but soft, gentle and  
able Doctrines; in respect of our Country's Service, and the  
ce of the Liberties of Mankind, it inspires nothing but noble,  
ous and elevated Sentiments: We know, a notion of Honour  
is sufficient to hurry Men to hazard their Lives in Performance  
at and generous Actions; but the Glory that redounds from  
is but of short Duration, as being founded mostly upon the  
Foundation of popular Applause; but it is a sense of doing what  
now is pleasing to God, and of true Religion, that inspires Men  
that Nobleness of Soul and Magnanimity, that as justly chal-  
as they deserve Immortality for their Reward; and the De-  
of the Honour and Liberty of a Man's Country is with me so  
and meritorious a Cause, that God, who is a Lover of Liberty,  
doubtless make Allowances to those gallant Men, who untime-  
e their Lives in their Pursuit; and I firmly believe, that so no-  
d generous a Sacrifice, like Charity, shall cover a multitude of  
Religion naturally makes good, faithful and loyal Subjects,  
it is not maliciously profaned to the impious Designs of Facti-  
ut when it acts purely upon its own Principles and Vertue, it  
s no Slaves or Cowards, who deserve not to be so; it refines  
Morality, and stamps the Lustre and Perfection of Divinity  
the feeble and imperfect Excellence of human Vertues. A Reli-  
thus considered in its native Purity, as the chief Design of it  
make Men happy in the other World with the glorious Li-  
and Title of Sons of the Most High, can never contribute,  
forcing a slavish Obedience to Tyrannical Princes, to make them  
able Slaves in this; and if there be any Condition of Life more  
shed and deplorable than that of Slavery, we desire to be in-  
ed what it is by those Reverend High-Church Doctors, who  
such pains to propagate Doctrines to introduce and establish it  
Nation, which from the beginning of time has injoyed and de-  
d a Freedom that is not to be paralleled in the Universe.  
e Arguments drawn from the Practice of the Primitive Chri-  
, and the idle Fable of the *Thebian* Legion to support and in-  
this Doctrine of unlimited, passive Obedience, are as frivolous  
mpertinent, as they are manifestly false and groundless. Let  
thinking Man reflect upon the Scituation and Circumstances of  
the



the Christian Religion in its Infancy, and we shall freely acknowledge, that the first Christians were under an invincible necessity of Obedience, and of tamely suffering the Reproaches, and all the Usage of their merciless Oppressors and Persecutors, without any resource but that of Prayers, and Tears, and Supplications to the God they adored, either for Patience to suffer, or Courage and Resignation to dye under them. This Divine Religion was made known to the World the latter end of the Reign of *Augustus*, when there had been an end put by his Predecessor *Julius's* tyrannical Usurpation, and his own, to all that glorious and generous Liberty, and with them all the admirable Vertues which had justly rendered the *Romans* Masters of the greatest part of Mankind; in the succeeding Reigns of *Tiberius* and *Nero*, two of the High-Church Lord's anointed, by the Blessing of God their Numbers wonderfully increased; but it must be considered, that in the beginning, the Converts and Professors of this Divine Religion were principally of the meanest of the People, as Servants and Slaves, who could not pretend so much as to be esteemed as Members of the Common-wealth, much less to have a Share or Concern in the Government: Let it further be considered, that a Novel Doctrine, which tendered directly to the overthrow and destruction of the *Pagan* Temples and Idolatry, which was an ancient Superstition, not to call it Religion, established by the Law, was held in Execration by all Men in Authority, and Interest in the Empire: It is natural from all these Reflections to conclude, that poor, mean, scattered and despicable People, could not, or dared not to make an open and publick Profession of a Religion so opposite and dangerous to that of the State, but at the utmost hazard and peril to their Lives; their Meetings therefore and Assemblies were all private and clandestine, to prevent or avoid the Terror of Punishment unavoidable upon their Discovery. I must for the greater Illustration of this Matter further remark, that the first Professors of the Christian Religion consisted principally of those of the *Jewish* Nation, who were numerous at that time in *Rome*, and who, upon the account, were banished from thence about the twentieth year of the Reign of *Tiberius*: These converted *Jews*, who by the Evangelical Dispensation were sensible that they were freed as well from the Bondage of the *Levitical* Law, as from that of Sin, had entertained a Notion, that by vertue of it they were exempted likewise from the Obligations of all human Laws: This was a dangerous error, which made it absolutely necessary for the great Apostle in point of politick Consideration, to preach to them the indispensable necessity of Obedience and Conformity to the established Laws of the Government, though there had been no other reason for it, from the nature and utility of the Doctrine; because by a publick Resistance or a contemptuous Opposition to those known Laws, they would have discovered themselves to their most mortal Enemies, who waited for the occasion and opportunity to destroy and extirpate them and their Religion; thus happily undeceived of their Error they were seasonably prevented from making use of any means for their Defence or Preservation, in such a perilous and miserable a Situation.

as this. What recourse could such a People have but to Prayers  
ears under their Sufferings, and Persecutions of their implacable  
es? What could be suppoied more to contribute to their Security  
ultiplication than a quiet and peaceable Demeanor; than an in-  
d perfect Conformity and Obedience to the Established Laws  
gher Powers, who as they wanted not the Will, wanted only  
portunity to root 'em from off the Face of the Earth?

us therefore thus consider 'em as a weak, divided, scatter'd  
, not yet united into publick Bodies and Societies, without  
without any Persons of Note to head and direct 'em, with-  
aces of Strength to retire to; not only without Friends, but  
World their profess'd Enemies; and I think it must be rati-  
concluded, that tho' they had been permitted by the very Prin-  
of their Religion, or that it had been never so much in their  
and Inclinations, to oppose Force to the Insults and Violences  
r Enemies, yet from their present Circumstances it would  
been absolutely impracticable, even in Point of human Pru-  
to have gone about to have resisted or defended themselves  
the United Power of an Empire, they could not with any tol-  
Hope of Success pretend to have confronted, much less over-  
what then wou'd have been the natural result of this but their  
ble Ruin? We know of no Religion that encourages its Pro-  
to undertake desperate, much less things impossible to hu-  
Means; and when Men ingage in such, 'tis more an Argument  
nzy than either Religion or common Prudence. True Courage  
s in the attempt of arduous and difficult Enterprizes by means  
the compass of human Reach and Capacity to accomplish;  
ond this is rashness and desperation, which were never esteem'd  
fects or Indications of true Valour; and when Men miscarry  
a unaccountable Darings, as they necessarily must do, they al-  
expose themselves to the Reproach and Contempt due to their  
ity and Madness, but never merit the Regards of Pity and Com-  
This then was past all doubt the Condition of the first Pro-  
of Christianity, which as it absolutely oblig'd them to live in  
ct Conformity to this famous Precept of the Apostle in the In-  
of Obedience to the Higher Powers, so understood, by the  
g of God it was the principal Means of their Security and  
gation; and tho' he formally enjoyns them the Practice of this  
ry Duty of Obedience to the Higher Powers, yet neither from  
Words, nor any other of his own, or of any other Apostle, can  
made appear, that they are commanded to submit themselves  
to the Miseries of an insupportable Slavery, which is the ne-  
Consequence of this laudable High-Church Doctrine in their  
of it, because it can never be made out that the Christian Reli-  
ou'd be design'd by a just and merciful God, for any other end  
he universal good of Mankind; nor can it be rationally infer'd  
he Principles of their Religion, or the Purport of this parti-  
recept, that because of the Circumstances of their Condition,  
did not pretend to defend themselves by the way of Arms,  
therefore it had not been lawful for them to have done so, if  
they

they had had the Power; for to agree from Mens Incapacity or inability to do a thing, the Illegality of doing it, is a little out of way of good Sense and sound Reasoning. We acknowledge, tho' the Apostle and the whole Design of the Christian Religion is to make good Men, and faithful and loyal Subjects to all Higher Powers legally establish'd, and exercising that Power to the general Good; we are yet to learn where we are commanded to be the Slaves and Drudges of the Lust and Ambition of wicked and tyrannical Princes, who imploy it only for the general Evil. In the former we confess to be the Ministers of God for our good, and as such we honour and reverence them, as we know we are oblig'd to do, both from the Authority of the Divine Religion we profess, and the Consideration of our Civil Interests which it promotes and maintains: but we are desirous to be inform'd by the venerable High-Church Apostles, whose Ministers and Instruments they are to be esteem'd, who oppress a great and free People committed to their Charge by all the Acts of Pride, Cruelty, Rapine, Fraud, Rapine and Violence, that either the Devil, servile Masters, or their proper Ambition may suggest to them; such Masters seem to me to be rather the Instruments and Ministers of a wicked Being, that sets himself up against God and all Goodness for his hurt, than those of that just and adorable One, who, we are sure, can never intend any thing but the Happiness of the Works of his own hands; and we must freely acknowledge, that how many Plagues and common Enemies of the good of Mankind can destroy the glorious Character of the Lord's Anointed, and as such challenge the Obedience mentioned by the Apostle, is a little out of our apprehension, tho' it may be easy to those more intelligent of the Church; nor can we prevail with our selves upon the Force and Credit of all their Arguments, to think that there is the same Obedience due to such of our Tyrants as King *John*, *Richard* and *Edward* the Seconds, as to *Edward* the First, *Henry* the Fifth, *Edward* the Sixth, Queen *Elizabeth*, our late Glorious and Immortal and ever King *William*, or our present Religious and Gracious Queen *Anne*. But be that as it will, we do not hold our selves oblig'd to any other Obedience or Allegiance to our Princes, either from the Authority of the Apostle which we venerate, or the Principles of the Religion in which we were born and hope to dye, than the known and establish'd Laws of the Land, and their Virtue, Wisdom, Justice, Valour and fatherly Love may justly challenge from us, for their Care, Protection, and Promotion of the Happiness of their People; and without, in the least troubling my self at the Division of High-Church Priests about what I am going to offer, I bold to affirm, that if it were left to the Choice and Judgment of Mankind, they wou'd renounce any Religion, by the Indisputable Necessity of whose Principles they must be condemn'd to be Slaves.

We are satisfy'd that Dominion and Subjection are relative to each other; and that the Prince who has not the Power, nor the Will to protect and conserve the Lives, the Liberties



erties of his Subjects, has no longer any manner of Claim to  
 Obedience, or Allegiance; and this we maintain to have been  
 Sentiments and Practice of the earliest Ages of Christianity, that  
 when its Professors came by degrees to be possess'd of a Power  
 sufficient to enable 'em to exert and justify 'em, as it has been e-  
 since in all succeeding Generations; for no sooner were their  
 numbers increased so vastly, that they came to be considerable through-  
 out the Provinces of the Empire, but the Christian Valour became  
 formidable, not only to their Pagan Emperors and Enemies at home,  
 but to all the World abroad besides. Men who were sure of eternal  
 glorious Rewards for their Service to their Country after Death, gave  
 noblest Examples of forwardness to sacrifice their Lives to such, as  
 were only upon the poor and narrow Principles of Interest, or a  
 glorious Applause, were more inclin'd to manage theirs; and  
 when they came to be employ'd by their Emperors in their Armies,  
 they gave Marks of a Discipline, Obedience and Valour, that glori-  
 ously distinguish'd them from the Hopes of all other Nations and Pro-  
 vinces; for Superstition is ever fearful and cowardly, because Men  
 can never be convinc'd that it is other than the Artifice of  
 crafty and designing Priests; but there is a certain Divinity in true  
 Religion, which as it carries its Evidence and full Conviction with  
 it from its Original from Heaven, always inspires Men with a Gran-  
 deur and Elevation of Sentiments and Courage worthy of it; for  
 it easily convinc'd the World, that the Christian Religion, though  
 made the best Subjects, made no Cowards, or encourag'd Slaves;  
 that it animated its Professors with the most generous Resoluti-  
 on to enterprize and accomplish whatever cou'd be expected from  
 Courage and Valour of the bravest of Men: Death to them was  
 the Reward of their Vertue, full as they were of the Glories that  
 were sure of after it; whereas to receive it only as the end of  
 Miseries here, was the highest Strain of Pagan Divinity. In  
 later Ages, the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites* in *Bohemia*, the *Vandois* in  
 the Mountains of *Piedmont*, the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses* in *Provence*  
 and *Languedoc*, and the more Modern *Calvinists* in the Bowels of  
 France, (let not our High-Church Friends be frighted) have suffici-  
 ently convinc'd the World, that they did not think they sin'd against  
 the Precept of the Apostle or Principles of the Christian Religion,  
 when they drew their Swords in the Defence of that and their Lives  
 and Liberties, against the Violence and Injustice of their Tyrannical  
 Persecutors and Oppressors; the Succours and constant Assistance  
 of our renowned Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and King *Charles*  
 first gave to the latter, during the course of the Civil Wars and  
 revolutions in *France*, are sufficient Evidence of the Justice and  
 utility of the Practice; nor wou'd our Princes have given so  
 generous an Example to their own People, of assisting Foreign Sub-  
 jects against their natural Kings, if they had judg'd, like our Modern  
 High-Church Politicians, that they were in Rebellion; or if they  
 had not been fully satisfy'd, both of the Lawfulness and Necessity of  
 Subjects taking up Arms in the Defence of their Religion and Liber-  
 ties against the Violence and Injustice of an Ambitious, Absolute, and

Arbitrary Power ; and that, both from the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and the natural Equity of so glorious a Cause as the Defence and Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of Mankind, need not mention, or but barely mention, the Practice of our own Nation, not inferior to any in *Europe* for Wisdom, Valour and glorious Liberty, and which in our Memory terminated in a glorious Revolution, which freed us from that Inundation of Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power that was ready, by the Influence of these execrable Doctrines, to break in and overwhelm us ; and I humbly conceive it may reasonably be presum'd, that the constant Practice of many great and valiant People, of so many wise, judicious and renowned Princes, who cannot be suppos'd to be ignorant of the Sense and Nature of their Religion, the Meaning of the Apostles, or the true Interests of their State, will be of something more Weight with the thinking honest part of Mankind, than the ridiculous Visions of our bigoted and contemptible High-Church Divines, the mercenary Tools of Faction, who are the most profess'd and dangerous Enemies of both.

The idle Story of the *Thebean* Legion were not worth the mentioning, if it had not frequently been made use of to support the Doctrine of absolute passive Obedience, from the Opinion they have of the Unlawfulness of Resisting the Higher Powers. There is no mention made of this Romance in any Historian of Credit of the Times in which it was suppos'd to happen, in the Reign of *Diocletian*, and was the Fiction of some raskally Monk a long time ago. For what End or Design I leave every one to judge as he shall think fit. The Story, as I remember, is thus : *Mauritius* commanded a body of Troops, consisting all of Christians, who upon a thousand occasions had signaliz'd themselves, and given extraordinary Proofs of their Conduct and Valour ; it happen'd that when the *Roman* Army was incamp'd in *Savoy*, their Enemies, out of Malice, or Envy to their noble Reputation, and who wanted only an opportunity to destroy 'em, put it into the Emperor's Head to command 'em to sacrifice to their Heathen Gods, which the good Colonel cou'd not, whether by Promises or Menaces be prevail'd with to do, as contrary to the Purity and express Commands of the Religion he profess'd ; upon which a Decimation was order'd, and repeated till the Commanders with all his Officers and Soldiers were put to Death ; to which without Murmuring they peaceably submitted, to the great Joy and Triumph of their Pagan Enemies. Now if this matter of Fact were true, as it is manifestly false, here were a notable Instance indeed of a blind Obedience to the higher Powers for Conscience sake ; even so, that single Instance wou'd not be of Force to persuade to believe that it was the general Sentiment of all Christians, or necessary Consequence of that Religion they profess'd ; and it is my Opinion, and that founded upon Reason too, that if that same Colonel *Maurice*, at the head of above six thousand gallant Fellows, persuaded and encourag'd 'em by his brave Example, to have drawn their Swords in Defence of their Lives and true Religion, against the Cruelty and Malice of those heathenish Adorers of their false Gods

ou'd have left behind him a far nobler Character of a true  
 ian Soldierly Courage and Zeal for his Religion, than by stand-  
 ke a Company of paltry Slaves, that did not deserve to live,  
 y with their Hands in their Pockets, whilst their blood-thirsty  
 merciless Enemies in cool Blood cut their Throats. Much good  
 t do High Church with such incomparable Christian Heroes,  
 hey never have any better to fight their Battles; we assure 'em  
 re as little in our Esteem, as for our Imitation.

ust not here omit to take notice of another of their Arguments,  
 deserves that Name, drawn from the Authority of the Fathers,  
 n of the Church, not of their Country; and which concludes  
 Matter just as demonstratively as the former; if these Men  
 here and there with scraps of Sentences in some of their  
 gs, that seem to countenance their Opinion, they quote and  
 ce 'em as Oracles to decide the Question, without the least Al-  
 ce or Reflection upon the different Circumstances of Time, or  
 rious sorts of Governments they and we live under. If they  
 erullian, saying, that it is not lawful for a Christian to make  
 if he tells 'em that Jesus Christ in disarming St. Peter, for e-  
 prohibited all Christians the power of making use of 'em; if  
 nd *Augustin* affirming that the Emperor is subject to no Law,  
 e he alone has the Power of making the Laws; if they find  
 se and others frequently inculcating the necessary Doctrine of  
 nce to the higher Powers, they were not able to resist; they  
 hey have brought a mighty Succour to reinforce their Opinion.  
 hat is there conclusive from all this? We are willing enough  
 all the Respect and Deference to those great and excellent  
 s that is due to 'em, but they will excuse us if we cannot re-  
 heir Opinions as Oracles decisive of the Fate of our Country  
 vil Liberties; in matters peculiarly relating to Religion, in  
 they were principally vers'd, we are willing to regard their  
 rity as far as it is supported by Scripture, and conformable to  
 ; but we know they were no more than Men, and as such  
 to Errors, and great ones too, even in matters of Religion,  
 ch they were mostly conversant; we know that they pretend  
 any immediate Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to render their  
 rity infallible; but whatever their Opinions were in the point  
 us, in relation to the sort of Government they liv'd under; of  
 force or Importance can they be suppos'd to be, to determine  
 Affairs of a different State, of which they cou'd have no man-  
 Knowledge? If the Doctrine they preach'd on this Subject,  
 Power of the Prince, and Obedience of the Subject, were  
 e and necessary in the Circumstances of their Time and Go-  
 nt, it does not follow that it must be eternally obligatory up-  
 People and Nations, under different Circumstances of Time  
 dels of Government, I mean upon their bare Authority; and  
 made out that it is expressly commanded by the Word of God,  
 rary of which has been made appear, some Men, whose In-  
 may be to do so, may put put what Weight they please upon  
 authority, but we know no other Foundation or Rule of our



Obedience than that of the Word of God, of Reason, and of the Laws of the Land; which whilst they are not repugnant to either the former or natural Equity, we acknowledge to be infallible; and whilst they are in Force, perpetually binding. We know very well that there have been Laws amongst us, and long in force in our Islands, which have been directly contrary to the revealed Will of God, Reason and Equity; but we deny that they deserve properly to be honoured with the name of Laws; the inherent Turpitude and Inequity of them destroy them; for their *Tertullian* himself will tell us that neither Antiquity, or the dignity of the Legislator, but the Justice and genuine Equity and Rectitude of the Thing, give the Authority and Vertue to the Law; and I desire to know, whether the Emperor commanded to do things expressly against all Divine and Humane Laws, his Christian Subjects were indispensably obliged to obey him, or thought themselves damn'd if they disobey'd or resisted his unjust Commands, if they had it in their Power to do so. If they say they were oblig'd, let them prove by what Authority; then, we are plain to tell them, we grudge them not the Glory of such a Religion; if they were not oblig'd to obey in such a Cause, then the Necessity of such an absolute unconditional Passive Obedience as they contend for, is absolutely lost and destroy'd.

But for a further Illustration of this Point in Question to my nearest Countrymen, I must desire the Admirers of this Authority, those Venerable Fathers, to reflect upon the different sort of Government they liv'd under from our own; it was their Fortune to be born and live under the most Absolute and Arbitrary Tyranny at that time in the Universe; where it is confess'd, that the sole Will of the Emperor was to them a Law: There was no such Title to the Imperial Crown by Election or Succession; but any most profligate Villain, who had either Money enough to corrupt, or Address enough to cajole the debauch'd and mercenary Legislature, was made by them in a High-Church Stile, *The Lord's Anointed*, to whom all the wretched Slaves in their Dominions, and particularly the Christians, the more peculiar Inheritance of the most merciful God, were indispensably, according to these Mens Notions, oblig'd to pay a blind and unrestrain'd Obedience to all their Commands, how impure, unjust, or execrable soever they might be, under the pain of Eternal Damnation: Now in my Opinion, the principal Reason, the only Reason why the Holy Apostles and their succeeding Disciples, were branded with the odious Characters of pestilent and seditious Fellows, was, because they could not upon the Principles of their Pure and Divine Religion comply with the Abominations which were commanded by their insolent and imperious Masters; a very Non-Compliance being an evident Indication and Instance of their Right of Refusing and Disobeying for Conscience-Sake, if they had had the Power to have defended it; but that being wanting, they out of necessity (if I may so speak) chose the only Thing left them in their miserable Scituation, which was the Glory of resigning themselves, and Triumphant in their Sufferings, when they found themselves in an insuperable Inability of defending them.

existing. But God and our Noble Ancestors be prais'd, we  
 born under a happier Constitution of Government; we breath  
 Air, under the blessed Influence of a Mix'd and Limited Mo-  
 ny, where the Power of the Prince is determined by the Laws,  
 as the Liberties of the Subject: Our Monarchs are originally  
 we, and they acknowledg'd their Crown and Dignity to be the  
 of the People; and even since it has been esteem'd Hereditary,  
 best and wisest of them have ever thought themselves more firm-  
 established by the Consent of a Free and Willing People, than  
 their Title by Succession or Consanguinity; this indeed may be  
 a Claim and Title, but the other is Right, and the only indis-  
 cutable One of any Crown, not only in *Europe*, but in the whole  
 World. We can, and have prov'd our selves to have been in the  
 Possession of Native and Original Liberties from the beginning of  
 Time. Whatever Condition the *Romans* found us in, which we have  
 made appear was that of Freedom; we are sure they left us at Li-  
 berty to frame what sort of Government should seem best to us.  
 We have made appear, that the great Men amongst the Ancient  
 Britons, chosen to oppose the *Romans*, were but temporary Com-  
 manders upon the Occasions of the War; those of the *British* Blood,  
 were afterwards as their Head, Elective till the time of the  
 famous *Vortigern*. The *Saxons* who succeeded, and whose Laws  
 were all many of them in Force, acknowledg'd to have received the  
 Crown from the Gift of the People, and continu'd to hold it by no  
 Title or Tenure: The *Norman*, whom our good High-Church  
 calls the Conqueror, to the great Honour of their Country,  
 did not himself ever confirm'd or safe in the Throne till he had  
 sworn to the Observation of the *Saxon* Laws; and was so far  
 from thinking that he left any Title to his Son, that acknowledging  
 himself and the People free, he left them so; and only, as has been  
 wish'd that they would confer that Honour on him after his  
 Death. We have our ancient indubitable Rights and Liberties recog-  
 nized and establish'd by our great Charter, the 25th of *Henry* the  
 second, and reconfirm'd by above forty solemn Acts of the Legisla-  
 ture, which is incontestably in our Regard the supreme Power  
 of the Nation; by the Tenor of which so solemnly sworn to by  
 us and all other succeeding Princes, it is left in the Power of the  
 People, if he contravene his Oath, and other Means fail to induce him  
 to the just and legal Discharge of his Duty, to compel him to perform  
 the Conditions upon which they admitted him to be their King.  
 Now upon a due Reflection on the Nature of these two different  
 sorts of Governments, let any impartial Reader judge whether there  
 be the same latitude of an Absolute and Arbitrary Power to be as-  
 sum'd to our Kings of *England* over a free People, as to the *Roman*  
 Emperors; or the same unlimited Passive Obedience paid to them, as  
 by the Slaves of the former; if not, let the Opinion of those Ve-  
 nerable Fathers be what they will, they bear no manner of Impor-  
 tance or Relation to us, who are to determine of our proper Inte-  
 rest by the fundamental Laws of our Kingdom, and not by their  
 Commands or Opinions. Besides, we have the Authority of all the free

and great Nations in *Europe*, together with our own, to shew that the Christians of all Ages have always made use of the Means that God and Nature leaves them to defend their Religion and Liberties from the Usurpations of wicked Princes; no Age of the World being persuaded that the most excellent of all Religions, the Christian, was sent into it to destroy the Natural and Civil Rights of Mankind but our own; which we think, if put in the Scale, will overbalance both the private Opinions of the ancient Fathers, and those of our more modern High-Church ones, whose Interest it may be, for private Reasons, to establish this Doctrine for the Service of a certain Pretender; nay further, he who shall advance that this Doctrine of Obedience mention'd in the 13th to the *Romans*, in its greatest Latitude, was intended only to be purely temporary, and accommodated to the Necessity and Circumstances of the Times of the Infancy of Christianity, will advance a Truth, which I am sure the wisest of them can't disprove; since, as has been hinted, the Practice even of the next succeeding Ages, when whole Countries came to be converted and grew formidable by their Numbers, sufficiently convinced the World, that they were not of the Opinion, from the Principles of their Religion or Conscience, that they were debar'd from the Defence of their natural Rights and Liberties, when they were violently and unjustly invaded by their Princes. They had no Notion that because their holy Religion join'd a just Subjection and Obedience to the higher Powers, that therefore they were by the indispensable Obligations of it to suffer like Slaves and Cowards, or that it depriv'd them, or destroy'd any of their Civil and Natural Rights they enjoy'd before; which since they were of the Gift and Institution of God in their Creation, could never reasonably be supposed to be repugnant to his Divine Will when it should be reveal'd, or destroyed by a pure and beneficent Religion which is the Act of it. I don't think it a Thing to be question'd, but that the Holy Apostles as Men divinely Inspir'd, were well aware of this; and foresaw the impossibility of propagating a Doctrine attended with such a shocking Condition; for rational Men cannot easily be supposed to embrace any Religion, which should oblige them to quit the most valuable Blessing of civil Life, their Liberty in this World, for uncertain ones in the next: The very absurdity of such a Design were sufficient to make Men doubt of the Mission and Authority of the Promulgators as well as of the Truth and Divinity of the Doctrine; for it has been always the care of Inventors of new, tho' false Religions, to calculate them such as may agreeably flatter the Inclinations and Interests of Men in this Life, as well as their Hopes of a more delicious Happiness in the next. Let these High-Church Refiners upon the purity of all Religions consider, that under the *Levitical* Dispensation even God himself not only permitted, but rais'd up certain choicest Servants, from *Moses* and *Joshua* to the renowned *Marchabees*, the glorious Office of freeing his People, not only from the tyrannical Oppressions of the Kings of the neighbouring Nations, but also from the wicked Ones of their own. Let them reflect with what immortal Honour those great and renowned Men, even in the time



Paganism, amongst the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, who had the  
 virtue and Courage to free their native Countries from Slavery, are  
 generated and distinguish'd by all that there have been of Wise, of  
 valiant, and of Vertuous, in all succeeding Ages. Let them call to  
 mind what just Praises and Honour have, since the beginning of  
 Christianity, been given to those brave People who have nobly ex-  
 erted their Courage, and spent their Blood and Fortunes in defence  
 of their Religion and Liberties, as Things infinitely more dear and  
 referable than what they hazarded. And let them call to mind a  
 thing, which they are but too apt to forget, or what is worse, to  
 approach and discredit, I mean, that glorious Revolution which  
 deliver'd us from Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power; and let  
 them preach their slavish Doctrines to the Wind, or at least expect to  
 prophane none with the Impiety of their Nonsense and Absurdities,  
 at the Simple and Credulous, and tremble how dreadfully they  
 all one Day be accountable even for that.

Were all these Great, Wise and Valiant Nations and People sup-  
 pos'd to live in Darkness and utter Ignorance of the Nature and  
 support of their Religion? Or is the true Knowledge of it reserv'd  
 only to be communicated to a few corrupt and mercenary High-  
 church Hypocrites, prostituted to the Ruin and Slavery of their  
 country? Or if it be sincerely their Opinion, let them think it worth  
 their while to convince us of the truth of their Persuasion, by the  
 compliance and conformity of their Practice; if not, let them ac-  
 knowledge themselves the most Vile and Abandon'd of all Hypo-  
 crites. Let them not impudently continue to fool us with the influ-  
 ence of a Doctrine, they neither believe themselves or practise, but  
 propagate only to carry on the pernicious Designs of a Faction, which  
 they have neither Honesty enough publicly to own, or Courage  
 enough publicly to defend. 'Tis evident, that whatever they bab-  
 ble to ensnare their Fellow-Subjects, they are ever sure enough to  
 take their Precautions to secure and indemnify themselves; let other  
 people suffer what they will from the lawless and unjustifiable Power  
 of the Prince, let but them be exempted from their share of the  
 sufferings, all is well; but the 13th to the *Romans* shall be thun-  
 der'd out to damn all the rest of the Nation, if they shall dare to  
 think of Resisting; but let the Hand of the higher Powers be stretch'd  
 out, and touch but a Hair of their sacred Heads, a little Pig or fan-  
 cy'd Tith Sheaf, and immediately the Word is, Fire, Murder, Sa-  
 vage, Tyranny and Persecution; the Government is unhing'd,  
 the Church is in danger, and we are all undone! and there is no  
 more mention of the 13th to the *Romans* and the Precept of it, than  
 they never had had a Being in the World. Impious Prevarication!  
 amongst a thousand Proofs of this Truth, I shall only for Brevity's  
 sake mention a famous Instance within our Memories, I mean, that of  
*Magdalen* College. When these High-Church Trumpeters had  
 sound'd from their Pulpits and Writings their commendable Doctrines  
 of Arbitrary Power and Passive Obedience in the Court, the City,  
 and all the Corners of the Kingdom; and fulsomely flatter'd their  
 King with an Opinion of doing what he pleas'd, without fear of be-  
 ing

ing control'd: The Moment he pretended to give them and the Church a Taste of that beloved absolute Power they had complimented him with, they gave their Lord's Anointed to understand, that tho' the rest of his Subjects might be us'd as much like Slaves as he thought fit, yet that they, the sacred Tribe of *Levi*, God's own peculiar Inheritance, were ever to be exempted from the illegal Extension of it; which whilst it was exerted in the Oppression of the ungodly Laity was most just and allowable; but with Respect to them, was most sacrilegious and abominable. In this Manner, these excellent Subjects were the first that fool'd that unhappy King into his Ruin and the first that flew in his Face and fool'd him out of the Kingdom; and thus damn'd their Opinion by the Contrariety of their Practice; shewing by a new Tour of Legerdemain of their High Church Divinity, the absolute Necessity of unlimited Passive Obedience of the Subject to the Prince from the Authority of an Apostle in a bare-fac'd Violation and Act of Resistance of his Power from their own.

For us, we thank God, our Practice has been ever fairer; we never flatter'd him with a Power we knew did not belong to him, nor charg'd our selves with any Obedience to him, but what we likewise knew we were oblig'd to by the fundamental Laws of the Land; and if we contributed our Share to deprive him of the Crown and Royal Dignity, which he abus'd in the grossest Violation of those Laws, we did but what we ought, and in detestation of a Tyranny we never encouraged or promoted; and we have the Authority of our great Charter, and our subsequent Laws for doing so. As we are perfectly convinc'd of the Truth and Reasonableness of our Principles, we are neither afraid to own them, or ashamed to act always like honest Men in conformity to them. We honour and respect and faithfully obey our Rightful and Lawful Kings whilst they are Wise, Just, Vertuous and Valiant, which are the noble Qualities necessary for the Protection and Happiness of the Commonwealth at the Head of which we have plac'd them for that End; but we do not think our selves oblig'd to have the same regards for foolish, impious, unjust or cowardly Ones, who by perverting the Order and End of their Institution, vacate and forfeit it; or who employ the Authority given solely for the Good of the People, to their Ruin and Destruction. We know our Laws originally made our Kings, and they who confer and grant the Power, can questionless modify and limit it as they think shall most conduce to the publick Welfare and Happiness: The Power of our Kings is no more than the Power of the Laws; a Power solely of doing Right, not of Injustice; they are made by and for them, and not by and for themselves; and they who add more of it to them than the Laws allow, or oblige the People to other Obedience than the same Laws command and authorize, make them Tyrants, and the People Slaves. When we say the King of England can do no Wrong, it is eternally understood what he rules only according to the Prescript of the Laws, which whilst he does, it is impossible he should ever err; for otherwise, to establish the Power of doing the highest Injustice and Iniquity, by

of publick Approbation; which as it had its rise from Flattery, can never be maintain'd but by Violence and an irregular Ambition; and thus whilst private Persons for Acts of Fraud, Rapine and Violence, or any other Violation of the publick Peace, will be subject to the utmost severity and punishments of the Laws, the Prince shall not only be permitted but encouraged, by vertue of we know not what chimerical and imaginary Authority, to run on to all the Excesses of them, and that too with impunity; for there is nothing left to cover a poor oppress'd People from the Inroads of a wicked Prince, when they are made to believe his Power is uncontrollable, and themselves oblig'd blindly to obey and submit to it under pain of Damnation. But we neither teach or acknowledge any such Power in the Supream Magistrate, or any slavish Obedience in the Subject. The blessed Condition of our Constitution consists in this, that we have exchange'd a wild and unsociable Liberty, which was every Man's Partage in the state of Nature, for an easy and rational Freedom, in a legal Subjection to Kings and Laws of our own Model and framing, always being suppos'd to reserve to our selves the Power and Means of opposing and punishing the Excesses of the Tyrant, or the Treachery and Perfidiousness of the Magistrate legally chosen, who abuses and perverts the End of their Institution; for, as has been said, the Ends of all Governments and of that Obedience exacted to them, is the publick Good, the obtaining of Justice, Security and Protection; such as thro' Inability cannot provide for them all, or thro' Malice and Wickedness refuse to do it, or manifestly do the contrary, forfeit their Character, and leave the People to their liberty of exerting their natural Right, of taking such Measures as shall seem best to themselves, of which they are the best and only Judges for their common Safety and Welfare.

This then is the essential Difference between both the Principles and Practice of those who are at this day distinguish'd by the Character of Low and High-Churchmen; the latter have forg'd out their heated Brains; first, an absolute, arbitrary and despotical Power in their Princes over the Lives, Fortunes and Liberties of their Subjects, by a certain divine Right and Commission, to which they have more lately tack'd the hereditary, unalienable and indefeasible Right of Kings under the sanctify'd Character of the Lord'sointed; Secondly, this absolute, unlimited Power and Right inseparably inherent to Kingship or the regal Character; and lastly, as a necessary Consequence of the former, an unconditional Passive Obedience in the Subject to all the Commands of such Princes, how reasonable or wicked soever they may be, under pain of Damnation. On the other Hand, the former neither allow more Power to the one, or injoyne more Obedience to the other, than what the fundamental Laws, which are the inflexible and perpetual Rule both, prescribe and command, nor acknowledge any Authority or Foundation of their Dream of hereditary, unalienable Right of Kings other than in a legal Sense, according to the original Order of their Institution, and leave them in Cases of Maladministration



stration accountable to those Laws by which they were first constituted. We leave it to the good Sense of all impartial and unprejudiced *Englishmen* to determine, which of the two Opinions is most likely to promote and preserve the publick Peace, Tranquillity and general Prosperity of the Common-wealth where it prevails; and shall only continue to maintain, that the Opinion and Principles of those we call *Whigs* or Low-Churchmen are founded upon the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, the Dictates of right Reason and Nature, the common Consent and Voice of Mankind, and the more particular Practice of our own Nation; every one of which I think has been prov'd the other want: And further, as the Opinion and Principles of the *Whigs* are directly calculated for the Preservation of the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Subject, so are they infinitely more beneficial, honourable and advantageous with respect to the Prince; inasmuch as by laying those legal, just and necessary Restraints upon the unruly Passions of their Will and Ambition, they curb the Violence of them, which left to themselves are too apt to precipitate them into violent Counsels to the Ruin often of themselves and Families; for it has always been found by fatal Experience, that the Royal Power and Authority, however supported by flattering Sycopants and pernicious Counsellors, have never been of sufficient Force to preserve themselves from the Superior Power and Impetuosity of a free People provok'd and exasperated into Fury by a violent and despotical Treatment, incompatible with the Tenor of their Laws, and the Genius of a mix'd and limited Monarchy; and therefore I think shall do him no manner of Injustice from what has been made appear, if I shall define a High-Church Priest who owns these Doctrines, (and if there be any amongst the *Tories* who profess and practise the same Principles, he may freely take his share of the Character) to be a publick Incendiary, a Property and Tool, either thro' Ignorance which is scandalous, or Malice which is infamous of a Faction; a Fool in the Hands of cunning and designing Knaves to carry on private Designs inconsistent with the true Interest and Honour of his Country; a Pretender to Religion but a Prophaner of it; an Affecter of the Character of an honest Man, without Merits; and as the most dangerous Enemy, so the most infamous Betrayer both of the establish'd Religion, and the immemorial Rights and Liberties of the former, in favour solely of his indefeasible, and our abjur'd Pretender.

I shall conclude this Point of absolute and unlimited Passive Obedience preach'd up by the one, and detested by the other, with the one Remark, which I know will set my dear High-Church Friends at a gaping; that tho' the unhappy Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory*, of Low and High-Churchmen, which is purely the Work of the Devil and *French* Jesuits to divide and weaken us, be but modern and born within our Memory and that of our Fathers, yet the things meant by them, are as antient as Time and the Origin of Civil Power and Government: And I hardly maintain, that the first Gallant who struck his Ponyard into the Heart of the first

er of the Establish'd Laws, or by any other way destroying the  
 rant, either prevented the Slavery, or restor'd the Liberty of his  
 untry from the Oppression of an unjust and violent Usurpation,  
 s the first noble *Whig*; by which I am always understood to mean  
 other than a constant Asserter and Defender of the natural Rights  
 Mankind, and the particular Liberties of his native Country and  
 low-Subjects; for he who had Vertue and Magnanimity enough  
 conceive so great and generous a Design, cou'd never want a  
 ight to attempt and execute it: The Blessings of a rational and  
 al Freedom are so invaluable, and the Miseries inseparable from  
 very so odious and insupportable, that the very inward Righte-  
 snels of the Act is more than sufficient to authorize and justifie  
 e Performance; for by the greatest Authority that can bind and  
 age Men, I mean that even of the Holy Scriptures, as is demon-  
 able from the Example and Practice of the Heroes of the *Old Te-*  
*ment*, when a Prince oppressing his People cannot by reason of  
 Power be call'd to an account by the ordinary means of Justice  
 d Remonstrance, it is then lawful for the Defence of the Publick  
 have recourse to the extraordinary and extrajudicial ones. On  
 e other Hand, the fustian Sycophant Slave that flatter'd his Prince  
 th the Visions of a Divine Authority to do mischief, with an ab-  
 ute and arbitrary Power over the Lives, Fortunes and Liberties  
 his Subjects, and made the latter drunk with the Fumes of an  
 limited Passive Obedience, the first infallible Step to Slavery, was  
 e first *Tory* or High-Churchman, if he is pleas'd with the Princi-  
 es and Honour of the Character. 'Tis pity the Name of the former  
 as not preserv'd from the Injury of Time, both for his own eternal  
 onour, and for the noble Example and Imitation of all succeed-  
 g Generations; and of the latter, to be had in execration with all  
 od, brave and vertuous Lovers of their Country's Honour and  
 iberties till there shall be an end of Time. I have now done  
 ith the Nature of these pernicious Doctrines, and proceed in the  
 ext place to consider the Tendency, End, and Design for which at  
 is time of Day they have been so industriously propagated amongst  
 ; which I hope evidently to prove, can be in no other view than  
 o subvert the antient Establishment of our Constitution, in order  
 o erect a new one upon its Ruins; for the Prospect of the High-  
 Church Faction at present can terminate but in one Point, that of  
 ntroducing and establishing the Pretender on the Throne, which  
 ill visibly appear to all disinterested and impartial Persons, who  
 hall seriously reflect upon the nature of their Principles and Do-  
 trines, and the Steps they have made in pursuance of them for these  
 our Years past; and as they have all along made it appear, how  
 uch they reget and abhor a glorious Revolution, that establish'd  
 hese Nations in the Injoyment of their Religion and Liberties, so  
 ave they taken as much pains to convince the World, that they  
 ill boggle at no means to reverse and deprive us of the Blessings  
 ve are in possession of from it. I shall therefore endeavour, step  
 y step, tho' briefly as possible, to discover to my honest Countrymen,  
 rather remind them thro' all the dark and intricate Mazes of their  
 Mystery

**Mystery of Iniquity**, of the base and ungenerous means they have made use of from time to time to accomplish a Design, which, if God for the punishment of our Sins permits to succeed, will inevitably end in the Slavery of a great, free and noble People; and if he does not, in their own inevitable and deserv'd Confusion: If we had to deal with a fair and generous Enemy, we shou'd have little to fear or apprehend from the Power either of their Reasoning or their Arms; but as we have not, we have nothing more to do than to be upon our guard, and take all those proper Precautions for our selves and Security, that are necessary against the Delights of Men, who make use only of Artifices, which as they are founded upon Error, Malice or Falsehood, can only be carry'd on and maintain'd by their usual Artillery of Invectives, Reproaches, and by the most infamous of Lyes and Calumnies.

When Faction, which is the Spirit of Discord, animating Men to act for private Interest against the Tenor of the Laws, takes Birth in a Nation, the Consequences of it are always Disunity, Animosities, Hatred, Jealousies and Revenge, with all the melancholy Train of Mischiefs that are inseparable from Divisions, and a Contrariety of Opinions and Interests in a State: The general, and for the most part only Source of this is the Ambition of particular Men, who as they are apt to entertain an advantageous Opinion of their own Merit and Capacity, think an Injury done to their Birth and Quality, if they are excluded from a participation of the first Places of Honour and Emoluments of the Commonwealth. There seems indeed to be no reason why Men of Parts and Abilities and approv'd Integrity, should be wholly excluded from the exercise of the important Posts and Stations of their Country; and a wise Prince will certainly have a due regard to such in an equal and impartial Distribution of his Favour, to content and satisfy them according to the extent of his Power and Opportunity, as the surest means to ingage their Affections to his own Service and Interests and that of their common Country: This is principally to be understood of such as pretend to the possession of such Places, as immediately are concern'd in the management of the most important Interests of the State; for a King of *England* has the distribution of many Stations both of Honour and Profit, tho' of less consequence, as may content the Desires of most Men, especially of the Nobility who are willing to embarrass themselves with the Perplexities inseparable from Business and Attendance; and therefore in relation to the first sort, as the Principles which Men profess are that from whence arises the distinction, the Prince who knows how to fill and maintain the Dignity of his Character, not only will, but is oblig'd for his own and the Kingdom's Honour and Safety to employ those whose Principles are known to be conformable to the original Constitution of the Government, in exclusion of such as are doubtful, suspected, or known to be contrary to it. The Persons thus excluded may think themselves injuriously dealt with and complain, but they complain without a just reason; for they can with Justice only blame themselves, the Ho-



and Interest of a whole Nation being infinitely preferable to  
 Contentment of the Ambition of any private Persons of what  
 Rank or Degree soever: Let them therefore approve their Princi-  
 ples to be sound, and tending directly to the general Good, Honour  
 and true Interest of their Country, and there will be no longer any  
 Reason, *ceteris paribus*, to decline or refuse their Service; but if on  
 the contrary Men of avow'd Principles, not only opposite, but de-  
 structive of the fundamental Institution of the Government, pre-  
 tend to the Administration of the eminent Trusts and Dignities of  
 the State, it will always be suppos'd they do it in view only of ad-  
 vancing their own private Fortunes and Interests, if not something  
 worse, and the Prince in the end shall never fail of finding himself  
 expos'd and betray'd; and therefore in such cases there is much  
 more Injustice in their Pretensions, than there can be in the Prin-  
 ce rejecting them; but if besides it shall appear that such Men are  
 capable of actually forming Designs to enslave and betray their na-  
 tive Country to the Tyranny of a foreign Power, it will not only  
 be thought reasonable to prevent the Execution of such execrable  
 Designs, by excluding them from such Offices as may furnish them  
 with the means to accomplish them, but that they justly deserve  
 the utmost rigour and severity of the Laws in their Punishment for  
 attempting it: For *Barclay* himself, one of the most strenuous Ad-  
 vocates of the absolute and despotical Power of Kings, in these two  
 Cases, either of subverting the fundamental Laws and Religion of  
 the Kingdom, or of betraying it into the Subjection of a foreign  
 Power, allows it lawful in the People to take up Arms against such  
 an attempt either, for their Defence and Preservation; and if it be  
 allow'd against our Kings themselves, whom we acknowledge  
 the Supreme executive Power of the Nation, it will appear some-  
 thing more reasonable to make use of the same or any other means  
 against any subordinate Officers or Ministers, who act only by an  
 Authority deriv'd from them, when they are wicked enough to  
 form the same traitorous Designs. Whether this be not the very  
 Case and Situation of a certain set of noble People at present, I  
 will leave to the sequel of this Discourse to make appear, and to  
 every honest disinterested *Englishman*, who shall give himself the  
 trouble of reading it, to make what Judgment he pleases.

But be that as it will, when a Set of Men, whether rightly quali-  
 fied or not, have form'd the Design to make a Change in any esta-  
 blish'd Government, it is absolutely necessary for 'em first to secure  
 the Favour and Approbation of the Prince, under the colour of do-  
 ing all things for his Honour, and the Good of the Nation; and next  
 to cajole and predispose the People into an Opinion of the Sincerity  
 of their Intentions for the publick Good; and as there are great  
 difficulties to be struggl'd with to obtain these two Ends, the first  
 step is to impose upon such as they cannot convince, or to corrupt  
 such as have not Vertue enough to resist the Temptation; and as it  
 is impossible to establish Error and Falshood by any other means, than  
 by bare popular and plausible Arguments, (for solid Truth and right  
 Reason can only be supported by what is evidently true, and evi-  
 dently

dently rational) they never fail to imploy such as are sufficient  
 their purpose of ingaging Mens Wills to their Interests, without  
 being capable of convincing their Understandings; for in such Cases  
 they oftner stand in need of Hands than Hearts; and when ingag'd  
 in such Designs, and animated by the Spirit of Faction, they have  
 made these first Advances; we have had but a too melancholy Expe-  
 rience, that they will boggle at no Means, how scandalous and dis-  
 honourable soever, to convince and support their Delusions. The next  
 Point to be gain'd is, by all the same laudable Means to disgrace the  
 great Men and Ministers in Possession, by rendring them suspected  
 to the Prince, and odious and contemptible to the People; which is  
 always best effected by the infamous Arts of Lying and Calumny,  
 the never-failing Instruments of High-Church Politicks and Divinity.  
 The common Topicks in such Cases made use of, is to endeavour  
 to expose 'em to the Publick, under the odious Characters of Disre-  
 spect to the Prince who honour'd them; of their Ingratitude to  
 so gracious a Benefactor; of being Enemies to the Government; of  
 Friends to the establish'd Religion; the Danger to their dear Church  
 and State from their Administration, republican and antimonarchical  
 Principles, and the like; some of which I have already expos'd and  
 refuted, as I hope to do the rest under the particular Heads I shall  
 range them, as the Reason and Train of Things shall occasionally re-  
 fer them. The Offices of Profit, Trust and Dignity in the State, are  
 either Civil or Military; I have endeavour'd, in the former part of  
 this Discourse, to defend the former from the unjust and infamous  
 Reproaches and Calumnies of the most dangerous Faction that ever  
 disturb'd the Quiet of these Nations; and as I have discharg'd myself  
 without Fear of the one, or Flattery of the other, I hope it will, at  
 least, give a Handle to some abler Pen to perform it better; and since  
 I am not conscious to myself of having advanc'd any thing but what  
 is strictly agreeable to Truth and Justice, my honest Countrymen  
 will have the goodness to accept the Probity of Intentions, in lieu  
 of the Weakness of the Performance; I shall therefore, with the  
 same Courage and disinterested Integrity, undertake to defend and ju-  
 stify our noble and generous Warriors, the Glory of the *British* Valour  
 and Nation, from the shameless Invectives and Calumnies of their  
 malicious Enemies; who as they can never tarnish the real Lustre  
 of their Honour, in the Opinion of any wise or honest *Englishman*,  
 so will in the end not fail to reflect an Infamy upon the ingrateful  
 Authors of 'em, which shall not terminate even in the Grave; but re-  
 main as an eternal Monument of their Treachery and Ingratitude to  
 the end of the World. I constantly maintain that it is next to im-  
 possible for a particular Person, upon the Strength and Sufficiency of  
 his own single Genius, however elevated and distinguished it may  
 be, or even with the help and assistance of a few others, to under-  
 take, much less accomplish the Renversement of an ancient Govern-  
 ment, established upon the solid Foundation of the universal Con-  
 sent of a free and powerful People, without the Concurrence and  
 Help of some very considerable Power from abroad; and therefore  
 it is as much their Interest to prevent the Ruin or Diminution of

at favourable foreign Power, as by all Means to destroy the Credit and Reputation of the suppos'd Enemies of their Exaltation, or gain the Opinion of the People, so absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of their Designs at home. 'Tis in this View that the present Ministry, who by their Address and Artifice had the Power to impose upon the Goodness and Credulity of their Queen, and by their mercenary Tools of the High-Church Priesthood, debauch'd great numbers of the deluded People into their Interests, and thereby implanted and undermin'd the noblest Set of Statesmen and Patriots that ever had the Administration of the Affairs of these Nations, found they had done but half their Work, unless with the same Facility and Success they cou'd deprive their Country, and the most powerful Confederacy that ever was in *Europe*, of the Courage and Conduct of a General and other gallant Commanders, who had carry'd the Reputation of the *British* Arms to a more elevated pitch of Glory than was ever known to former Ages, and who by an exempl'd Rapidity of Conquests and Successes had reduc'd the exorbitant Power of their singular good Friend and Ally, on whom they solely depended, to the poor Necessity of humbly begging a Peace, upon terms very unsuitable to the Pride and Insolence of a mighty Monarch, who had so long before been accusom'd to bully the Powers in *Europe*.

In this, as in the rest, they but too happily succeeded; yet the renown of his Exploits, the Reputation, the Courage, the Conduct, and the good Fortune of the Man, shall ever be held in Veneration by all honest, vertuous *Englishmen*, who heartily love their Country, and know how to make a right Estimate of so rare and elevated a virtue. I have not undertaken the Panegyrick of this great and excellent Person, illustrious in his Disgrace; I acknowledge it a Task and Subject infinitely above my feeble Capacity; and but to attempt without a force of Genius equal to the Dignity, is in some Degree to lessen it; yet as I love the Honour and Liberty of my Country, which I will die maintaining, and adore a sublime and distinguished Vertue, that seem'd by Providence destin'd to the increase and preservation of them, and is still reserv'd to finish the glorious Work, I shall without Fear, and in Contempt of all his Enemies, endeavour to defend and justify the Merit and Conduct of a Person, who long has been, and will ever continue the Admiration of all the World, whose only excepted whose Interest it is to disgrace him. The noble testimony that the wisest, bravest, and the best of Men as well as Princes, I mean our immortal Deliverer King *William* gave him, is instead of all Panegyrick. This incomparable Prince in the last Moments of his Life recommended him to his Successor, our gracious Queen, as the fittest for his rare Genius and Capacity to succeed him at the head of Armies, and the Confederacy he had form'd, against the exorbitant Power which was preparing Chains and Slavery for all *Europe*; though at a time when there were unhappily, by the Artifices of secret Enemies, some occasions of Disgusts against him. A testimony so advantageous, attended with such Circumstances, was equally glorious to the Prince and Subject; to the Prince, who as he gave the World the most convincing Proofs of his Sagacity and  
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Penetration into the Merits and Qualifications of Men, so he did particularly to his High-Church Enemies of the Purity and Perfection of the Christian they are forc'd in Secret to admire; he show'd 'em a noble Example of a forgiving Spirit, one of the most shining Excellencies of the Christian Religion, to which they have ever been Strangers; he taught them how to sacrifice their private Injuries and Revengements to the publick Good; he taught them how to conquer their unruly Passions, of all Conquests the most difficult and most glorious; but oh! so far from copying after so perfect an Original that as they hated and revild him living, reproach the sacred Memory of him dead. And to the noble Subject, who has with so much Glory fill'd and justify'd the Royal Character, and so well maintain'd the great Idea of his Master, that as in the glorious Toils and Hazards of the War he equall'd, he may without Offence to Truth or Violence to the lov'd Memory of that immortal Hero, be said by a Train of wonderful and stupendious Successes which Heaven has blest him with, to have surpass'd him. So much has been already offer'd in the Defence and Justification of the Probity of his Intentions and Designs, and the Glory of his Performances, that there is but little left to any that comes after to add but bare Repetition. I leave to others of a Genius more fertile and suitable, to expatiate in Praises, which ought always rather to take their Measure from the Merit of the Subject, than from the heated Imagination of the Orator; which when they are just are never reproachable, though they may seem excessive. Flattery, as it is the Effect, so is it the Tribute of a poor and mercenary Spirit for private Advantage, and is always a Vice; and as none but servile sycophant Slaves will pay it, there are none but empty Fools, or crafty and designing Knaves are fond of it; it gives a certain foreign borrow'd Lustre to false Merit; or Qualities that in Appearance are amiable, and in reality nothing less; they who covet it ever want Matter of just Applause; 'tis the supplying the defect of a Merit they want, with the Affectation of Vain-glory they ought to be asham'd of; 'tis ever founded upon the narrow Principles of Interest in the Giver, and of Vanity in the Receiver, who is fond of the feeble Incense of popular Applause, because he knows he has not Worth enough to merit more substantial; it has, for the most part, the same Reception and Reward as Treason; every vain empty Fool is pleas'd with the Flattery, that agreeably tickles his Imagination, but despises the Flatterer; as commonly Princes make Advantage of the Treason, but detest the Traytor. But there are some Vertues so eminently perfect as cannot be flatter'd; they are as much above Expression as Imitation; all just Praises are their due, but never exacted; they support themselves by their own native and intrinsic Excellence, they dazzle by their own excellent Light, without the extrinsic important Help of Artifice or Embellishment; and Men cannot refuse the Tribute due to 'em, without being or stupid or ingrateful; they may be, and at most ever are the Objects of Envy and Distracted, but they carry with them a secret sort of Magick that enchants and compels even the Envious, and the Detracter to venerate an excellence they seem to hate, but cannot

state; 'tis the Peculiar of such exalted Perfection to gain the Affections and attract the secret Esteem even of Enemies, whose Interest it may be publicly to revile and discredit it.

This I neither fear, or am ashamed to affirm to be the Case of the great and noble *Englishman* before us; a Merit founded upon an uninterrupted Series of the most glorious Achievements abroad, which extended and admir'd through the Universe, where there are any sentiments of Vertue and true Honour, has had the Fate to meet with the infectious Poison of Malice and Detraction from his invidious Countrymen at home; it is in the last Degree surprizing to foreign Nations, who think and speak of him with the highest Regards of something above Respect and Esteem, Admiration, to see a Man who has carry'd the Reputation of the *English* Arms and Nation to such a degree of Glory, as will hardly find Belief with future Ages, treated at home like an Enemy and Betrayer of his Country. When the *French*, the most mortal Enemies of both, out of a Sentiment of Honour and Generosity so natural to that noble Nation, are respectful to him a fair One, and never mention him but with the most Marks of the highest Honour and Esteem; whilst they deplore the Disgraces brought by the General upon their Nation, that a few Years ago made all *Europe* tremble by the Terror of their Arms, speak with Veneration of the Vertue, the Conduct and good Fortune of the Man; and in the Conqueror, cannot but sever the Source and Humbler of the exorbitant Power of a Monarch, which though it has been sometimes chequ'd, was never overcome but by his superior Genius. Only in his own Country has he met with an ingratitude, capable of attempting to tarnish a Glory, which is not only the principal Ornament, but has been the Support and Defence of it from Popery and *French* Slavery. The Malice of an infernal Faction sprung up for the Ruin of the Nation, has laboured hard to profane a Vertue, the principal Obstacle to all their wicked Designs; and has to their eternal Infamy but too unhappily succeeded with great Numbers of such, at least, who are in their Interests, and Accomplices of their Iniquity; yet he has this Consolation in his Disgrace, that whatever there is remaining of Wise, or Brave, or Honest in a corrupted Nation, which we are sure are yet the greatest and noblest Part, will never cease to pay him that Respect and Honour that is justly due to his glorious Character, and the Importance of his Service; nor shall we in the least fear the despicable Impotence of the Faction at home, or Insults of their dear *French* Friends and beloved Pretender abroad, since God has been pleas'd to preserve that noble *Englishman* from their Malice, to put himself at the Head of those many hundred Thousands of his honest and gallant Countrymen, who will cheerfully put themselves under his Command, and sacrifice their Lives, or triumph with him in the glorious Cause of their Country's Liberties, and the established Religion.

'Tis apparent as the Sun at Noon to every Man in the Nation, who is not wilfully and perversely blind, that all the poisonous Malice of the High-Church Faction that is pointed at the diminution of his Reputation, takes its Origin from that Valour and

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Conduct, which had not only weaken'd but ruin'd and overthrow'd a formidable Power which they look'd upon not only as invincible, but as their surest Hope and Support of their own grand Designs of introducing their Pretender. They well enough foresaw that all their impotent Projects and Machinations must fail to the Ground and prove abortive, unless they had the Succour and encouragement of a Neighbouring Prince, who had long form'd the Design of enslaving us with the rest of *Christendom*, and in order to it to deprive us of the Wisdom and Bravery of a General who had so often made him tremble. Both he and his dear good High-Church Friends at home were too sensible of what Importance it was to conserve their poor Remains of Strength and Intire, that was so absolutely necessary to carry on and accomplish the commendable Work of Slavery; tho' they knew that the Strength of their Faction was considerable at home, yet they were as sensible that there was, and we hope ever shall be a more formidable Party of the true Lovers of their Country and their antient Constitution, who were more than an over-balance to them, and who wou'd oppose them to the last drop of their Blood and Fortunes, in the Preservation of things so dear and precious to them as their Religion and original Liberties. This made it theretore absolutely necessary for them to seek for assistance from abroad, and to prevent by any means the Destruction of that Power by which alone they cou'd reasonably expect to accomplish their Designs, as it first gave Birth and a Rise to the Projection of them. This is not a Conspiracy of yesterday or of three or four years ago; 'tis as old as the late happy and glorious Revolution, in which as the honest part of the Nation expell'd the Father for his illegal and tyrannical Administration, ever since the corrupt and mercenary High-Church part of it have been labouring to establish the same detestable Government and Principles in the Person of his pretended Son. The Nation is very sensible what Measures have been all along taken by them, during the course of the short, but ever memorable Reign of our glorious Deliverer, to embarrass and perplex him from setting the Liberties of his People upon the first solid Principles of their Constitution; and in which, by the Blessing of God upon the Vertue and Industry of that incomparable Prince and his Faithful and Loyal Subjects of the Low, evidently defeated and confounded the Malice and Wickedness of their Intentions; we know very well that the same restless and implacable Spirit has ever since been industriously employ'd to carry on their Designs by the same means, with an additional Strength of new Inventions of their own.

This then is the mortal and unpardonable Sin of our Renown'd General, and if they condemn'd him for the seeming Temerity of the Attempt, they will be sure never to forgive him for the Glorious Success of it; from that ever Memorable Day of *Blenheim*, which in the Opinion of all wise, honest and gallant Men will crown him with the Character of the consummate and fortunate General, he may date the Epoch of the Envy of the Faction, and



the Disgrace he is at present under from it: There is with  
 em no Remission for the fault of a Man who had the audaci-  
 ous hardiness to beat, to take Prisoners, or to destroy the Flow-  
 of the *French* Soldiery, their boasted *Gendarmerie*, and the Troops  
 of the Household esteemed invincible; tho' an Action so great and  
 glorious in it self, and of that extensive Merit to all *Christendom*,  
 were sufficient to atone for all the Sins of another Man's Life.  
 That was a mortal Blow that equally affected the Vitals of *French*  
 Power, and the *English* Faction; for if in that famous Day he de-  
 moy'd as it were the Body of that brave People, in the succeeding  
 ages, he seems to have had to combat only with their Fantoms.  
 Whatever may be the Sentiments of these ingrateful it imports not  
 much; but it is evident that God crown'd him with a Success,  
 equal to the Greatness and the Generosity of the Enterprize. Be-  
 hold the wonderful Effects, as the visible Blessings of Heaven up-  
 on his Courage and Conduct, for Heaven is ever favourable and  
 propitious to Valour in a just War, carry'd on in the noble Cause  
 of the Liberties of Mankind; an Empire sav'd from imminent De-  
 struction, all *Germany* deliver'd from the cruel Ravages of an un-  
 happy Invasion, which caus'd such terrible Convulsions in the Head  
 and Bowels of it, as threaten'd the whole Body with approaching  
 dissolution; a Traytor justly expell'd his Country, the most noble  
 and fertile flourishing Sovereignty in it, the righteous Recon-  
 ciliation of his Perfidiousness and Treachery; and may that be ever  
 the fate of all such faithless Traytors to their Prince and Country.  
 The grateful Emperor was too sensible of the Blessing of so com-  
 plete and advantageous a Victory, not to give the Conqueror an  
 illustrious Testimony of his Royal Acknowledgement, in conferring  
 on him a Principality of that Empire he had by his Valour so hap-  
 pily preserv'd; which as it was the only one and greatest he was  
 able in the present lowness of his Fortune to offer, and inferior  
 to the Merit of the Service, yet will for ever remain as a glori-  
 ous Monument of his Gratitude; for the true estimate of a Benefit  
 does not so much arise from the value and greatness of the Gift,  
 as from the intention and generosity of the Doner. If we consi-  
 der in cool Blood, if it be possible to consider them without e-  
 motion, the wonderful Successes that attend the noble Toils and  
 fatigues of our General in the succeeding Campaigns, we shall ea-  
 sily be convinc'd that each Enterprize added a fresh Laurel to the  
 story of his Triumphs; and as every succeeding Battle, every Siege  
 was a disgrace and diminution of the Power of the common En-  
 emy, so was it a mortal Stab to the designs of a Faction, to which  
 he first gave Birth, he has ever since encouraged and supported;  
 and we are but too well convinc'd since that, that the Envy and  
 malice of both equally increased in proportion to the Triumphs and  
 merits of the Conqueror. I shall not insist here on the detail of  
 the great and surprizing Actions he every day perform'd in the no-  
 ble Cause of the common Liberties of *Europe*, and his own Coun-  
 try, because 'tis more properly the Business of the Historian: My  
 principal Design in this being to show, that the base and malici-  
 ous

ous Ingratitude of a Domestick Faction, took its Rise from the invincible opposition his continual Conquests brought to their Intensions, of enslaving their Country by introducing their belov'd Pretender; I need only name after the memorable Battle of *Blenheim*, *Liege*, *Ramelies*, *Audenard*, *Tournay*, *Doway*, *Lisle*, *Mons*, *Blarmonies*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bouchain*, as of so many fresh and extraordinary Additions to his Glory, so of the abatement of the Power of the Enemy, and the ruin of the Hopes of the Faction; and shall only make this Remark, that a continu'd and uninterrupted Series of the most unexpected, and indeed unaccountable Successes that were possibly ever known in the World, is an uncontestable Evidence of the Favour of God in the choice of this great Man, to carry on the Designs of a mysterious Providence. 'Tis true indeed, that God has often, and for a long time, given Successes to Tyrannical and Ambitious Princes, but he has always permitted them only as Scourges to execute Vengeance on Nations for a Punishment of their Sins; and has never fail'd when he has done with them, as his Instruments, to execute terrible Judgments on them for their own: But here is an Instance of a Great and Vertuous Man, the chosen Minister of Heaven, rais'd up for the Good and common Liberties of *Europe*; and there cannot be a more convincing Evidence of this Truth, than the continued Blessings that have without Interruption attended him in the Pursuit of so glorious a Cause, and the visible Care and Favour of Providence in his Protection from all the imminent Hazards and Dangers of the War; ever Valiant, ever Conquering; he seem'd not so much to court Victory, as to command her; and his always been as it were, in the happy Possession of every where beating the Enemies, who always boasted and thought themselves Invincible. This alone were sufficient to open the Eyes, and put a stop to the Malice of his ungrateful Countrymen, to see the work of God and Liberty so prosper in his Hands, if he had not had to do with a set of Men abandon'd to the hardness of their Hearts, in the Prosecution of their work of Iniquity, and lost to all sense of Vertue and Honour. When Posterity shall read with equal Pleasure and Admiration, the Wonders of a General, which for their surpassing Greatness shall difficultly find Belief, yet for their unquestionable Evidence cannot but be believ'd; shall they not read with the most Contempt and Execration, the Wickedness of an ungrateful Faction which has so hardly labour'd to disgrace and oppress the great and elevated Vertue that achiev'd them?

But there was too much of Conquest, too much of the Blood of their beloved Confederate spilt; to loose more, was to destroy the Hopes of what was yet to do; it was high time for the alarm'd Nation to express their Fears by their Resentments: The last glorious Work of taking *Bouchain*, and making a numerous Garrison of the new Friends Prisoners of War, in the Face of a Royal Army superior in Numbers, made them sensible they had no more time to loose; all the Artillery of their wicked Artifices, was pointed to batter down a too Fortunate and Victorious General, who was one of the principal Obstacles to their Designs: Another Campaign

der the same successful Commander, wou'd have opened the Way  
 to the Heart of *France*; they knew too well the terrible Confe-  
 quence to them from such an Irruption, not to prevent it; they were  
 so sensible, how welcome to a poor miserable oppressed People,  
 languishing under all the Afflictions of an insupportable Slavery, a  
 conquering Army of Deliverers would be; they were not ignorant  
 of the Confusions and Disorders such Guests would have occasion'd  
 in the Affairs of a Tyrannical Oppressor, on whom they solely depen-  
 ded for the Success of their Enterprizes; if that Misfortune should  
 have happen'd to their good Friend and Ally and themselves, adieu  
 to all their Hopes of their beloved Pretender, or of establishing their  
 Power and Fortunes upon the Ruins of their Native Country;  
 their Hands and Heads were set to work, and the unhappy Success  
 too easily answer'd the Means that were employ'd to effect it;  
 the Gracious Queen impos'd on by the plausible Delusions of the  
 Heads of the Faction, forgetting her own and Kingdom's Interests,  
 was fatally into the Visions of the most mortal Enemies of both;  
 the evil Genius of *Britain*, which before animated the Spirit of Fa-  
 vor only in close Cabals and dark Retirements, began then to  
 break thro' the Nation, and openly avow'd the Maxims of  
 the greater Villains, which were only hinted at before, and privately  
 inuaded by their suborn'd and mercenary lesser ones. The noble  
 General, the Glory, the Ornament and Support of his Country's  
 Honour and Liberties, remov'd and disgrac'd; he, who by the Ef-  
 fects of a matchless Valour and Conduct, had reduc'd the exorbitant  
 Power of a Tyrant (for which whole *Europe* with our selves first  
 engag'd into the War) to such a low Condition of Fortune, that we  
 might justly have said of him with the same Scorn and Contempt,  
 as the Prophet spake of old of the *Assyrian*, *Is this the Man that*  
*made the Nations tremble and shook Kingdoms?* When he was brought  
 low, as humbly to sue for and receive such Terms of Peace, as  
 more powerful Confederates would condescend to give him; he  
 rose in the haughty Insolence and Prosperity of a better Fortune,  
 and to boast that he would give what sort of Peace he pleas'd to all  
*Europe*, happy only now in the Perfidiousness of a traiterous Fa-  
 ction, which has given him the reprieve of a Breathing time, to re-  
 collect his shatter'd Strength and Spirits, and reestablish a Power,  
 which in a very short space of time will be enabled, by their Present  
 the Treasures of the *Spanish* Monarchy, to prepare new Chains  
 for all *Christendom*: Wou'd to Heaven those Traytors alone amongst  
 were to bear the Burden and Infamy of them, separate from  
 the honest virtuous *Britons*, who are still resolute to sacrifice their  
 Lives and Fortunes in the Defence of their Religion and Liberties;  
 when the Dice are thrown, and the Destiny of *Britain* is once more to  
 be decided, either by a new Miracle of Providence, or our own  
 Arms under its Influence and Protection: Yet though they may  
 have a while triumph in the Dreams of a successful Wickedness;  
 though they have insulted and disgrac'd our noble General, and all  
 the honest, brave and virtuous Men in the Nation who love and  
 honour him, yet they have not depriv'd us of our old *English* Cou-



rage and Vertue, which shall never end but with our Lives and Fortunities; this let the perfidious Authors of their Country's Infamy depend upon, and tremble.

Were it not for the fatal Consequences that have attended the Revolution and the whole Confederacy from the Point the profess'd Enemies of both have gain'd, a Man would be apt to laugh at the paltry Means, the poor and pitiful Insinuations, the false, the groundless and malicious Insinuations they have been forc'd to make use of to effect it. When Men in their Senses undertake so great and difficult a Design, as to introduce a new sort of Government upon the overthrow of the ancient, it has always been their Manner to offer to the Publick such Reasons of Interest and Advantage, as by a plausible resemblance of truth, may be sufficient to amuze and puzzle the more Judicious and Discerning, and to delude and impose on the more Weak and Credulous; but the trifling and frivolous Insinuations of these wretched Politicians, though they have in too great Measure had their Effect upon the latter, are too feeble to hinder those of more Sagacity and Penetration, from discerning that they draw their Origin solely from an infernal Malice, and the most frontless and infamous of Calumnies. The whole of their low Pretences have so amply and irrefragably been detected and confuted by so many learned and ingenious Lovers of their General's and their Country's Honour and Interest, as leaves but little Room, or indeed Necessity to subjoin any thing to their abler Labours; yet not to be wanting either in Duty or Affection to my Country, or to a great Man, who by his Valour was establishing it in a Condition to be less apprehensive of the Power of her foreign Enemies, than of the Attempts of her domestick ones. I shall briefly touch at some of them, which how senseless and ridiculous soever, have made a Noise in the World, and been able to make Impressions to his Disadvantage in the Minds of Fools, which are of the Growth of every Country who want Sense to discover the Imposture, and of Knave to which of late have appeared the more particular Growth of our own, who may think it their Interest to encourage and support them. The Cant of a General for Life; of a War of the General, not of the Prince and Nation; and of a War continu'd and prolonged only for the enriching and aggrandising a certain particular Family is such a wretched Jargon of Falsehood, Nonsense and Absurdity, as is only worthy the Refinement of High-Church Policy: The Authors of it, as they seem to have abandon'd all Sentiments of common Honesty, are not asham'd too to discard all Notions of common Sense. If ever there was a Design to establish his Grace General for Life, as Things have been manag'd since, and in the Situation they are in at present, I am very sure it would have been happy for all Europe, and particularly for the Honour of our own Country that he had been so; and only incommodious to a handful of Men, and to our common Enemy, whose Interest and private Ambition made it absolutely necessary for them he should not. The consequence of what he might from thence have made a Step into the Throne, is as manifestly false and nonsensical: If so wild and unaccountable a

could have enter'd into the Head and Heart of the General, whose Wisdom and Prudence have contributed as much to establish the Merit of his Character, as his Bravery and Valour, as much as he is belov'd and even ador'd by his honest Countrymen for his great and eminent Vertues, he would have found such Pretensions, and the Execution of them utterly impracticable; if indeed it had been the good pleasure of Heaven to have left him the Consolation of his only sole Hope, there might have been at least some sort of Colour and Pretence for an Ambition, which in most Men knows no Rule and Measure: Do not these Men know, that in case of failure of Issue the Royal Line in Possession, that the Crown is entail'd and settled by the Legislature upon the Illustrious House of *Hanover*? Cou'd a Wise and Prudent Man in an advanc'd Age, Heaven long continue to triumph over the Malice of his ungrateful Countrymen, who has spent the most glorious part of it in giving daily the most convincing Proofs, a good and loyal Subject can be capable, of his Fidelity and Loyalty to the best of Mistresses, her present Majesty, as of his inviolable and constant Affection to the true Interest, the Religion, the Honour and Liberties of his Country; who has been fighting Battles, principally to support the Succession of that Illustrious House, against the most formidable Power in *Europe*, whose eternal Interest and Endeavour it is to prevent or exclude it; cou'd, I say, such a Man, in such a Situation, be capable of forming so wild and impracticable a Design upon the precipitate Death of his Royal Mistress, as the Renvernement of the legal establish'd Succession, as must not only have inevitably have miscarry'd in the main, as must not only have destroy'd the beautiful Structure of a Reputation, establish'd upon the solid Basis of a thousand great Qualities and glorious Actions; but loose him in the Opinion of all the Brave, the Wise, the honest and Vertuous in the Universe, and render him the Scorn and Contempt as the most Wicked and Ungrateful of Mankind? Yet all this, notwithstanding, I will be bold to add, that there's ne'er a Man in *England*, High Church always excepted, who would not be content to see a Noble Gentleman upon the Throne, who we know is capable of preserving and maintaining the Religion, the Honour, and Interest of his Country, than their despicable abjur'd *French* Pretender, who we are as sure can never be establish'd on it, but on utter Ruin and Subversion of them all. It were time thrown away to discourse long upon an idle Subject of this Nature, were it only to convince the World, that there is nothing so shamefully false and abominable, so absurd, so wicked and unaccountable, that our modern High Church Fanaticism will boggle to employ to gain their ends, at the Expence of all that there is of Modesty, of moral Honesty, of vertuous, commendable or sacred in this World.

The rest is all of a Piece; do not these ingrateful know that the late War was began under the Auspices of our great and glorious Deliverer King *William*, to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, which he was forc'd, by the Clamours and Perplexities of their Faction, to terminate in the Peace of *Ryswick*, against his Inclination and Judgment, as what he well understood was against the Interest

terest of *Europe*, as well as that of his own Dominions? Do not these same Men know that the second War was begun for the same End, and upon the same Motives, to procure and maintain a Balance of Power, and that with the Addition of the most sacred and solemn Engagements on our Part, never to conclude a Peace but upon the Restitution of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy to the House of *Austria*, which had been with the utmost Injustice torn from them by the detestable Forgery of a fraudulent and supposititious Will? And further, never to enter into any secret Negotiations with *France*, or to conclude a separate Peace, without the Consent and Knowledge and the full Satisfaction and Security of all Allies? Did not the whole Voice of the Nation, by their loyal and repeated Addresses, animate our late glorious King to revenge the Insolence of an Alliance front to the Majesty of *Great-Britain*, by the *French* King's acknowledging and declaring the Pretender to be still King of it, in Contempt and Breach of his most solemn Oaths to the contrary? What other Usage are our wondrous wise Heads to expect from the same Prince from their Conclusion of their separate Peace? Do we not at this Day see their Pretender still encourag'd and abett'd by him, and hovering in the Neighbourhood of his Coasts? Do we not see Her Majesty, notwithstanding all the Obligations she has been impos'd upon by them to lay on him, insulted and affronted in the same manner that we have seen her glorious Predecessor? Or do we wait till we feel him with a *French* Army in our Bowels, before we shall be convinc'd that the Nations are infamously betray'd? Was it not upon this Foot and Motive that we were compell'd to recommence a War against a faithless and perfidious Tyrant, who never held himself oblig'd, by the Conscience of an Oath, further than was just consistent with his Interest to do so? And when Heaven, for our Sins of Ingratitude, depriv'd us of our belov'd Monarch we no longer deserv'd did he not leave the Prosecution of the War, which was to cost the Nation so much more noble Blood and Treasure, to his illustrious Successor her Majesty, under the Direction and Conduct of him who of all her Subjects for his Prudence, Valour and consummate Capacities, he thought most equal to the importance of the Enterprize, and most worthy to succeed him? With what Front, with what Impudence therefore could they call this a War of the General and not of the Prince and Kingdom; which was begun by the Prince and since carry'd on with the unanimous Consent of the Nation, in conjunction with the rest of her Allies and Confederates? In the pursuit of which he has had, by the blessing of Heaven, the good Fortune to carry on this War with that Vigour and Conduct, with such a torrent of so unexampled Successes, with so much Glory to himself, so much Reputation to the *British* Arms, so much to the Interest and Advantage of the Nation, and the Security of all *Europe*, as if there had not been a stop put to him by the Malice and Ambition of the Faction at home, he had long before this time of Day, in all human Probability, have put it out of the Power of his foreign Enemies, to hinder him from forcing such a Peace upon 'em as wou'd have been as beneficial and advantageous to all *Europe* and



selves, as the War had been glorious and honourable to the Con-  
 querors: We needed not have been babbling and chicaning with delu-  
 ry and prevaricating Ministers of *France*, or the treacherous Ones  
 our own, about this Town or that Barrier; nor been trifling a-  
 bout the Terms of a Peace, which we should have been in a condi-  
 tion to have forc'd upon him, after what Manner and upon what  
 conditions we had pleas'd; we need not so long have been fooling  
 out the demolition of *Dunkirk*, as a cautionary Recompence of an  
 glorious and treacherous Cessation of Arms as we have been. when  
 we were upon the point of giving Laws to an Insolence, that had  
 long been accustomed to hector and gasconade all the World. Our  
 renowned General, in concert with those gallant and generous Com-  
 manders of the Confederates, at the Head of the best appointed and  
 most redoubtable Troops in the Universe, might even, in one Cam-  
 paign more, have conducted them into the Heart of *France*; they  
 might have occasioned a general Insurrection of a People, who,  
 however they venerate their Kings, are weary of the Oppression,  
 and only wait for the happy Opportunity to shake off a Yolk of Sla-  
 very, his Pride, Cruelty, and Ambition have render'd insupportable;  
 they might have expelled a Tyrant with his Family from a noble  
 Kingdom originally free, which he had reduced into the miserable  
 condition of the most vile and abject Slavery; and plac'd one of  
 more Honour, Vertue and Sincerity in their Room, their Title to  
 the Crown being at best but doubtful and suspicious, as depending  
 only upon the Authority of a Pope in the nullity of the Marriage of  
 Margaret of *Valois* with *Henry* the Fourth; and there is as much rea-  
 son to question the Legitimacy of his Successors, the Children of  
 Lewis the Thirteenth, as that of our High Church Darling Preten-  
 der's; they might have been the glorious Instruments of restoring  
 their ancient Liberty to that generous People, which had been rath-  
 er sh'd from them by their perfidious Kings, in the Restoration of  
 their respective Parliaments, and the free Assemblies of their gene-  
 ral Estates, in which the supream Power of their Nation was origi-  
 nally lodg'd; they might have reestablish'd the pure Protestant Reli-  
 gion as it stood reform'd, which by the Wickedness and Malice of  
 the Jesuits, and Treachery of their Kings, (to the Disgrace and Re-  
 proach of all the Protestant Powers of *Europe*, and especially our  
 own, whose Princes were Guarantees of it) has been totally extir-  
 pated out of the Nation, in contempt of the most formal Sanctions  
 for its Security and Establishment, and particularly of the memora-  
 ble Edict of *Nantes*, made in its Favour perpetual and irrevocable,  
 by all the Ties and Obligations that human Wisdom or divine could  
 render Sacred and Inviolable.

These were some of the many blessed Fruits might have reasona-  
 bly been hop'd for from the Goodness of God upon the Labours of  
 our noble General, had he been permitted by his and the Nation's  
 enemies at home to have continu'd at the Head of those Victori-  
 ous Troops, which without the least cheque to their good Fortune  
 had freed all *Germany* from the Ravages and Insults of the common  
 enemy; which, by the same Valour, recover'd all *Flanders*, which

the *French* had got intire Possession of, by their laudable accustom'd Artifices of Fraud and Circumvention, and forc'd them to retire behind their Lines for the Defence of their proper Frontiers. Whoever is acquainted with the Situation of the *Spanish Netherlands*, the Number, the Force, and Strength of their Garrisons, their Places either by Nature or the Fortifications of Art, made as it were impregnable, the manner of taking and defending Towns, will be wonderfully surpriz'd to see a whole Country, under the Conduct of our renowned General, reduced in the space of four or five Years, which might have been the Work of more than half an Age to the most formidable Power in *Europe*, in a fair way of making War, on a supposition that each Town and Place was tolerably defended; yet we find that upon gaining the famous Battie of *Ramelies*, at one Blow, and as it were in one Day, the great and noble Provinces of *Brabant* and *Flanders* brought into the Hands of their lawful Prince, from whom they had been injuriously usurp'd; so far were the *French* Troops from being what they were heretofore esteem'd, invincible; so far were they abated and dispirited of their ancient Valour, that they seem'd not to be the same People, or the Descendants of those famous *Gauls*, who so long and generously defended their Country and Liberty from the Violence of the *Roman* Legions; or who in later Years, and in our Memory, have given a thousand Proofs of their Gallantry, even in the unjust Cause of oppressing their Neighbours; if their ancient Character were ever true, that in their first Charge they were more than Men, and in the second less than Women, they seem'd now to have lost the first noble Part of it, and in every Action to have retained only the latter. The Genius of *France*, as now inflay'd, long shrunk before the superior Genius of Liberty, that animated and invigorated the generous Troops of their Confederate Enemies. Far be it from me to detract from the Merit and natural Bravery of that noble People; but there is a certain Fataality in Kingdoms at destin'd Periods, that imperceptibly pre-disposes for Conquest and great Revolutions, when the time appointed by a mysterious and unsearchable Providence is at hand. Slavery naturally makes Men Cowards, and that is one of the principal Dispositions that has dispirited and enfeebled the Vigor of a People renown'd in all Ages for the memorable Exploits and Glory of their Arms; for Men who obey out of Fear only, who are torn from the Arms of their Wives, Children, Friends and dearest Relations, who are compell'd into a Service they detest, who are ill paid, ill clothed, and worse fed, what Seeds or Principles soever of true Valour they may have in their Blood, can difficultly be suppos'd to exert themselves and fight well, when they know that 'tis only for the Augmentation of the Glory of a tyrannical Power that oppresses them. But to return; in the succeeding Campaigns to the Day of his Demission, our noble and fortunate Warrior, by an inconceivable Rapidity of Conquest, had reduc'd almost all the rest of the *Spanish* Provinces, even to the *French* Frontiers; and whether might not such a General, at the Head of such Troops, have extended it, had not the *French* good Friends here, and our own Country's perfidious Enemies, put their

*plus ultra* to a course of stupendious Victories, which must necessarily have terminated in a glorious and honourable, a secure, lasting and advantageous general Peace, which was the End of the War, instead of an infamous, insecure and inglorious separate one; which will not only reflect a Dishonour (I had almost said upon my Country) upon the faithless and perfidious Contrivers of it, but in a short time be the occasion of commencing another, which shall necessarily end in the Confusion of both of them.

Not to gain compleat and glorious Victories as often as a Man fights; not to take every Town he hits down before, how impregnable soever he esteem'd by Art or Nature, though defended with numerous Garrisons of the most select and gallant of the Enemy's Troops; not to carry all things before one, with the impetuosity of an irresistible Torrent be, as these senseless and invidious High-Church Traitors have insinuated, to prolong a War; they would have oblig'd the World, if out of their wondrous Magazine of modern Politicks they had discover'd to them their more compendious Arts and Methods facilitate and expedite it. Shameless Impertinence! frontless Insolence! Was the exorbitant Power of such a Kingdom as *France* to be reduc'd in one Day, or by the Loss of a single Battle? Was the Reduction of the *Spanish Netherlands*, which may properly be said to be a continu'd Cittadel, suppos'd to be the Work only of one Campaign or two? No, the Crime of this great Man, was not for doing so little in the common Cause of Liberty, but for doing too much in their private Designs and Interest; he beat their dear Friends the *French* too unmercifully wherever he met them, and they would not be beaten; he would not suffer them to breath; he was too reasonably swift in his Conquests; he did not seem so much to march to fight, as to fly to certain Victory, which was the Bane and mortal Poison to their laudable Design of enslaving their Country; these, we but too well-know, are the Crimes which they can never forgive him. Oh, that we have so much Reason to say, that when separated to the holy Offices of the most pure Religion known Forgiveness! How shall such Men dare to expect that the black sins of base Ingratitude and breach of Christian Charity should ever be forgiven to them? If he has enrich'd himself with the just spoils of the War, if he has augmented his Treasure in proportion to his Glory, in the ravage of a Traitor's Country, who call'd the common Enemy into an Empire, of which he was a principal Member, and which he ought to have employ'd his Life and Fortune to defend, what is all this to them? 'Tis no more than Just and lawful so to do; 'tis the eternal Practice of all Conquerors; 'tis his due, and though below the Merit of his Service, yet the fair Remuneration of his glorious Toils and Dangers of the War. Vertue is fully enough said to be its own Reward; yet he that feeds on nothing of a whole Campaign, will make but a meagre Figure the latter end of it, and may be starve into the Bargain; there is seldom any vertue to be found so perfect amongst Men, as not to be pleas'd with Applause and Rewards, though they are not essential to it; and many have been observ'd to have been valiant in Crouds where they had



had Witness of their Actions, who alone would have been basti-  
 enough, when they have neither the Testimony of Multitudes to ap-  
 plaud their Valour, nor the Prospect of the Favour and Munificence  
 of the Prince to recompence it. I never read of but one, and he an  
 antiquated Bear-garden Roister of a *Greek*, I think they call'd him  
*Ajax*, who only desired Light of the Gods that he might see to kick  
 his Enemy's Guts out, and did not care if *Agamemnon* and all the  
 rest of his Countrymen had been at the Devil; some Men indeed  
 may give great and eminent Proofs of their Bravery and Courage  
 in hazardous Enterprizes, but 'tis no more than a feeble and occasi-  
 onal Vertue; but he who daily exposes his Life to the most certain  
 and inevitable Danger, only for the sake of Glory, and the Honour  
 of a fair Reputation, may be esteem'd something more than a Man.  
 As Men are made, there is something more than bare Speculation ne-  
 cessary to content them; we shall never be enabled by philosophical  
 Fumes, or a metaphysical Subtlety to force a Trench, or storm a  
 Breach, or vigorously beat out an Enemy's Brains; they are a thin  
 and airy Diet, which whilst it agreeably flatters and amuses the  
 Philosopher, starves the honest Soldier, the much more useful Mem-  
 ber of the two in a Common-wealth; there is something more sub-  
 stantial in Recompence and just Rewards for Service, which as they  
 animate 'em to bold and dangerous Actions, inables them to the Ex-  
 ecution of them; Mens Weaknesses and Passions, and particularly  
 their Vanity, must be sometimes indulg'd, as well as their Virtues  
 and Perfections, and in no profession of Life more than in the ho-  
 nourable and perillous one of Arms; an Officer or private Soldier  
 who is sure to return home if he escapes with Life, as poor as he  
 went abroad, and may be with his Bones broke into the Bargain,  
 but a melancholly and disastrous Scituation of Life; but cloth, and  
 feed, and pay good Men well, and they will fight well; for 'tis  
 but a sorrowful Circumstance for a Man to have his Brains beaten  
 out upon an empty Stomach; nor are there any Attempts, however  
 difficult or dangerous, in which they will not cheerfully expose their  
 Lives, when they are sure of being indulg'd by the Favour of the  
 Prince, or enrich'd with the Spoils of the Enemy; and if this be  
 in any Measure the Case of our *English* General, much  
 good may his Acquisitions do him, and may he long live to in-  
 crease them in Despight, and to the Confusion of all his pa-  
 try Enemies who begrudge him.

The pitiful Reproach the mercenary Underlings of the Faction  
 who knew no better, make him of his Ingratitude to his Master  
 as they are pleas'd to call him, King *James*, is as irrational and  
 foolish as all the rest. If that King cast his Eye upon him as  
 a Gentleman worthy of his Favour, 'tis the only Mark that I know  
 he ever gave of his Judgment and Penetration, and it may be fa-  
 vourable to his Credit; but when he was engaging a Man of Parts and Ca-  
 pacity to his honest Service, he was not suppos'd to be purchasing  
 a servile Slave to all the vile and wicked Purposes of his Ambition  
 on. Every honest loyal Subject is oblig'd to have all those Re-  
 gards for the Person of his Prince, especially if he receives from

particular Marks and Distinctions of his Favour, that his Justice, his Wisdom, his Vertue or Valour may deserve, and the Laws authorize; but every honest, loyal Subject is under greater and more indispensable Obligations to his Country; for it is possible for a Prince, as in the Case of that unhappy one, to forfeit and cancel all the Obligations of Gratitude and Allegiance by his Mal-administration. For the Merit of Benefits is destroy'd, when they are lavish'd only to debauch Men to the Interests of an irregular and illegal Ambition; they are then to be look'd upon rather as inducements to corrupt an honest Man, than as an Instance of the Grace and Favour of the Giver; which let it be of what Value and Duration it will, is ever too dear a Purchase at such an Expence as the Loss of a Man's Vertue and Honour, when he cannot be esteem'd a true Friend to his Master, without becoming a false Traytor to his Country; and in such a Case, the Man who has receiv'd the most distinguishing Marks of his Munificence, if he does not basely and ungenerously betray him, gives sufficient Proofs of an elevated common Vertue. If a Great and Vertuous Man owes much to a Prince, there is something due to his own Honour and Conscience; and when he finds himself design'd to be only the Tool of a wicked Ambition, 'tis a great Sacrifice he makes of his Reputations, if he does no more than to discontinue his further Service; for when the Prince makes it appear, that he evidently goes out to subvert the fundamental Laws of his Country, to destroy the Liberties of his Subjects, and to extirpate the establish'd Religion, there is an end of all private and publick Obligations, both of Gratitude and Fidelity; and he who draws his Sword against a Prince in their Defence and Preservation, becomes neither an Ingrate nor a Traytor, but forsakes and opposes one that is both to God and to the People; inasmuch as the publick Good of a whole, great and free Nation, is infinitely preferable in the sight of God and all good Men, to the Interests of any single Person or Family who would destroy them. We leave the contrary Practice to the worthy Refiners of High-Church Divinity, who have given the world reason to believe, or at least have been at abundance of pains to do so, that they place the Merit of their Loyalty in the Slavishness of their Obedience to their Idol of absolute Power, which they both disclaim and despise. And here I think my self oblig'd to give notice of a certain sort of a North Country Pedlar in High-Church Politics, in a notable Treatise which I think he calls *No General, or no General*; and in which, if I am not very much mistaken, the Man seems to have had a much better Opinion of his own performance himself, than any body else; wherein he is pleas'd to enumerate all the great and noble Exploits of the *English General*, as if a body would think, with a great deal of Pleasure and Satisfaction, from the ever memorable Day of the Battle of *Blenheim*, to the ever memorable Day of the Reduction of *Bouchain*, and to every of which he attributes all the Merit and Praise which are justly their due; but from his ingenious Premises, deduces a very odd and dubious Conclusion: 'Tis true, says this Aretick Politician,

cian, that these are all great and wonderful Successes, but the  
 great and wonderful things might as well have been done by  
 other General, at the Head of such gallant and resolute Troops.  
 Soft and fair, 'tis true, it is not impossible; but God be thank'd  
 were not under the necessity of making the Experiment; and  
 have had since some reason to believe, that all Generals at the Head  
 of the same Troops had not the nack of doing the like great and  
 wonderful things; we were very well with the Certainty of what  
 has been done by him, if they wou'd have let us alone, without  
 desiring to be taught what might have been done by another; for  
 it is not a little doubtful, and what People who deal in hard Words  
 are apt to call, Problematical; for we all know very well, without  
 the necessity of convincing us by too dangerous Experiments, that  
 what might be, might not be. And then in complaisance to his own  
 Nation, is pleas'd to name three Commanders, the Earl of Orkney,  
 Mr. Murray, and Mr. Rosse. These, 'tis acknowledg'd, without Envy  
 or Exception, to be very brave and gallant Men, and excellent  
 Commanders in their respective Stations; but it is one thing to  
 fight an Army, and another thing to command one, as the Head of  
 a Confederacy compos'd of most of the greatest Powers in Europe;  
 there is something else to be done in such a Circumstance, besides  
 bare cutting of Throats; there are other Uses for them, than the  
 Exercise of a wild and savage Ferocity common with Men to Brutes.  
 There is required in such a General a consummate Knowledge  
 founded upon a long Experience and Observation of the general  
 Affairs of Europe, and the particular Situation of the Interests of  
 the respective Princes, whose Troops compose a grand Confederacy;  
 there must be a wonderful Fund of Merit, founded upon an  
 establish'd Reputation of Conduct and Courage, and a suitable, pe-  
 culiar Address to insinuate a Man's self into the Grace and Esteem  
 of these Powers, so as to ingage them to confide securely, and in-  
 trust the management of their Interests with a perfect Confidence  
 in the Valour, the Integrity, and other great and requisite Qualities  
 of the Man; for they, as it were, delegate their Lives, Liberties,  
 their Fortunes and Powers to him, who acts as the Soul of the whole  
 Confederacy: There is a very nice Regard to be had to the Customs  
 the Manners and Temper of the respective Troops; they all expect  
 to be caress'd and indulg'd, according to the Merit of their Service  
 or the Dignity of their Prince, and after their own Way too: Cou-  
 rage, 'tis true, is of every People and Nation, and apt to be a little  
 rough and untractable, if they are free; for the Courage of  
 Slaves, if there be any such thing amongst them, is a very quick  
 good natur'd and governable Quality, but with the others is a tur-  
 bulent restive Creature, which must be manag'd with a very nice  
 and delicate Hand, otherwise you may be embarrass'd with a multi-  
 tude of Mutineers, instead of being forc'd by serviceable Auxili-  
 aries; yet a General, who expects to perform great things by Troops  
 compos'd of different Nations and Humours, which none of  
 Antiquity was ever known to do but the admirable Hannibal, must  
 have the Art, than which nothing is more difficult, to conform  
 himself



himself to their different Humours and Manners, he must be as a  
 common Father to them all; and if he expects to be well serv'd,  
 must find out the Address to make himself be obey'd, more out  
 love than fear. There is nothing in a grand Army, of the great-  
 Importance to the least, that is not the Business, and to be un-  
 der the Care and Eye of the General himself; for he, who wholly  
 relies upon the Management of subordinate Officers, will always  
 find himself deceiv'd, to see the necessary Provisions for such a Mul-  
 titude to a Point provided: To have them regularly cloth'd, and con-  
 stantly subsisted; their Arms, their Horses, their Equipage, their  
 Munitions, their Artillery and their Ammunition; to choose the Advan-  
 tages of Incampments, to watch and take all Opportunities, to pass  
 a River, to force a Pass, to besiege Towns, and to make the best  
 Dispositions of his Troops in a Day of Battle; a Judgment to fore-  
 see Events, and to provide for a safe and honourable Retreat in case  
 of any unexpected Disgrace, to encourage and reward the Brave,  
 and punish such as deserve it; a severity of Discipline, which must  
 be rather from the necessity and good of the Service, than from  
 the harshness and ill nature of the Commander; a Fund of Strata-  
 gems to surprize the Enemy, and of Judgment and Penetration  
 never to be over-reach'd or circumvented by him, with a thousand  
 other Qualities, too tedious to enumerate here, are the certain Bu-  
 siness of a consummate General. Now, whether all these great  
 and necessary Qualities are to be found in any, or all of this Au-  
 thor's Favourites, I neither inquire nor dispute, but the Event has  
 sufficiently convinc'd the World, that those I have mention'd, and  
 many others, necessary to compleat that glorious Character, were  
 abundantly found to be the Partage and Ornaments of our own;  
 and with all imaginable Respect to his Northern Heroes, I humbly  
 conceive, it may justly be question'd, whether the Princes and Pow-  
 ers of *Europe* wou'd have thought any, or all of them equally qua-  
 lify'd to be at the Head of the greatest Confederacy that ever was  
 it, or their Interests and Honours so safe, as in the Hands, and  
 under the Conduct of the Renowned Duke of *Marlborough*; but  
 besides, with that worthy Author's permission, if it had been her  
 Majesty's, or the other Confederate's Pleasure, to have inquir'd af-  
 ter another, *England* is not yet so barren of Vertue and Valour,  
 nor the rankness of the Soil, and the indulgence of too luxuriant  
 Liberty, produce abundance of Vermin or late, which we call  
 our vulgar Language Fools and Knaves, or in that of the *Cabala*,  
 (Jews and High-Churchmen) as to be under any manner of neces-  
 sity of strolling so far Norward for Commanders of a distinguish'd  
 Merit and Capacities. And from the whole, I shall venture to draw  
 the Conclusion, which I think will follow something more natu-  
 rally than his, that if we had not had this very same individual  
 General, at this time of Day we shou'd have had no Queen; and  
 without pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy, I boldly maintain,  
 that since, by her false Friends, she has been depriv'd of the assist-  
 ance of his Sword, which he had so long and fortunately drawn  
 for her Honour and Preservation, the time is not far off, if it please  
 God

God she lives, when she will see her self depriv'd of a Crown, place it on the desecrated Head of a certain popish Pretender.

These are the senseless Reproaches tounded upon the most notorious Falshood, that the little mercenary Scriblers of the Faction have blarney'd thro' the Nation, to disgrace and blacken the Reputation of our noble *Englishman*, who has reflected more Honour upon his Country, than they can ever be able in the utmost Profusions of their Gratitude to recompence; they show, indeed, the bitterness of their Malice, but at the same time illustrate the Vertue of the Man, and whilst they labour hard to injure, against their Wills commend him; they open Men's Eyes to see and reflect upon the base Ingratitude they have endeavour'd to do a Merit, which is the Glory and Ornament of their Country. 'Tis the Fate of injur'd Vertue and Innocence to shine more bright, thro' the sullen Clouds of Envy and Distractedness; their senseless Ribaldry is but the yelping of mungrel Curs at the brightness of the Moon, without affecting it. It may indeed, be acknowledg'd, that when we see a great Man under the Displeasure of so August an Assembly as an *English* House of Commons, one might reasonably expect to find something of another Nature, some heinous Crime against the State, as the Foundation of it, which, upon the certainty of Evidence, may be suppos'd to carry the Punishment along with the Conviction; yet, with all due Deference to so considerable a Branch of the Legislature, they have sufficiently manifested to the World, that as they are no more than Men they can err, and have err'd; and all that can be reasonably said to excuse an Error, is to distinguish and separate the Frailties and Weakness of human Nature, from the study'd and concerted Efforts of Malice or Envy, which are ever the voluntary Results of the perverseness or obstinacy of a corrupted Will. The former may be in a great measure excusable, because they may proceed from Men whose Intentions may be upright and equitable, but may possibly want Judgment to distinguish; but the latter are ever in the highest Degree criminal, as proceeding from such, who prefer the private Interest of a Faction to all Considerations of Honour, good Sense and Equity. Yet, it was something strange in this Instance of his Grace, that a Senate, that is or ought to be compos'd of Gentlemen of Sense, Probity, Honour and Love for their Country they are chosen to represent, shou'd with a premeditated Design against a great Man run precipitately into the Frenzies of such without doors, whose Interest it may be to fear and consequently hate him. This but too evidently shows how far Men of all Sorts and Professions may be transported, when they abandon themselves to their Passions, in contempt of the Lights and Sentiments of their Reason and Conscience; but a fatal Spirit of Discord was gone forth, as our right reverend learn'd Prelate has observ'd, (and for which he has been sufficiently insulted) that troubled sore the Camp, the City and the Court. 'Tis a melancholy Instance, how possible it is for such a grand Assembly to be so far misguided by Passion or Prejudice, as to run into Measures to disturb the Peace and Tranquility of their Country, which they were elected to defend and maintain.

in future times shall a great Man, who has nobly serv'd that Country at the hazard of his Life, fly for Protection, if his Countrymen and those who ought to be his Friends, are the first who cruelly assault what is infinitely dearer to him, his Honour and Reputation? Is the utmost stretch of humane Malice, when it is not only content to watch and take, but to seek, to hunt after; or rather than that, invent Pretences to oppress and punish the Innocent; yet in the serious Case I am about to mention, this appears to be wholly the design of his Enemies; but as the Justice of his Cause exempted him from the Guilt of a blameable Action, his Innocence plac'd him above the Fear or Apprehension of the Punishment.

If the *English* Nation entertains and pays foreign Troops for the common Cause, the Money stipulated and appropriated for their payment is their own; it ceases to be publick Money; the Nation has no longer any Challenge or further Interest in it; the Stranger might it for his Service; and whilst he faithfully performs the duty for which it was given, the Property of it is his own: If then the foreign Troops in the Pay of *England*, instead of two and a half per Cent. for secret Service, or any other, had thought fit to have given him a Moiety of their Pay, what Injustice would there have been done either to the Nation or any Man in it? The Kingdom was at two-pence more Expence to make it good, or reimburse them; what reasonable Handle is there in all this, to object to him a Crime of that high Nature, as the Embezzling the publick Money? The General indeed had exacted this from those Troops of his own head, or had defrauded them of so much of their Pay by any Arbitrary Act of his own, to put so much Money in his own Pocket, there might have been some colour of a Pretence to have reproach'd him with; but as all the World is now satisfied, (but those who will never be satisfied with any thing but his and their Country's Ruin) that it was a formal Agreement made with our glorious King *William*, whose Memory they equally hate, and since confirm'd and ratified by her present Majesty, whom they are infamously betraying, for one of the most necessary and important Services of the War; what Crime was it in a General, whom the most inveterate of his Enemies cannot prove to have employ'd a *Doit* of it to any other use than that for which it was design'd? They who accuse a noble Gentleman of *Peculat*, should be very sure they are not guilty of it themselves; and the time will come, and is not far off, when the Nation will expect an exact account of Disbursements of many millions, without troubling themselves about the necessary Perquisites of Office. If it had not been absolutely necessary to leave the dispositions of such Money to the Prudence and Direction of the General alone, as the Exigencies and Necessities of the common good of the Service requir'd, without being accountable for the particular Occasions on which he employ'd it, we may bid adieu to all Intelligence, so absolutely necessary for the carrying on an Execution of great Designs; there is an end of secret Service and Correspondence, without which, no good and certain Intelligence, ever was, or ever will be maintain'd: And since the Corruption of foreign Courts,

and



and those employ'd in them, make a Practice necessary, which it self is blameable, the necessity of the Evil in some Measure only excuses but justifies it; for as all Men are made of the same Paste, with various and different Modifications, a General, whose Servants and Officers are liable to be corrupted by the Money of the Enemy, will make but a very indifferent Campaign, though he has all the Vertues of an Angel, if he wants the ampler Means of counterbribing those of the Enemy: He may console himself if he pleases with the reflections of his Integrity, but he shall not fail to be expos'd to all the railery and disgraceful Evils of an unsuccessful War. The honest and greatest part of the Nation are but over abundantly satisfied, that ever since the Happy Revolution, and at that time, we have had, and still have, and know them too, Betrayers enough of our most secret Councils and Designs at home, who make a notable Figure in their successful Treachery, to repine at the General's keeping those Secrets in his own Breast, without being oblig'd to discover them to certain Persons here, who would have fail'd the next Moment to have communicated them to the Enemy. But further, if this were in effect so great a Crime in the Duke of *Marlborough*, as to deserve the Displeasure and Animadversion of a House of Commons, how came it to pass that the very same House of Commons thought fit to allow it to the Duke of *Ormond*, in the same Post? Was it a Fault in the One, and a Merit in the Other? Or was the Foreigners Money necessary for secret Service and Intelligence during the Command of the One, and unnecessary in that of the Other? Yes most certainly, and the Reason is wonderful plain; the One has never beaten the *French*, and as Matters now stand, we are very sure never will; and the Other has beaten them too often and too unmercifully; and one may venture to swear, that however they may be inclin'd to forgive him all the rest of the Sins of his whole Life, they will never forgive him that crying and damnable one of drubbing so inhumanely their dear new Friends.

The other Instance of Sir *Solomon Medini*, is yet more frivolous and impertinent. If a General contracts with an Undertaker for Bread for an Army under his Command, and that Undertaker should apparently out of the usual Stoppage from each Soldier make an immoderate Profit by that Contract, what Injustice is it to the Publick if he shares it with him, since the Fund for Bread is out of the Soldiers Pay, which the Nation has no longer any thing to do with unless to correct Abuses when it appears they have been defrauded? I marvel how it came to pass, that the Devil did not put it into their wise Heads of ranging this too under the Article of embezzling the publick Money; for I am certain there is full as good Reason for one as the other; but I challenge the most malicious of his Enemies to assign a time when the Army under his Command made any Complaint for want of their Bread; whether ever the Soldiers wanted an Ounce of his Proportion; nay, whether they were not better and more regularly provided for in that Point than ever they were known to be before? The most then that can in reason be made

This is, that it is a just Perquisite which every Commander in  
 Chief of an Army has ever been known and allowed to make. If a  
 Jewish Jew, who would have betrayed Jesus Christ for thirty Pie-  
 ces, whose God is his Interest, who makes it his Business to deceive  
 and cheat all Mankind, and makes nothing the Rule of his Traffick  
 but his Profit, shall make ten or twelve thousand Pound clear Gains,  
 Charges and Expences born, what Crime is it to the Publick if  
 the General oblige him by a previous Contract, to share such a Pro-  
 portion of that Profit as may have been agreed between them? But  
 to do him an Injury, to insist upon a further Justification of  
 him in such frivolous and invidious Trifles, as indeed are not worthy  
 any; the justice and legality of the Practice defend themselves  
 much more easily, than we have been told since that some Treaties  
 excuse themselves; and we but too well know, that they who at  
 the Rate were resolv'd to blacken and ruin the Reputation of the  
 man they hate, however gloriously establish'd, would never boggle  
 at any Means, how scandalous or dishonourable soever they may be,  
 to effect it. The best of it is, that the Event has justified what I  
 have here offer'd; his good Fortune and Merit, the Justice and In-  
 fluence of his Cause, set him as much out of the reach of their im-  
 pudent Malice, as his Vertue is above their Imitation: There are some  
 Vertues so vigorous and strong, as carry their Antidote with them,  
 and cannot be affected with the Infection of the most malignant Poi-  
 sons; their natural Vigour is their Security; and they who attempt  
 to blast them, are short of the good nature of the Devils, though in  
 the Instances of their ill they wonderfully resemble them; for  
 we admire at least the Happiness they have forfeited and lost by  
 their Ingratitude and Ambition, though they must never again possess  
 it. I shall conclude this feeble Defence of this great and in-  
 comparable Man, which is but a just Tribute which every honest  
 Englishman, who heartily loves his own Honour, or that of his  
 Country, owes to him who has done so much for its Glory and In-  
 terest. I as heartily wish I had been of Capacity to have offer'd a  
 better; but if sincere and disinterested, though feeble and unworthy  
 as it is, it contributes in any Degree to open the Eyes of any of my  
 best Countrymen that are worth opening, to see the poor and base  
 Justice has been done him, by the false and infamous Calumnies  
 and Detraction of an execrable High Church Faction, I have my  
 share; and shall boldly maintain, that he who has or shall exhaust in  
 his Defence, all the Profusions of an exuberant Fancy and Genius,  
 has said all he can for the Man who has done so much and so great  
 things for us, our Nation and all Europe shall say too little.  
 I can no where more properly than in this Place take leave to  
 offer something in the just Commendation of another noble Gentle-  
 man, who whatever Seeds of Vertue and Valour he has in his Soul,  
 has been the Cultivating, and Opportunities of signaling them, to the  
 Honour and Friendship of this great Man; I mean, Lieutenant General  
 Morgan, who has so nobly answer'd the Expectation, and imitated  
 the Vertues of so great a Master: A Gentleman of rare Capacities,  
 with a peculiar Turn to the difficult and honourable Profession of

the Soldier ; a Judgment clear and strong to form great Designs, and a Courage swift and prompt to their Execution, equally capab<sup>le</sup> of Council and Action, who in an early Age has had the good Fortune to merit a Reputation, and arriv'd to those honourable Stations that are for the most part the Reward of the Ancient and most Experienc'd, which he has had the Happinets to have manag'd with that Address and good Manners, as to have deserv'd the Admiration of all without being envy'd ; a rare and uncommon Fidelity ! Covetous of Opportunities where Honour was to be got, and brave in the pursuit without Temerity ; Calm and Sedate ; as of a wonderful presence of Mind in the warmest, and in the most perilous Occasions intrepid ; patient of Labour, and in the discharge and exercises of his Duty, indefatigable ; a singular assortment of the Scholar and the Soldier, equally capable of Business and of War, he seems to be born to the latter, and to make the other only a Diversion ; and when I have mention'd his inviolable Love to his Country, and his Attachment to his noble Master, I have but drawn the outlines of his imperfect Character ; and as both those amiable Qualities, have render'd him the Object of the Malice and Hatred of the Faction, he has had, if not the Address wholly to parry, the generous Courage to despise them ; the Unconcern with which he parted with Employments, which few Men would quit without Regret and Difficulty, is an Argument he thought it not worth while to continue them after the Disgrace and Loss of his beloved General : 'Tis the effect but of a common Vertue, to express a Vindictive or Concern for great Men unjustly under Misfortunes ; but to sacrifice all things, and adhere to them, even in their Disgrace, is a Principle something extreamly above the common Elevation of humane Perfection ; and amongst all his other excellent Qualifications, his Generosity to that great Man shall ever be the most shining of his Character ; Heaven has rescu'd his and other of our gallant Countrymen's Swords to retrieve the Glory and Honour of our Nation.

When I have mention'd the great good Fortune, the rare and elevated Vertues, and the wonderful Successes that have been inseparable from our renowned General through the whole course of the War ; far be it from me from depriving either the gallant Officers of our own Country of an inferior Rank, or those of the Confederates both Commanders and Troops, of that share of Glory that is as just and equally due to their Courage and Bravery : If there have been any Contestations amongst them, it has been only that of a generous Emulation to advance the Reputation of their Nations. The British are without question a brave, hardy and valiant People, capable of executing the most daring and perilous Enterprizes that can be expected from a free and resolute Courage ; but those Qualities are common with them to the rest of their gallant Confederates ; there has always appear'd a commendable Emulation in all the Troops that compos'd the Confederacy, which arose only from Vertue and the strife for Glory, but void of Envy or Jealousy ; for Discord seems at present at least, to be more particularly the Growth of our own Country ; the struggle amongst the rest was only that of Honour



who should do best ; who should show most resolution, most firm-  
 ness, most constancy and contempt of Death, in the prosecution of  
 the common Cause of Liberty. Wou'd to Heaven it had pleas'd the  
 Sovereign Disposer of all Power and Dominion, to have continued  
 their Union and his Blessings on their Vertue, till they had obtain'd  
 the great End of a more secure, lasting, honourable and advantage-  
 ous Peace than our wretched High Church Politicians have sham'd  
 upon the World and us ; this we should have had no Reason to have  
 despair'd of, in spite of our perfidious domestick Enemies, from the no-  
 ble and vigorous Resolutions and Efforts that the rest of our high  
 Confederates (who had a juster relish and estimate of their Liberty  
 than we had) were willing to have continued, with a General at  
 their head, who to say what he justly deserves, in all the Vertues  
 and rare Qualities of a great and consummate Captain, was equal to  
 our own ; to say more, were in one to offend a Modesty equal to  
 his Valour, and the sublime Merit of the other. It is wonderful to  
 observe by what secret and mysterious Means the Eternal Providence  
 executes the Order of its Designs. This great Person, as a younger  
 Brother, was at first design'd for the Service of the Church ; but that  
 lazy profession of Life no way suiting to the fire of his Genius, and  
 martial Disposition destin'd to nobler Ends, he prevail'd with his  
 Friends to move the *French King* to give him a Regiment of Horse,  
 who answer'd them with a Pride and Contempt so natural to him,  
 which yet has prov'd so fatal to his Interests since, that he did not  
 think him worthy to be trusted with a Troop of Dragoons ; a Refu-  
 sal so violent and outrageous exasperated the Spirit of a noble Youth,  
 whose Birth and Spirit, more than enough, justified such a Preten-  
 sion ; he left upon it the Kingdom in disgust, and went into the  
 Service of the Emperor who was then at War with the *Turks*, where  
 he had immediately a Regiment of Horse given him ; with which  
 in the first Campaign, he perform'd such extraordinary Exploits, as  
 render'd him the admiration of his Friends, and terror of his Ene-  
 mies : In the progress of this furious War, he continued to give such  
 daily Proofs of an admirable Sagacity and Judgment, and of a daring  
 and invincible Valour in so tender an Age, as were the happy Omens  
 of his future Grandeur and Glory in a more advanc'd one. I do not  
 pretend here to write the History of all the glorious Actions of this  
 illustrious Prince ; it suffices to say, that in the ensuing Campaigns,  
 he so eminently distinguish'd himself, both by his Courage and Ca-  
 pacity, that in the space of a few Years, the World saw him Young  
 as he was Commander in Chief of the Imperial Army, where he had  
 the good Fortune and Glory in an intire and compleat Victory, to  
 give the *Turks* such a Blow at the ever memorable Battle of *Zenta*,  
 as they have never to this day recover'd, and has never since been  
 equal'd but by that of *Blenheim*, where he shar'd the Glory against  
 the most Christian *Turk*, with our Illustrious Hero. From that time  
 he has always had the Honour to have been at the Head of the Im-  
 perial Armies, where he increased a Reputation was thought inca-  
 pable of Addition, by fresh Wonders sufficiently known to all the  
 World, for the good of *Europe* and his own Immortal Honour. It

has been formerly said, that those whom God has design'd to Destruction, he first infatuates; this was never more evidently verified than in the Instance of this haughty and imperious Master, who so unhappily for himself despis'd and exasperated this great and excellent Captain, whom God rais'd up and preserv'd to be, in so great a Measure, the Scourge and Humbler of his Ambition and Tyranny. His never to be sure forgotten March of near forty Days, in spite of a thousand Oppositions from the Enemy, to the Relief of *Turin*; his forcing the Retrenchments of a *French* Army before it, more numerous than his own, with a Brother of *France* at the Head of it; and the intire Defeat he gave them with his fatigu'd and harrass'd *Germans*, as they carry'd his Reputation to so high a pitch of Glory, as one can with Difficulty conceive a greater, so shall they be read with Wonder and Astonishment by all succeeding Generations; and since by our Treachery we lost the Assistance of that noble and generous Commander, I firmly believe that the glorious Work of humbling that common Enemy of Mankind is reserv'd, to add the last Comble and Complement of Honour to our own; for God will never permit an Inexorable Tyrant to descend in Peace to his Grave.

Thus loaded with Honour, the occasions of the War in a little time after gave the Opportunity to the Interview of the two greatest Captains of their Age; who at a distance had been long Admirers of each other's Merit. In great Souls, where Vertue pure and disinterested has the ascendant, the firmest and most perfect Friendships are, as it were, form'd in an Instant, by a certain secret Sympathy and Conformity of Manners; whereas in feeble and less generous Minds, tinctur'd with the Interests of the World, or Vanity of Applause, it wants length of time, formal Acquaintance, and a Communication of mutual Offices, which beget generally that which rather ought to be call'd Respect and Esteem, than distinguish'd by the sacred Name of Friendship; at best, 'tis no more than a fickle and precarious Habitue contracted upon the traffick of Benefits, and seldom is longer liv'd than they continue; and not a Principle founded upon a pure and simple Vertue, which is ever constant and uniform, and never ceases but in the Grave. But that of these two illustrious Heroes was not born Young; it needed no Degrees to cultivate it; but was, as it were, created in its full Bloom of Excellence and Perfection, by a secret Remembrance, and sort of Intelligence of Vertue; their Souls, if they were distinct, seem'd to be long and perfectly acquainted before they saw; or rather (as they appear'd to be rais'd up by Providence for one great Design, as the glorious Instruments of defending the Liberties of *Europe*) if it were not one and the same Soul that animated both. He that will but seriously consider what great and wonderful Things the Duke of *Marlborough* and Prince *Eugene* have done in concert, with an Unanimity and harmonious Concord that has rarely been found in former Ages, will find but little Difficulty to believe what I have here advanc'd; as in all the noble Actions they have perform'd together, they both went strait to their End, and were neither byass'd to the one Hand by Envy, nor to the other by the

unity of Self-love, but were solely influenc'd by the Sentiments of  
 Reason, Honour, and the common Good ; what the one conceiv'd  
 and propos'd as necessary to the Execution of any great Design to  
 that end, was ever approv'd of by the other. There was nothing so  
 difficult, and next to impossible, that was not reasonably to have been  
 expected from the joint Efforts of such united Vertue ; Evil be to  
 them who first contriv'd to separate and divide them ; but it is too e-  
 vident that the perfidious Enemies of our own Hero (besides the  
 reasons I have already mentioned) envy'd him the Glory of finish-  
 ing the War he had carry'd on with so much Honour to himself, and  
 so much Prejudice to their detestable Designs of betraying their  
 Country. If ever the Character of *duo fulmina belli* were justly due  
 to any, 'tis to these two great and incomparable Captains, Twins of  
 Glory, and Brothers of the War. The shameless and scurrilous Treat-  
 ment this generous Prince receiv'd from the *Canaille* of the Faction,  
 whilst he honour'd our Nation with his Presence, is a Reproach and  
 Infamy no time can ever wear out, or the prostitute Authors ever atone  
 for ; and as his Vertue and Merit are infinitely above the reach  
 of their leud and profligate Ribaldry, he will have the goodness to  
 distinguish the honest and greatest Part of the Nation, who esteem  
 and venerate him from the Scum and Ordures of an insolent Faction,  
 that dar'd to insult, and whose Interest it is to hate him. It was from  
 the superior Genius of this great Commander, at the Head of a potent  
 Confederacy, who had form'd and continu'd their vigorous and ge-  
 nerous Resolutions for the establishment of the Peace and Liberties  
 of *Christendom*, that we might still have hop'd for the Defeat of all  
 the treacherous Designs of their and our common Enemies, if both  
 he and they had not basely been betray'd by us ; nor shou'd we have  
 had any Reason to doubt but he wou'd have shown the World, that  
 he still knew how to conquer the same Enemies, as he had done for-  
 merly without us ; but oh ! what might we not have depended on  
 from our united Forces, under the Command of two such consum-  
 mate and successful Generals ? To affirm, that by their Wildom, Cou-  
 rage and Unanimity, and all the rare and admirable Qualities neces-  
 sary to finish the Character of the most perfect and excellent Cap-  
 tains, they have surpass'd all the famous and renown'd Men of An-  
 tiquity, is of the Declaimer, and smells the Vice of Flattery I detest ;  
 but to maintain that in all future Ages they shall stand the most per-  
 fect Models for Imitation of all that shall pretend to be great, or  
 glorious and fortunate in War, is no more than what is strictly con-  
 sistent with the Modesty of Truth and Justice.

Nor was the Demission of our noble General sufficient to satis-  
 fy the Rage and Malice of the Faction ; there was a criminal Fleet  
 as well as Army to be call'd to Account ; there was an Admiral of  
 high Renown stood firmly in the Way of their Designs, who as he was  
 of the same Principles and Love for his Country, must run the Fate of all  
 others of the same Character, and whom therefore it was as much  
 their Business to hate, and Interest to disgrace ; their Animosity  
 took its Rise from the same Fountain, as against all such as had  
 contributed to the mortifying and reducing the overgrown exorbi-  
 tant



tant Power of their best Friend and Protector the King of France. And though the memorable Services of this kind will ever be accounted worthy of all Praise and Commendation, by all wise and honest Men, as being as well for the Glory as Security of their Liberties; yet must the gallant Men who perform them be alike treated, with the utmost Affront and Indignities, because destructive of a few Traitors, whose Intention it is manifestly to betray and destroy them. This noble and generous Patriot, who by his Bravery and Conduct, had all his Life in the *West-Indies*, the *Mediterranean*, and wherever else he had the Honour to command, given a thousand Proofs of his Affection to the Interest of his Country and his Valour, had the good Fortune to give the *French* Power at Sea a mortal Blow, at the famous Battle of *La Hogue*, as to this Day they have been never able to recover. A noble Scene for every true and honest *Englishman*, to see the *Royal Sun* of *France* of 110 Guns, with thirteen or fourteen more, many of them three deck'd, and all of them Line of Battle Ships, in a Flame by the fury of *English* Fire; besides what were taken, blown up, sunk or otherwise destroy'd during an Engagement, which utterly ruin'd the Maritime Power of *France* in these Seas, as having never since been able on this Side to furnish out any thing but inconsiderable Squadrons; as on the other hand it was a Sight of Terror, and the utmost Mortification to the late King *James*, who stood ready upon the Beach with an Army of thirty Thousand *French*, and the few abandon'd *English* and *Irish* in his Service (at the Invitation of these Loyal High-Church Politicians, who had prepar'd all things for his Reception, many of whom are still alive, and some of them at the Head of Business) to be the sad Spectator of the Destruction of the *French* Fleet, and in that of all his Hopes, by the Bravery and Courage of a People he had so shamefully manag'd, and in the end as shamefully abandon'd. 'Tis worth while to reflect a little upon the Situation of these two formidable Fleets, that were in a short time to decide the Fate of *England* and Liberties thereof. Monsieur *Tourville*, a Commander of great Experience and Courage at the Head of the *French*; and our noble Mr. *Russel*, since the Right Honourable Earl of *Orford*, in honour to his Family and Country, Admiral of the *English*. The two Fleets had been sometime in view before they engag'd, each waiting for the coming up and junction of their Friends, the *French* for a considerable Squadron from *Toulon*, and the *English* from *Holland*. The Ministers of *France* foreseeing the Miscarriage of the intended Invasion, equally from a delay as a nonexecution, and knowing their Numbers to be much superior to ours alone, obtain'd a positive Order for Monsieur *Tourville* to fight, notwithstanding the expected Squadron was not yet come up. By great good Fortune, and the particular Providence of God, the *Dutch*, if I mistake not, arriv'd and joyn'd our Fleet the very Evening before, and together made about an Equality. There possibly never was an Engagement begun and continu'd so long, with so much Fury and Obstinacy on both Sides, each being sensible of the importance of the Success; but in the End it pleas'd God to bless the *English* and *Dutch* with

the most compleat and glorious Victory that ever was obtain'd upon  
 Water. How far the other Admirals *Delaval* and *Ashby* ac-  
 ceded themselves of their Duty, with regard to those Enemy's Ships  
 which fled and escap'd through the Race of *Alderney*, I dont pretend  
 to determine ; but our worthy High-Church Men at home, I remem-  
 ber full well, who can very gallantly fight Battles in a Coffee House,  
 dare not look an Enemy in the Face in the Field, pretended to be  
 indignant angry that the whole *French* Fleet was not catch'd, as in  
 the Net, and every Ship of them either taken or destroy'd ; so nota-  
 bly a Talent has Hypocrisy to disguise the Sentiments of Men, who  
 could have been much better pleas'd to have seen their gallant  
 Countrymen and the *Dutch* beaten, and the *French* and their abdi-  
 cated King insulting their Coasts in Tryumph. 'Tis as well wor-  
 thy remark, the Difference of the Reception of the respective Ad-  
 mirals upon their return home. Monsieur *Tourville*, who was well  
 taken, and under whose Conduct the *French* that Day suffer'd the  
 greatest Disgrace and Loss that ever that Nation met with at Sea,  
 and all the Court expecting to see him meet with a Reception suita-  
 ble to the Circumstances of his evil Fortune, was generously re-  
 ceiv'd by his King, comforted by him for his Disgrace, as the chance  
 of War, and dismissed with this noble Elogium, *There goes the  
 man who fears less to die, than disobey my Orders*, and was immedi-  
 ately after honoured with a Bateau of Marshal of *France* ; in this  
 commendable, that he knew how to cherish and reward the Merit  
 and Valour of a great Man, though unsuccessful : 'Tis this grateful  
 generosity of his Temper, for Vertue is ever to be respected even in  
 an Enemy, that may be esteem'd the principal Reason of the great  
 and eminent Services he daily receives from his Officers, who are  
 full of his Favour and Indulgence, if they behave themselves on Oc-  
 casions with Honour and Distinction ; whereas our noble Admiral  
 was insulted and reproach'd by this implacable Faction then in Pow-  
 er, for doing greater Things than any of his gallant Countrymen in  
 that high Station had ever done before him ; but in Effect, for having  
 done too much to prevent the Designs of such, as had something else  
 in View than the Honour and Interest of their Country. It was  
 therefore absolutely necessary for them to deprive the Nation of the  
 courage and Service of so great and gallant Man, who had the un-  
 happy Art of beating their best and dearest Friend, least by the Effect  
 of the same Valour and good Fortune, he should once more defeat  
 the Hopes they had entertain'd of the next Invasion from that King's  
 pretended Son. I cannot here but take Notice of another infernal  
 artifice of the Faction, at the same time, to expose the Kingdoms  
 and our illustrious Queen *Mary* of blessed and immortal Memory, in  
 the Imprisonment of the Collonels, *Hales*, *Langston* and his Brother,  
*ounánell*, *Williams*, *Erereton*, *Culliford*, *Rodney*, with Writs ready  
 for the Secretary's Office for the Seizure of above a Hundred more,  
 only to deprive the Nation and her Majesty of the Service of so ma-  
 ny experienc'd and gallant Commanders, at a time when we were  
 threaten'd, and had been invaded (if it had not been prevented by  
 the happy Defeat of the *French* Fleet, by our renowned Admiral)

for the Establishment of Popery, Slavery, and their belov'd Arbitrary Power.

The next Victim that was to be sacrificed to their Rage, was our noble and generous Countryman General *Stanhope*, for the Devil of Faction never does his Work by halves; a Gentleman of those excellent Parts and Learning, of that unshaken Loyalty to his Queen, and Love of native Liberty, as any but a High-Church Proselite, who is a profess'd Enemy to all that is good or commendable amongst Men, wou'd have esteem'd an Honour and Ornament of his Country. This gallant Man was thought fit, for his universal Capacities, to redress and resettle the Affairs of *Spain*, and to compose and accommodate the Disorders had been occasion'd in them, by the extraordinary Management of a noble Peer, who has since given the World surprizing Proofs of his Attachment to a predominant Faction. A certain notable Agility and Expedition in travelling, seem to be much properer Qualifications for what we call a Courier of the Cabinet, than the General of an *English* Army; for there are many of the *Virtuoso* are of Opinion, that his great Disposition for scouring about is something exceedingly like flying or running away, which they are inclinable to think is no very valuable or commendable Quality in a Commander of Importance; at least they maintain it was not deem'd so amongst the fighting Fellows of Antiquity, who may be thought, by some Moderns, to have had more Courage than Brains or Discretion; but be that as it will, the gallant and prudent Man who succeeded him, to the highest Degree answered all the Ends of his important Commission, and of the Opinion that was conceiv'd of his Virtue, Courage and Sufficiency; but I know not by what strange Fate it happens, there is a crying and abominable Sin in this bloody and ungodly *Whigs*, I mean, that of beating their Enemies almost wherever they met them, that will eternally damn them in the Opinion of this Honest, Loyal, and Pious High-Church Faction. It was such an Argument of a Republican and Antimonarchical Spirit and Principles, with which they had endeavour'd to blacken him, to rise out of a Man's sick Bed to fight, beat and destroy, by a glorious Victory, the Troops of a Tyrant, who as by the vilest of all Frauds he had circumvented another Prince of his just Rights, by Violence and the Power of his Arms detain'd and defended them, as is no where to be found but in the Maxims of High Church Policy and Divinity. 'Tis worth remarking, that he obtain'd this memorable Victory over the faithless *French* and rebel *Spaniards* in the cause of Liberty, in or near the same Plains where the young and noble *Scipio* led on his *Roman* conquering Legions to the defeat of the faithless usurping *Carthaginians*; and at his return home, or not long after, in Recompence of all his noble Toils and Services, (certain is it that a sublime Virtue can never be without Enemies) met with much the same Treatment from his ingrateful Fellow-Citizens; when by a Thousand gallant Actions he had surpass'd the most celebrated of his Predecessors, and compleated the Measure of his Glory by the Reduction of *Carthage*, the Rival of the *Roman* Greatness, to Ashes; sometime after, when he was impeach'd by the



alice of some of his Enemies for imbezelling the publick Treasure, and saw a Schedule of the Articles of his Impeachment affix'd in a publick Place, with a noble Innocence and generous Disdain, *me, say's he to his Friends, let us go and sacrifice to the Gods, for this Day I conquer'd and subverted Carthage,* and left the raskally Tribune, with his rabble of corrupted Commons, confounded and confounded at the noble fierceness and generosity of the Hero. There needs no Application; as much Ingratitude has been the Lot of us, whose envious Countrymen had left him so long, as it were in chains, for a Misfortune that an excess of Courage, an Error of the right-Hand natural to the *English*, had precipitated him into; yet in his long Detention the Faction had a double View, that of depriving him of further Opportunities of beating their *French* Friends again abroad, and that of securing themselves from the Opposition they were sure to find from him to their infamous Design of betraying their Country at home.

I shall mention here but one more, and he by Birth a Foreigner, by Sentiments and Inclinations an honest *Englishman*, I mean my Lord *Galway*; a Gentleman of rare and eminent Qualities, that equally render him proper for the Cabinet or Field; of which he has given abundant Evidence in the Reduction, and his Administration of the Government of *Ireland*: There is something in this excellent Person's Circumstances in relation to the Faction, that wou'd appear so extraordinary, as cou'd not well be accounted for, if every thing they did were not unaccountable; for after having given the most shining Proofs of an extraordinary Conduct and Valour, both upon this and a thousand other Occasions, he had the misfortune to lose the Battle of *Almanza*; if a Man can be said to lose a Battle, who purchases an Immortal Stock of Honour to himself, and Troops under his Command, in exchange; for the Duke of *Berkwick*, tho' with triple Numbers, with great Difficulty obtain'd the Advantage, and acknowledg'd he had only got one of the famous *Jyrhus* his Victories; one or two more such wou'd have ruin'd him; yet, it is certain, with all that disadvantage and disparity of Numbers, if the *Portuguse* Horse had that Day done their Duty, and not run away at the first Charge, and so left their Confederate Troops naked and expos'd in Flank to the Insults of the Enemy, one might conclude from what they had perform'd, when they were cover'd, that in all human Probability they wou'd have gain'd a Battle little inferior to any of our former: That then which seems strange; is this; one wou'd have imagin'd, that his being defeated by their good Friends might have made some atonement for the Misfortune of an ag'd General, maim'd and cover'd with honourable Wounds, and reconcil'd him to the good Grace of the Faction; but no such matter, no Quarters; what is there remains then for a great, unfortunate Man to do in such a case? 'Tis something hard, indeed, and strange too; here is one General must be disgrac'd for being once over-power'd and beaten by the *French*, and another under the same disgrace and misfortune, if it be one, for eternally beating them; beat or be beaten, 'tis exactly the same thing

thing to High-Church, and suitable to the Equity and Generosity of their Proceedings in every thing else: For let an *Englishman* have all the great Qualities of your *Cæsars*, your *Scipios*, your *Hanibals*, your *Pyrrhus*, your *Alexanders*, and your Lord knows what other Rabble of fighting Heroes of *Pagan* Memory, it imports not; if he be a *Whig*, according to the Modern High-Church Philosophy, he is a Fool, a Vicious, a Knave, a Coward, or a Republican; for take it for granted, my honest Countrymen, that he who will not blindly run into all the Treasons of the Faction, is in their Opinion, without Bail or Mainprize, an infamous Betrayer of his Country; and particularly a *Whig* General, or a *Whig* Admiral is with them the most dangerous and pernicious of their Enemies, and in every thing else the most worthless, and insignificant Creature in the Universe; yet one thing they may, if they please at their leisure to reflect upon a little, that whilst there is a *Whig* General, a *Whig* Admiral, a *Whig* Peer, or a *Whig* Commoner, they may depend upon it, that they have so many strenuous and formidable Opposers, who will in good time know how to beat them, their High-Church, their *French* Friends and Popish Pretender together as ours and our dear Country's most mortal Enemies.

Let us now proceed to consider the Scituation and Condition of our Affairs, both in relation to our selves and the rest of *Europe* in the Year 1702, in the time of our gracious Queen's Accession to the Crown. Our glorious King *William*, thro' the course of a bloody and expensive War, had in great measure abated the exorbitant Power of *France*; and tho' he liv'd not quite to suppress and reduce it to the Limits was expected and hop'd for, yet he, as it were confounded and stun'd it to such a Degree, as to compel them to conclude a Peace at *Ryswick*; that all the Powers concern'd might at least have a time to breath, and recover the Feebleness occasion'd by the Loss of Blood and Treasure, in the Prosecution of so chargeable and sanguinary a War. A Peace, such as the Condition of the Times and Circumstances of the respective Princes wou'd admit of, was concluded; but such as it was, it prov'd but very short liv'd. Two notable Incidents in a very little time gave occasion for the further Effusion of Blood, which were the *French* King's still acknowledging and declaring the Pretender to be King of *England*, against the express Stipulations of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, and the placing his Grandson on the Throne of *Spain*, upon the Presumption of the late King *Charles's* Will: If that Will had been the genuine and authentick Piece of that feeble Prince, 'twas frivolous and ineffectual to all Degrees and Purposes; but as all the World is convinc'd that it was the detestable Forgery of a Priest, it was infinitely more so; for the Crown and Kingdom is not the Princes, but the Peoples, and he can no more with Equiry dispose of it to another, in prejudice of the rightful Heir, without the Consent of the general Estates and Cortez of that Kingdom, than the Pope at this time of Day can grant the Imperial Crown of *Great Britain primo occupanti*; but of these two Occasions, the former to the last Degree exasperated the People of *England*, who were sensible

of the Insolence of the Affront to the Honour of their belov'd  
 King and Nation; and the latter the Emperor, and the rest of the  
 Princes to recommence the War, in which they reasonably hop'd for  
 the Blessing of God in so just a Cause, as the Defence of the com-  
 mon Liberties of *Europe*, and the particular Rights of injur'd Prin-  
 ces from the Violence and Injustice of Tyranny and Usurpation. A  
 most powerful Confederacy was form'd by our great King *William*,  
 when it pleas'd God for our Sins to deprive the World and us of  
 the Blessing of his auspicious Government, and left the Prosecuti-  
 on of it to his Successor, our gracious Queen. In this remarkable  
 War was finish'd that famous League and grand Alliance, which  
 had so long been the Security of all *Europe*, against a tyrannical o-  
 vergrown Power, increas'd by the additional Strength of the *Spa-*  
*nish* Monarchy, which was preparing new Chains for them. In this  
 new Alliance, it was between all Parties mutually stipulated, with  
 the Solemnities that can make such an Engagement sacred and in-  
 violable, never to lay down the Sword till they had reduc'd the  
 Power of *France* into Limits consistent with the Safety and Tran-  
 quillity of *Christendom*, and restor'd the Possession of the whole  
*Spanish* Monarchy and the *West Indies*, with all their Dependencies,  
 to the rightful Heir of the House of *Austria*. Thus was the Com-  
 mencement of this second War, and these the just and righteous  
 Motives to it: Never was any War begun with more Justice, car-  
 ried on with greater Blessings of extraordinary Successes, or con-  
 cluded with more Scandal and Infamy; which had it continued in  
 the same Hands that began it, wou'd long before this time have  
 ended in such a Peace, as might for Ages have secur'd the Tranqui-  
 lity and Happiness of our own Nations, and all the rest of *Europe*.  
 Thus we see Her Majesty at the Head of this powerful Confede-  
 racy, with the hearty Affections of her own People, and the Esteem  
 and Admiration of all the World besides. She had the Wis-  
 dom and great good Fortune to place the Management of Affairs in  
 the Hands of Men both Civil and Military, whose Vertue and rare  
 Capacity were equal to the great and difficult Task before them;  
 Men who seem'd to be born to Business and to Conquest. As there  
 was nothing that more evidently discovers the Wisdom and good In-  
 tentions of the Prince for his Peoples Good and Happiness than the  
 Choice of his Ministers; Her Majesty in the Choice of Hers,  
 gave the World as high Idea's of her Judgment and Prudence, as  
 they had already conceiv'd of the Reputation of her Arms. Never  
 were there in any Nation a Set of great Men of more Ability to ma-  
 nage the most difficult and arduous Affairs of State; never of more  
 Fidelity and Affection to the true Interest and Honour of their Queen  
 and Country: Mature in their Councils to form great Resolutions,  
 and swift and sure in their Execution; a wonderful Penetration to  
 foresee distant Evils, and timely to prevent the Mischiefs of them;  
 no use of shameless Artifices to circumvent an Enemy, but watch-  
 ful, never to be deceiv'd or impos'd on by them; no treacherous  
 Correspondence, or base betraying our Councils and Designs to  
 the Enemy, but an unshaken Love to their Country above Corruption.

It



It has been observable in an Age design'd by Providence for great and wonderful Events, that there have ever been produc'd Men of rare and uncommon Genius and Capacities to manage the surprising Turns and Revolutions of it; it was never more manifestly so than in the beginning of this, in which, as there already have been, and yet likely to be such Movements and Changes as will rarely be parallel'd in future Ages. Never were there Men of more consummate Prudence, more elevated Vertue, or more rare Sufficiency to guide and manage them for the publick Good than the able Ministry; few Men have found the delicate Art of reconciling Business with their Diversions, and fewer that of uniting Policy to the State with the Interests of Religion; but where they do, there is no Praise or Recompence above their Merit and Pretensions; yet this is but the just Character of those excellent Men, who, as they were the principal Rampart of their Country's Honour and Security against all the Designs of the Faction, were as constantly the Object of their Fear and Malice; and as they were known to be Men of Principles conformable to those on which the Government is founded, it was impossible they shou'd ever undertake or transact any thing that was not for the publick Good and Interest of it. This is evident past dispute, from the Situation that Things were constantly in, in all the Instances of the Discharge of the Duties of their respective Trusts and Offices. The Finances manag'd with an Integrity and Frugality, which as they have but very rarely been known before, have not been reproach'd since with any Defect founded upon any thing but false and groundless Calumnies of the Enemy, which never were or can be prov'd; our Councils always secret, and manag'd with an admirable Sagacity and Prudence to the best Advantage of the State; our Commerce and foreign Trade as secure and extensive as cou'd be expected from the most consummate Prudence and Application in the Exigencies and Circumstances of a War with a potent Neighbour, more considerable by his Pyracies than his Fleets, who, as he had but little Share of it himself, was more at leisure to disturb and intercept ours; and if in this respect there were considerable Damages receiv'd by the Nation, they were more to be attributed to the necessity of the Times and Circumstances of the War, than the Fault of the wisest of Ministers; nor is it just or practicable with any but High Churchmen to reproach such as are in Station for not foreseeing and preventing Misfortunes, which it is absolutely impossible for human Wisdom either to foresee or prevent; such Accidents as these are rather the Calamities of Times than the Faults of Men: Private Persons, who are affected by them, may be allow'd to murmur and complain, but with reason the Publick cannot, when it is apparent, there has been nothing wanting on the Part of the Minister's Care and Application to have prevented them; no grumbling and complaining in our Streets, but from the seditious and mercenary Malice of Malecontents and the disaffected; no breaking of Regiments out of their turns, and leaving so many gallant Officers and Soldiers, who have so nobly hazarded their Lives in their Country's Service, without

r Arrears, which the Nation has long ago given to discharge,  
 erably to starve in every City and Corner of the Kingdom; the  
 blish'd Religion in perfect Safety and Tranquility under the Secu-  
 and Protection of the Laws. and undisturb'd but by such as  
 much Plenty and Indulgence make wanton and luxurious; who  
 content to enjoy and enrich themselves with the Profits and Re-  
 mes of the National Church, disturb the Peace and Tranquility of  
 Nation with Chimera's of imaginary Dangers from the Lord  
 ws who, and the Lord knows whence; the People cheerfully  
 ing their Taxes, how heavy and burdensome soever, because they  
 e sure they should be employ'd against a Power that threatned  
 Los of their ancient Liberties, in Chains of *French* Popery, Sla-  
 y, and Arbitrary Power, persuaded as they were of the Honesty,  
 lities and Integrity of a Ministry, honour'd at Home and reve-  
 d Abroad, the Hope of their own Nation, the Support and  
 fidence of their high Confederates, and Terror of their Enemies;  
 Notion of many Millions destin'd to the honest Services of the  
 ion, but hoarded up for a certain Occasion of paying Foreigners  
 o shall invade us, or corrupting such Villains as are to be corrup-  
 into the Interests of an abjur'd Pretender: Peace and Plenty in  
 Cities; no Fears, no Alarms, no Distrusts or Jealousies in our  
 ies, of forsaking or betraying them to the common Enemy; and  
 ce only trembling at the immoveable Firmness and incorrupti-  
 Honesty of the Men. In this happy Scituation of Affairs at home,  
 mented with a Train of surprizing Successes, next to miraculous,  
 er the Conduct of our renowned General and Troops abroad,  
 Nation continu'd for eight Years; and I wish I could say for the  
 our of her Majesty, the Good and Interest of her Kingdoms, and  
 Happiness of all *Europe*, it had still continued in the same fortu-  
 Hands and Administration; but every thing in this World is  
 e and subject to change; yet that Eternal Providence, which has  
 erto been ever visibly watchful for the Good of these happy Na-  
 as, is not asleep, though angry: We hope we have not forfeited,  
 gh our Sins may for a while have suspended the Effects of it;  
 we doubt not but there is a Vengeance in store, that we shall  
 long see severely executed upon all the faithless and perfidious  
 rayers of their Country's Honour, Religion and Liberties.  
 But the evil Genius of *England* has at length prevail'd; the Spirit  
 Faction at present rides triumphant, and the ablest, wisest, and  
 estest Set of Ministers and Commanders the Nation ever had, have  
 n disgrac'd, insulted, dismiss'd, to make room for Men as it  
 re of another World; of new Opinions, new Principles, new  
 trines, and new Maxims of Policy. Mens Principles, as has  
 n already hinted, as they are always the Origin of their Actions,  
 re they the most certain Indications of their Intentions and De-  
 es; and if it shall appear that these Gentlemen, now in the ma-  
 nement of Affairs, are the avow'd Professors and Supporters of  
 se Doctrines and Opinions, I have prov'd not only to be inconsi-  
 t with, but destructive of the very Nature and original Consti-  
 on of our Government; nay, even impossible, that they ever  
 should

should have been in those Stations, if they had not publicly espoused  
 and made Profession of them, I think it will not be difficult to make  
 it appear that they can have only one View, that of introducing  
 new One in the establishment of the Pretender; and that it naturally  
 and consequentially follows, that they are the principal Fountain and  
 Authors of all the Disorders, Confusion and Dishonour that have  
 long turmoil'd and afflicted these Nations, and put an End to the  
 glorious Progress of the Confederacy, against a tyrannical Power  
 that is the profess'd Enemy to all the Interests in Europe but their  
 own, in order to that sole End. It will for this purpose be only ne-  
 cessary to place in a fair Light before my honest Countrymen, the  
 present different and disastrous state of Affairs, and compare it with  
 the happy Posture and Condition they were in under the excellent  
 Administration of the late able and faithful Ministry; and leave them  
 to judge which of the two were most likely to provide for the com-  
 mon Good, in the Peace, the Security, the Commerce, the Liber-  
 ties and establish'd Religion of the Nation; they whose Principles are  
 agreeable and consonant to the Nature and Constitution of our an-  
 cient Government, founded upon Consent, Prerogative and Liberty  
 or they whose Principles and Opinions are diametrically opposite to  
 and destructive of it, as tending solely to the Establishment of an  
 absolute arbitrary Power and slavish Obedience, which can never be  
 establish'd, but upon the certain Ruin of them all. But before I enter  
 into the Particulars of this Disquisition, I think it necessary to ob-  
 viate the clamour of a Question, which the wise Ones of the Faction  
 from the beginning laid a mighty Stress upon, in relation to the  
 Change of the Ministry: What, say they, shall every private Man  
 at his Liberty to change his Servants when and as often as he please,  
 and shall not the Queen have the same Liberty and Power over  
 Hers? I know no Man in his Senses (and when I say that, I expect  
 to be believ'd that I do not in any manner mean those of High-Church  
 who disputes, or in the least questions that Power in her Majesty  
 but I must take leave freely to tell those empty Pretenders to Reason  
 and Politicks, that their Parallel bears no manner of proportion to  
 any Instance between the Power of the Prince and a private Gentle-  
 man, or between the Nature and Character of their respective Ser-  
 vants. There is no doubt to be made, but that every private Person  
 may discharge and change the Servants he hires for his Wages, if  
 they do not to his Satisfaction perform the Duties of the Service  
 which he entertains them; and if they cheat or defraud him, may  
 punish him by the Law into the Bargain; but I must inform them  
 besides, that in our happy Country, no Master is permitted to treat  
 his Servant like a Slave, or use him with Violence and Outrage,  
 if he does his Duty; for in that Case, so well have our honest An-  
 cestors provided for the liberty of every Individual, that the Servant  
 has his Action at Law against the Master; and upon full proof and  
 evidence of the Fact, shall recover Damages in reparation of the  
 Violence or Injury may have been done him; nor is a Servant so  
 in any manner accountable to the Laws or any body else for the  
 prices, the Follies, the Madnasses or the Injuries, which the Master



who hires him may do, or be guilty of, either to his own Family or any other of his Neighbours, because he cannot reasonably be supposed to be his Adviser and Counsellor in such Cases, and therefore stands equally exempt from the Guilt and Punishment; but as the Facts are solely his Master's, so are the Consequences for any breach of the Peace that attend it, and in Law affect him alone.

In like manner the Prince may, without all question, change his Ministers, when and as often as he pleases, and may remove and disgrace them if they are found perfidious and treacherous in the Execution of the Trusts with which he may have honour'd them; and though he may thus remove or disgrace them by the Loss of his Favour and Employments, yet he cannot, Heaven be prais'd, by Virtue of any legal Prerogative of his own, punish the meanest of them, otherwise than by a formal Process at Law: Nor are Ministers of State, in any manner, under the same Circumstance with ordinary Servants; it must be consider'd that they are, for the most part of the first Rank for Birth and Quality, and always of suppos'd Merit; and that there are inherent to them, as such, certain Marks and Distinctions of Graces, Privileges and Immunities inseparable from their Character, the principal of which is, at the Foundation of all the rest, that they are free; which the other are so far from being whilst they continue Servants, that they cannot properly be said to be Members of the Common-wealth; for Servile and Free at the same time, are Light and Darkness at the same time; which I think is not admitted in any School but that of High-Church, where Non-sense and Absurdities are sovereignly indulg'd and cultivated. When Ministers of State have faithfully discharg'd all the Duties of their Trust, they are reasonably suppos'd to expect that good Usage from the Prince's Equity and Justice, that the others are intitl'd to from their Masters by the Laws; but there is a further more remarkable, and much more essential Difference between them, which is this; a private Servant is no more than the Servant of one Master, unless by his Contract he submits himself to the Will and Domination of more; but Ministers of State, though they are eligible with us at the Choice and Pleasure of the Prince, and in that Respect may be properly enough said to be his Servants, yet in another of more importance, they are more properly to be esteem'd the Servants of the Common-wealth; nor are they oblig'd to cultivate the Interests of that Prince as a Master, when it appears that he makes it distinct and separate from that of his People; but they are eternally oblig'd to study and promote the publick Good of the Nation, which can never be long, if at all ingrateful, whilst they continue in a faithful discharge of their Duty and Trust; though the Prince may and too often is. 'Tis true that they must come into the most eminent Stations solely by his Favour, because the Laws have intrusted him with the Dispositions of them, as believing that he will never employ any, but such as may be depended on for intending only the publick Good; but the Rewards and Recompences of their Service and Favours; their Pension and Salaries are from the publick Treasure, which is the People's, and of which the Prince is no more than the

Acono.

Aconomist and Dispenser, for the Exigencies and necessary Services of the State; and though he may deprive them of these Posts, and the Emoluments of them at his Pleasure, without giving his Reasons, yet he cannot in Equity do so, whilst they give him all the Proofs that can be desir'd of a faithful Discharge of that Trust in the Administration of the publick Affairs of the Nation; for if they fail in any eminent Degree in that, as the Crime is not so immediately against the Prince as the Common-wealth, they are answerable with their Heads to the latter; and therefore the Prince, who out of Caprice or Pique shall remove from the management of Affairs such as have the Merit, the Fidelity and other Qualities necessary for the Execution of them, and do constantly and sedulously apply them to that one honest End, is not only conscious, but guilty of all the publick Calamities and Disorders which may be the Consequences of such Removals, but runs too visibly to his own Destruction, in the loss of the Hearts and Affections of his People, which are both the Glory and best Security of a King of *England*; otherwise the Honour and Profits of Places of Trust would be too insecure and precarious to be worth any great Man's coveting, who is able to make a noble Figure in the World upon the Fund of his own Fortune, whilst they are suppos'd to be subject to the Caprices of the Prince, or the artful study'd Designs of every Sycophant flattering Slave, who may have the Address to impose upon his Weakness and Credulity to their Disadvantage. As the Merit of publick Ministers arises more in proportion to the Degree and Measure of the Good they procure to the Nation, which seldom or very rarely fails in acknowledgment, than their particular Service to the Prince, who may happen to be Violent, Unjust, Capricious or Wicked; so are the Rewards of their Toils and Labours justly due to their Quality, their Fidelity and other Capacities, more lasting and secure on their Parts, than on his; for though we have had but too melancholy an Instance lately before us, how far a dangerous Corruption may be introduc'd into a Majority of Representatives, yet 'tis next to impossible, that the whole Body or Generality of a Nation should be so far blinded to their own Interests and Preservation, as to be wanting in a just Regard to the Vertue and Merit of such great Men as serve them with the utmost Fidelity, Application and Integrity without Reproach; for as in every well regulated Government, and especially one of the Situation of *Great-Britain*, the Honour, the Interest and general Happiness consist principally in the Glory and Reputation of their Arms, and the Extent and Security of their Commerce, I challenge any High Church Man to produce an Instance in our own or foreign History, of any who have ever contributed so much to the Augmentation of the one, or Security of the other, as the late noble and faithful Minister and renown'd General have done for ours.

I have already insisted upon some of the poor and unfair Artifices have been made use of, to lay them under the Disgrace they are at present, by the Address of the Faction; they are equally known and despis'd by all the sober, thinking, honest Part of the Nation; nor shall I insist on them further, or but briefly and occasionally, as the

necessity of my Design may require; and shall proceed now to consider and examine the gross Consequences that result necessarily from their Demission, and the Exaltation of their Successors; and how much they have affected both our selves and our Confederates, in the tender and delicate Points of Honour and Interest; my Design, the main, being to prove that as it is the Business and Intention of the Faction to bring in their beloved Pretender from the very Nature and Necessity of their Principles, 'tis of the same Necessity their Interest to preserve the Power of *France* from being ruin'd, to prevent that they know full well it is absolutely impossible for them ever to hope to effect it; for a Ministry founded upon Principles, opposite to the Fundamental Ones of any Government, can never long subsist (though never so much in the Grace and Indulgence of the Prince) but by Means of the same Nature and Combination of their principal Design; and theirs of overturning an established Government, being to the last Degree wicked and unwarrantable in the Foundation, will ever appear to be so in the Superstructure, though erected with the most refin'd Address that humane Wisdom, without Virtue, can be capable of; since the only Means that can be made use of to that Purpose, is a Fund of Money to corrupt the Slaves as are to be corrupted, and a foreign Power to abet and sustain them; the latter of which is Treason in the highest Degree, and the other the Perfection, if I may speak so, of Wickedness. Private Conspirators may flatter themselves with what pleasing Dreams they think fit, but it must be a Power more than Human, that can change an antient established Form of Government, without the universal Consent and Concurrence of the whole People; and as is a Truth has been ever prov'd and justify'd by the Event in those, who in all Ages have attempted the Subversion of the Fundamental Laws, Religion and Liberties of their Country; for tho' they may for a while, by Artifice, or usurp'd Power, or some strange Fatality, seem to be triumphant in the Successes of a fortunate Tyranny, yet have in the End sunk under the Weight and Enormity of an ill-concerted and immeasurable Ambition, and been overwhelm'd themselves in the Ruin their Treachery was preparing for others; and there is a certain Providence that eternally watches over the Destiny of Nations, which seldom fails to confound and infatuate the impudent Devices of faithless Traytors, who conspire their Ruin; and we should desire to be inform'd from any High-Churchman in the Kingdom, where we shall meet with an Instance to the contrary, from the beginning of the World to the Year 1710, where there have been any Sentiments of Vertue or Sense of Liberty in the People. The Question then only is, whether this be the Design of the Faction at present or no? And if it shall be made appear to be that on any, that it is impossible it should be any other, the Nation it is to be hop'd will consider, before 'tis too late, what Punishments are justly due, and ought to be inflict'd upon the Authors of so detestable a Treachery. I shall in order to this, but briefly recapitulate what I have before more largely discours'd on, that is, the standing Topicks which have been made use of to disgrace and remove



those noble Ministers and Commanders, who were the principal Obstacles to their Design, as Scandal, Detraction, Calumny, Falshood, ill-grounded Reproaches and malignant Investives, the never failing *corps de reserve* of Faction, in a brutal, impudent manner employ'd to asperse and defame the fair and noble Characters they could not destroy; by these means they endeavour'd to murder in the Dark what they wanted the Courage to attempt in the Face of the Sun; the Poisons of their Tongues and Pens were a sort of white Powder, which did their Business effectually without Noise; a working by the Sap in Politick Mischiefs to overturn the Out-works, when they had not Bravery enough to attack the Body of the Place. The sly and malicious Innuendoes of the Management of the Affairs of State at home and abroad, the Danger of the Church, Republican and Antimonarchical Principles, and especially those damnable Ones of *Forty One*, were the constant but poor Varnish of the Faction, with which they gilded the Poison of their Treachery, to make it go down the more easily with the simple and credulous, and are always made use of to prepare and make the necessary Dispositions for any treasonable Change and Alteration in a State; the general Corruption of Manners, private Interest, and the Prospect of Advantage, rendring People apt to receive their Impressions. But that which aggravates the Guilt is, when the Conspirators have the successful Wickedness to attempt, under the Appearance of his and the publick Good, to engage the Prince in the Design against his own Interest and Honour; for there are three things absolutely necessary to carry on a plausible Treason, that is, such a one as pretending the general Good, pointing only at the Establishment of the Traitors; those are the Countenance and Favour of the Prince, the Seduction of a considerable number of the People, and a formidable foreign Power to back and support them. In this it must be confess'd the Faction have shown a Master-piece of Address, and so far for our Sins succeeded to Admiration; the two former are to be preserv'd by the same means they were first drawn in, that is, by continual Cajolery and Detraction; the latter, which is ever sure to act more for his own Interest than theirs, cannot long be conserv'd otherwise than by complementing it with something that is ever to the Disadvantage, and for the most part terminates in the general Ruin and Slavery of the Country.

By what Artifices they have been able to impose on the good Sense and Judgment of the Queen, I don't pretend to inquire; but as it was absolutely necessary to the Faction, for the Security and Establishment of their ill-got Power, to have a Parliament as much as possible of their own Maxims and Principles, in this as in the other for the unhappiness of the Nation they too well succeeded to their wish; but this shall be left a wonder to all the thinking Part of Mankind, that in a Nation which has no mean Reputation for the plain and simple Genius and Honesty of their Ministers, for their distinguish'd Liberty, and for their good Sense, there should be found by any means whatsoever amongst them a great Majority

Majority of such as shou'd run into all the violent Measures of a Faction, which demonstratively tend to the Ruin and Subversion of it, if the sensible Part of the World were not enough convinc'd, that in all Nations there are great Numbers with whom the Considerations of private Interest and Ambition are of infinite more weight than Liberty, Honour, Religion, and the publick Good. Thus then for the great Glory of the Nation they were secur'd of a Majority of the late House of Commons, readybooted and spur'd against Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power; but there happens luckily to be a certain restive and untractable Spirit in another Part of the Legislature, which they call a House of Lords, in which there are two or three awkward rugged Vertues of the antient Growth of the Country, which tho' but an out of fashion antiquated sort of Trumpery, yet our foolish Ancestors were very fond of, which some Men have been pleas'd to nickname old *English* Honour, Honour and Love of their Country, and who can never prevail'd upon to truckle, or fawn, or flatter, or fall in with the upstart Measures and Maxims of modern Policy. What then is to be done in that case, for their laudable Project wou'd but be without them? Why the Remedy was ready and at Hand; the *Whig* of the Faction being an extraordinary well accomplish'd *Whig*, was ever fertile of Expedients; it was but over-ballooning them, for Vertue must sink under Numbers, by the corruption of the North *British*, and a Creation of a new Set of Occasional Lords of our own, and  *presto* the Work is done. In respect to the former, it is something surprizing, that in a wise and valiant Nation, jealous to Extravagance of their Liberties, there shou'd be found amongst those of the first Rank and Quality of antient Good and Distinction, who ought to be the Examples of Honour and Grandeur of Spirit to their Countrymen, such who can so easily forget the Merit and Glory of their generous Ancestors, as to sacrifice both theirs and their own Stock of Honour to the dishonourable and precarious Considerations of private Interest. As to our own upstart Peers of a Night, the Lords of the Occasion, I have only to remind them, that there was a time in this Nation, but it was a long while ago, when Dignities and Honours and Nobility, as Marks of high Distinction, were the glorious Rewards of Vertue and Courage alone, and confer'd only on such as most bravely harden'd and expos'd their Lives and Fortunes for the Defence of their Country's Honour and Liberties; and he who led the others in the pursuit of Glory, was esteem'd the most honourable; on such, as by their many faithful eminent Services to the Commonwealth, might otherways deserve them; but it is reserv'd to compleat the Infamy of our unhappy Age, to confer those precious Marks of Honour and Nobility on Men, who can prevail with themselves to contribute to its Ruin, by basely betraying it into the hands the Faction is preparing for it; this is not to become honourable, but to purchase Titles at the Expence of Honour. What can our Country expect of great, or generous, or noble from those Streams, whose Fountain is thus polluted from whence they flow?

If of either Sort there are any amongst them, who notwithstanding their Beginnings and Engagements to those who made them, shall act upon Principles of true Honour and Interest of their respective Countries, they are out of the reach of this Reflection; it concerns them not; but if they don't, and only serve the Interests of their Faction, let each Man take his share of the Infamy, and intail it on his Family as it is heartily intended. The time may possibly come, and we hope too is not far off, when it may be enquir'd, whether this Advice of the Counsellor does not tend directly to stretch what they call the Prerogative of the Prince into to what we call Arbitrary Power: I have been told, that in the Memory of our Fathers it has been thought so; for tho' our Kings are said to be the Fountain of Honour, 'tis to be understood, when they act solely upon the Principles of it, and even then they are rather consider'd as the Dispensers than the Proprietors of it; and every vertuous, valiant Man, who nobly serves his Country, has a Claim to it from both as the Reward of his Service; nor ought it ever to be bestow'd, but when the eminent Merit of the Subject or Dignity of the Nation require it. No body, I believe, questions but that the Prince may confer Titles of Honour when he pleases; and we have heard of a merry one who made his Horse a Senator; but it is to be understood that he shall always have more regard to Vertue and Merit than Caprice; for as Honours are or ought to be solely the Rewards of the former when eminently exerted for the Service of the Nation, the Prince, who confers them on such as have neither, only to gratify a worthless, and perhaps a false and traiterous Sycophant or Favourite only to gain a certain Point, makes a large Step towards betraying both his own Character and Interest; he may indeed make Creatures, but he will make no noble Men; and so I leave our right noble Lords of the thrice illustrious Order of the Mushroom to make what Reflections they shall think fit.

Let us then proceed to examine, whether all the Steps of the Partition, from the beginning of this disastrous Change, have not tended directly to cultivate the Amity of *France*, and prevent the Rise of a Power from whence alone they cou'd reasonably expect the Establishment of their own, as the only human Means to introduce their Pretender. This cannot more evidently be made appear, than by reflecting upon the miserable low Condition *France* was reduced to, by the rugged inflexible Vertue of the late Ministry and good Fortune of our renown'd General at the time of the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg*. It was then high time indeed for our High Church Projectors to look about them, and prevent the Depression of their dear Friend and Ally, by obstructing with all their Address and Politicks the conclusion of such a Peace as wou'd at once infallibly blasted all their Hopes and Designs at home. We are yet to learn, at least we were till lately, whether the first Overtures of this concerted Treason were made by the High Church Faction to *France*, or by *France* to them; but the Event has pretty clearly discovered since, that the honour of it is intirely our own; and what I am



ing to relate to confirm this, besides the present Evidence of the  
 ing, I can my self prove, if I were judicially call'd to it, by irre-  
 coachable Testimony. Amongst many Officers who were Prison-  
 ers in *Champaign* after the Battle of *Almanza*, there was a Gen-  
 eral, the Interest of whose Family oblig'd him with all Dili-  
 gence to return to *England*; he apply'd for a Pass-port, but the De-  
 nial he met with being such as were extreemly prejudicial to his Af-  
 fairs, he became very uneasy, and frequently complain'd of what  
 he thought ill Usage. He happen'd at this juncture to meet there  
 a Field Officer of the *Irish*, then in the Service of King *James*, who  
 was of his former acquaintance, who seeing him very melancholy,  
 took him the occasion: He very frankly told him his Case and Cir-  
 cumstances; to which the *Irish* Officer reply'd, My Friend, be not  
 in pain, or trouble your self about your hasty going for *England*, you  
 have not so much Business there as you imagine; we have many  
 more Friends there than you think of, and the King my Master has  
 obtain Advice from them, who are incessantly labouring his Esta-  
 blishment, that his Affairs there are in a very good Train; and that  
 before six Months pass away, there shall be a certain Doctor shall  
 preach such a Sermon, as will set all the People in the Nation toge-  
 ther by the Ears; of which the *French* King very well knows how  
 to make his Advantage. It was the Execution of this laudable De-  
 sign which was near, that gave Marshal *Villars* the Hardiness to de-  
 clare, before the opening of the ensuing Campaign, to the Officers  
 and Magistrates of *Dunkirk*, that they ought not longer to despair;  
 tho' they had hitherto been unsuccessful, yet that the Affairs of  
 the Master had chang'd their Face, and that there was such Designs  
 form'd, and near their Execution in *England*, as wou'd not only  
 surprize and astonish all the World, but soon put *France* in a Con-  
 dition to be no longer apprehensive of any thing from all the rest  
 of the most formidable Powers in *Europe* in Confederacy against  
 her; in which no honest Man questions, but that amongst other  
 things was to be understood the execrable Design of assassinating  
 the pious and gracious Queen, a commendable and most Christian  
 attempt, equally agreeable to *French* Politicks and High-Church Di-  
 vinity! Whether then it took its Birth at *St. Germain's*, or was born  
 there and sent thither to be nurs'd, imports not much; the fatal Con-  
 sequences being equally pernicious to us, from whence soever it drew  
 its Original. But to return to *Gertruydenberg*.

The insupportable Trifling and Prevarications of the *French* Mini-  
 sters, supported by their Intelligence from hence, were no longer to  
 be born with, and our noble General put an End to their impudent  
 Treachery, by the Edge of a Sword he never drew but to conquer,  
 in a glorious Campaign, as much to his own Honour and that of the  
 whole Confederacy, as to the terror and enfeebling the *French*, and  
 the fortification of the Faction. It is very well worth remarking, that  
 the consequence of these new Successes, that Monarch, ever insolent  
 in Prosperity, was reduc'd to so low and despicable a Condition of  
 Fortune, as humbly to beg a Peace at the Hands of a conquering Con-  
 federacy he had been accustomed to bully and insult when he was

superiour; he was then beaten by our victorious General and Troops into the humble Stile of a Suppliant: The honest Man was all of a sudden touch'd in Conscience, and grown at length weary of the Effusion of Christian Blood, just when he had but little more left to shed, after having sacrificed that of so many Millions of his wretched Subjects and others, to the Devils of Pride and Ambition, in the long Plague of an impious and tyrannical Reign. But now all of a sudden, in the name of High Church! the strain is alter'd, the immortal Man has by a Miracle recover'd his broken Forces, and his insolent Propositions of t'other day, I mean, the Preliminaries of the present infamous Peace, he assumes again the Tone of the Master, who has a Right and Power to command; yet our noble General the Campaign following, continu'd taking his strongest Proportions, and beating his *Gascon* Troops wherever they had the Impudence to stand a Beating. This in the Opinion of most Men in the Senses was no very rational way of bettering his Condition, or recovering of his broken Spirits and Forces; from whence then all of a sudden this unaccountable Fit of Bullying again in such a Situation? Not from any new Vigour or Courage in his inteebled and dispirited Troops; for we know very well, that in the last Campaign our renowned General made, he was not able for want of Money to recruit them; not from the Will and Affections of his Subjects, for we know as well that they detest and curse the merciless Author of all the Miseries of Oppression they groan and languish under; nor from any new Reinforcements of Auxiliaries, or Augmentation of his exhausted Treasure, for a Tyrant is naturally detested and despised by all just, great and powerful Princes his Neighbours, and fear'd by the lesser. Nothing of all this, yet this Mystery of Iniquity is easily unfolded; his good and dear, Protestant they call themselves Friends in *England* were equally the Foundation of his Hopes and Arrogance; the fatal Divisions which his High-Church Faction of his own Principles and Maxims of Policy, and very near resemblance and propinquity of Religion, had unhappily fomented amongst them had given him something more than Hopes, even positive assurances of separating so considerable a Branch of the Confederacy as ours and the Dissolution of the rest.

Whether the Letter that goes under the Name of Monsieur *Proterum*, on the occasion of a Conference with the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Gertruydenberg*, or that suppos'd to be found after the taking of *Doway*, be genuine Pieces or no, imports not much to the Question in hand; but the former has given so particular an account of the Expectations of the *French* from our fatal Divisions in *England* and the latter so exact a plan and detail of the Means which the Faction were to make use of to exasperate and foment them, in order to their one grand Design of introducing and settling their beloved Pretender on the Throne, that they may really be suppos'd to have been of the Privy Council which drew the first lines of the Design especially happening so long before the Execution; and if we refuse them the Honour of veritable Predictions, the Authors cannot without Injustice be deny'd that of an exquisite Knowledge of the secret Intrigue

trigues and Affairs of that Myſtery; as alſo of an admirable Penetration and Judgment to foreſee all the Particulars of ſo damnable a contrivance ſo long before, and which the Event has verified in every Article ſince; nor do I think that there can be any more certain or infallible Inſtance of the Truth and Genuineness of any Piece of this kind, than the Correſpondence of the matter of Fact that follows, call it what you pleaſe, Prediction or Foreſight. I am not ſo fond of Tranſcribing; but there is ſomething in the Letter of the former ſo very a *propos* to confirm what I have advanced in relation to the Deſigns of our *French* Enemies abroad, and our factious ones at home, that I ſhall do my ſelf the Honour, and the Publick the Service to tranſcribe the greateſt part of it in his own Words from the Original of ſo extraordinary a Perſon, who had the Honour to be entrusted with ſuch a Share in the management of that famous Negotiation. As it evidently appears through the whole courſe of it, that the principal Deſign of the *French* Miniſters was by finding out daily new Delays to ſpin out the time, which at that Juncture they judg'd advantageous to their Maſter's Interests, according to the conſtant Maxim of their famous *Richelieu*, *Chi guadagna tempo, guadagna mollo*; he told them that it was very ſurprizing, and out of the Rules of all Policy, for their Maſter to reſuſe to conclude a Peace when he was no longer in a Condition to maintain the War: he urg'd the low Condition of *France*, the Union of the Allies, the Fidelity of *England* and the reſt of the Confederates, to carry it further on with Vigour; The Genius of our Miniſtry at that time, and the Temper of the Parliament of *England*, irreconcilable Enemy to the Power and Interest of *France*, as ſo many unanſwerable Reaſons as might oblige them to haſten the concluſion of the Peace; and further urg'd, that notwithstanding the removal of the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Queen had publickly declar'd and promis'd ſhe would make no further Alteration in the Miniſtry.

To all which they answer'd, That if all he had ſaid were true, the Meaſures that *France* was taking would ſeem very unaccountable, but that they could not believe him ſo ignorant of what was doing in *England*, as not to think that *France* had good reaſon to change her Meaſure, and expect a Peace upon far better Terms than cou'd be hop'd for, or ever thought of laſt Year; and that they did not doubt but that he wou'd be of the ſame Opinion when he ſaw the *Engliſh* General diſgrac'd, or ſo mortified, that he could no longer ſerve; the Miniſtry diſcarded, and the Parliament diſſolv'd. As they observ'd that he was very much ſtartl'd at theſe Notions, and entertain'd them with utter Impoſſibilities, they told him in ſhort, that theſe Meaſures were already concerted betwixt *France* and her Friends in *England*; and as he was ſtill more ſurpriz'd, and beg'd a further Explanation, they with the uſual Freedom and Confidence they had always treated him, further told him, that it was true indeed Queen *Anne* had declar'd ſhe wou'd make no further Change in her Miniſtry; ſhe was ſenſible how acceptable her preſent Miniſters were to all her People, but bid him obſerve the Artifice of her new Advifers; this Declaration of hers was confin'd to Miniſtry, and therefore the Letter



of her Promise was not broke, if she did not turn out any of her Cabinet Council, or that properly might be call'd a Minister of State: There was a Latitude left to remove all the chief Officers that do not come strictly under that denomination, which would soon be done, by picking out of the Offices of the chief Consequence, all that are known to be in the true Interest of their Country, and to be the best Friends and most faithful to the chief Ministers, without any regard to their having well or ill serv'd; and when these are all remov'd, and others of a quite different Interest and Principles, put in their room, in whom the Ministers cannot at all confide, the Ministers may if they please still continue in their Posts, Queen Anne has not promis'd to turn them out.

They desired him further to observe, that there was no Engagement not to dissolve the Parliament, which was now labour'd Night and Day, and very great Hopes given of being accomplish'd, or at least no Instances should be able to obtain a Declaration to the contrary: And if the States General, foreseeing of what fatal consequence a Dissolution of the Parliament must be to the whole Alliance, should represent their Apprehensions upon this Head, though in a most submissive Manner, they will be told they meddle with Things they have nothing to do with; and there are those who have now Access to Queen Anne, who will satisfy her 'tis a Treatment she ought to resent.

Upon this Foot they press'd it very home to him, that whether the Parliament be dissolv'd or not, the King of France must find his Account in it either way: If it be dissolv'd, he will immediately have the Satisfaction to see all those great Men oblig'd to quit their Employments, who have been the chief Instruments of reducing his Power; and if they will quit, who can help it? There is no breach of Promise in that Case neither: He knows very well that those who must succeed them gave all the Obstructions they possibly cou'd to the publick Affairs through the whole Course of King William's Reign; that they were against entering into this War; that they were ready to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou for King of Spain; and have in no Instance of their Lives given him Reason to think they repent of their good Wishes to him.

If this Parliament be dissolv'd, it must be with a Prospect of having a new Parliament of quite another Complexion; and what can France wish for more? And for this the People of England are prepar'd by Dr. Sacheverell; and here they could not forbear expressing their Satisfaction at the general Infatuation of the common People, that so inconsiderable a Man cou'd do their Cause so much Service; and that a Criminal, convicted of the highest Crimes and Misdemeanors, shou'd be suffer'd in a Country that pretends any Government, to ride in Triumph through the Kingdom, to draw in the deluded People to consent to their own Destruction.

But then admitting that the Eyes of the People should be open'd before a new Election, and that a Parliament should be chosen contrary to their Expectations, the French Ministers were far from thinking that France would not have been a sufficient Gainer by the Dissolution of the Parliament; for the common Method of summon-

g and choosing a Parliament, and their necessary Rules and Forms upon their first Meeting before they can come to do any Business, will take up so much time, that they did not at all question but the publick Credit would have suffer'd so much before the Sense of a Parliament could be known, that the Mischiefs to *England* would be irreparable.

The very thought of destroying the publick Credit so transported them, that they enter'd immediately upon the Advantages that *France* must surely reap, even though the Parliament should not at least be dissolv'd, and so did but slightly mention the Hopes they had of the great Confusion that must necessarily attend a new Election, when the People are so heated, and the opposite Parties so fir'd and enrag'd one against another. But here they had their Fears, and were apprehensive that the Hereditary Right being so publicly avow'd and little discourag'd, some of their well meaning Friends might depart too soon, before the principal Actors in *England* had brought matters to bear, or the King of *France* was in a Condition to back the Pretender with a sufficient Force to assert his Hereditary Right.

But what they chiefly insisted upon, and the greatest Satisfaction, was the Scheme that was laid for destroying the publick Credit of *England*; which would make it utterly impossible for the Allies to carry on the War any longer. They boasted of certain Assurances that were given to *France*, either to dissolve the Parliament, or order it so that all People should expect a Dissolution, which they flatter themselves will have the same effect. The very Report they are confident well manag'd, and improv'd by their Friends to the best Advantage, will so far affect the publick Credit, that they expect every day to hear that the Stocks and Funds are very considerably fall'n, and that Bank Stock will soon be above twenty *per Cent.* worse than at the beginning of the Year, which may probably end in a Run upon the Bank, but will certainly oblige the Bank to make such Provisions against all Events, that they will be no longer able to supply the Necessities of the Government; and if the faithful Endeavours of their Friends do not fail, they are not without Hopes to see the Army before the End of this Campaign want their Subsistence.

They instanc'd in a great many more Particulars, and from the whole concluded, that if Marshal *Villars* could spin out the Campaign without hazarding a Battle, and oblige the Allies to spend this Summer in three or four Sieges, the Advantages that *France* would reap from the Measures concerted in *England*, would overballance the Loss of three or four of their most considerable Towns.

They fell after this into the Cant of their Clergy, that God who disposes the Hearts of Kings, is doubtless preparing some secret Remedies, or some unforeseen Events, and that by dividing the Nations who will have War, he will declare for their Master's Arms, and the just Cause he defends.

By all therefore, Sir, that I can gather from their Discourse, the *French* Ministers seem to have new Instructions, and will talk to you quite another Language; that *France* is not reduc'd so low, as to declare what Security his most Christian Majesty will give for the Evacuation

Evacuation of *Spain* and the *Spanish Indies*, before they had heard the utmost Demand of the Allies.

There dropt another thing from them, that still more surpris'd me, that there wou'd come Instructions from *England* to their Plenipotentiaries, to make use of any Expedient rather than suffer the *French* Ministers to leave *Gertruydenberg*; and depending upon this they will tell you, that if the Allies desire they should go home without entering upon any further Negotiations, they were ready to be gone, as soon as a Day should be precrib'd them.

In the mean while they are drawing up a *Manifesto*, wherein they will lay the whole Blame of breaking the Peace upon the *English* Plenipotentiaries, and the Deputies of the States; and they talk with confidence, that their Friends in *England* are ready to back and support all that they shall think fit to publish; and to persuade the People rather to believe what *France* shall say, than depend upon the Honour, Integrity and great Abilities of their own Ministers.

I have now, Sir, very fully explain'd to you the chief Dependence of *France* at this critical Juncture, and must submit it to your Discretion, to make the best use you can of it for the Good of your own Country, without exposing the Author of your Intelligence to the Resentments of the *French* Ministers, which you know will render me for ever incapable of doing the like Service for the future.

I shall not pretend to give my Advice: The States General are a wise People, and very watchful of their Interest; but if they shall see the Expectations of *France* answer'd in most Particulars, and those Measures taken in *England* upon which *France* builds all her Hopes, who can wonder if the States General should think it high time to look after themselves.

But surely *France* must be mistaken; there cannot be a Set of Men in *England*, who if they had the Power, wou'd run the Risk of sacrificing their Country to their own Ambition; the People of *England* are in daily expectation by a safe and honourable Peace to reap the Fruits of so much Blood spilt, and the many Millions that have been expended; and if they shall see all at once their best Allies ill treated and disgusted, the Parliament dissolv'd, a happy and successful Ministry disgrac'd, to make room for what no body is yet willing to name, the publick Credit from a most flourishing Condition reduc'd to the lowest ebb, the Properties of many thousand Persons concern'd in the publick Funds, who have ventur'd their All for the Support of the Government, abated at least one fifth part of their present Value; the moral Certainty of an advantageous, lasting and honourable Peace quite vanish'd, and the Nation labouring under the Burthen of a War, which they are no longer able to support; the Spirit of the *English* Nation will awake, and pursue with Vengeance the Authors of such desperate and destructive Councils.

I have been the more willing to revive this excellent Piece, and communicate it again to the Publick, because such single Sheets of what Worth and Importance soever are apt to be lost or forgotten, both to do Justice to the Merit of the judicious Author, and because



the undeniable Evidence it gives to the Truth I have advanced;  
 and of which it so much concerns every honest *English* Man to be  
 perfectly inform'd, that his Eyes may be unseal'd to discover the  
 Arts of the Faction, who under the Cover and Appearance of  
 the publick Good, labour hard to destroy it, solely for the advantage  
 of their private Interest and Ambition; and as it demonstrates with  
 Certainty past contradiction the Scheme of the Designs both of  
 them and the *French* to bring in the Pretender. The other Piece,  
 mean the *Dowry* Letter, as particularly and evidently discovers the  
 means that had been concerted between them to accomplish it. The  
 Author to his Friend in *England* recommends above all things, first to  
 perse and blacken the Memory of King *William* as the sole Author  
 of all their Misfortunes; that nothing but his Ambition and the  
 desire of a Crown induc'd him to invade *England*; that Religion  
 and Liberty were only false Pretexts to cover his ambitious De-  
 signs; that the only thing he had in view was to augment the Pow-  
 er of the *Dutch* our mortal Enemies, and to raise them on the Ru-  
 ins of our Country; to dress the Revolution it self in the most  
 frightful and infamous Colours of Sedition and Rebellion, to ren-  
 der it odious to the People; to represent all those who were instru-  
 mental in it, especially the great Men and the Ministers, as Repub-  
 licans, Enemies to regal Authority and Monarchy, Traitors to their  
 Country, and Men of no Religion, who only profess to be of the  
 Church of *England* for the sake of their Interest, but are secretly  
 conspiring her Ruin; to endeavour by all means to separate the  
 Nonconformists from the Interests of the Low-Churchmen, because  
 these latter have procur'd them a Toleration, and endeavour to  
 annul and weaken those Laws which still restrain the Sectaries, the  
 former maintain and support the Low-Church by way of requital;  
 and as one cannot make them People too odious whom we resolve  
 to destroy, to draw the Dissenters in such Colours as are most like-  
 ly to produce that Effect; and in this you will find the Clergy natu-  
 rally dispos'd to second you; to represent them as furious Schisma-  
 ticks who have rent the Bowels of the Church, as senseless and ri-  
 diculous Fanaticks, who persist in their Error out of meer obstinacy,  
 that it is nothing but worldly Interest and unsupportable Presump-  
 tion that keeps them from conforming to the Church; that they are  
 far from being satisfy'd with the Advantages they enjoy, that they  
 aspire to greater and to be Masters of all; that they do not content  
 themselves to plot against the Church and contrive her Ruin, but  
 their Design is also laid against the Monarchy to which they have  
 always been Enemies; and that they wait only for a favourable Op-  
 portunity to overturn the Government, and to set up a Reublick;  
 upon which Occasion it must never be forgotten what they did in  
 the Reign of King *Charles* the First, and as ready to act the same  
 Part again; and as their Power is founded upon the mischievous Act  
 of Toleration, to be sure to clog that with so many Restrictions and  
 Limitations as you may do with it what you please, to represent  
 it only as a Provisional Act, and not as a Fundamental Law of the  
 State; that it was in a manner extorted by the Confusion of the  
 Times,

Times, and the Necessity of Affairs; that it is rather positive than negative, that is, that it does not establish Nonconformity, but only exempts Dissenters from the Fines and Penalties the Laws had decreed against them; that it is merely an Act of Indulgence and Respite, which only suspends the Laws and stops the Course of them; that it relates only to Consciences that are truly tender and scrupulous, that is, such Persons who after having examin'd both Religions without Bigotry, Passion and Prejudice, are convinc'd that they cannot conform to the Church of *England* without wounding their Consciences, that is, without committing a mortal and unpardonable Crime. Now if once you can get the Act explain'd in this manner, you may quickly do with those People what you please; first you will bring them into an odious and ridiculous Contradiction, since they have hitherto always confess'd that the Church of *England* teaches all the Articles necessary to Salvation, and that they have nothing to object against her but some matters of Discipline, and some few Ceremonies of small Importance; but then they must be oblig'd to maintain, that she entertains Fundamental Errors and Doctrines which cannot be embrac'd without mortal Sin; so that they must either miserably contradict themselves or speak a new Language, nothing being so capable of rendring them more odious than such a Confession, if they dare be so bold as to make it, or more proper to hasten their Destruction, for no body will indure People who alledge that the Church of *England* maintains damnable Doctrines.

By this means you will become Judges of the Consciences of Dissenters; you will then have a Power to determine whether those who claim the Protection of that Act have the Qualities it requires; for when a Law grants a Favour to certain Persons on Condition that they be so and so qualify'd, 'tis certain this Favour is not confer'd on every one that claims it; this is to be done judiciously by Magistrates appointed for the Execution of the Laws, and by this means you may exclude who you please, and at the same time make the Act of no effect; and if the secular Judges find any difficulty in it, you need only erect an Ecclesiastical Tribunal, which by obliging People to give the Reasons of their Scruples, and by consequence of their Faith, will speedily see whether their Consciences are truly tender, and whether their Scruples be really and effectually such, as they cannot change their Opinion without incurring eternal Damnation: But above all Things, if you wou'd effectually destroy these Low-Churchmen, you must not fail to make use of one means which is worth all the rest, and that is, to bring the Clergy into your Interests, and get them intirely devoted to you; you are not ignorant what Power they have over the Minds of the People who are naturally superstitious, and you know as well as I that, the Gown excepted, the Clergy are altogether like other Men, nay it wou'd seem that they are more addicted to Revenge, Ambition and Avarice than Laymen. You know, Sir, it was they who by their pretended Maxims of Non-resistance and absolute Submission, and by their fair Protections of Loyalty and inviolable

tions, threw the late King *James* into a fatal and pernicious  
 security; as long as that Prince treated the Nonconformists accord-  
 ing to the Rigour of the Law, the Clergy heap'd their Eulogiums  
 and Blessings upon him, but as soon as he allow'd them to have their  
 meetings, and stop't the Course of the Penal Laws, and when he  
 allow'd two or three Persons might be admitted upon his Recommen-  
 dation into the Universities, the Clergy immediately, seiz'd with Fu-  
 ry cry'd that all was lost; then all their Maxims of Passive Obedi-  
 ence and absolute Submission to the Will of the Prince, which they  
 had so much preach'd up, vanish'd at once, and so animated the Peo-  
 ple, and possess'd them with such a Fury, that their lawful Prince  
 was all that was dear to him, not finding themselves safe in their  
 own Palace, nor among their own Domesticks, cou'd not think them-  
 selves secure by any other Methods than a shameful and precipitate  
 flight: You may judge by this, Sir, of the Power of your Ministers,  
 and of the Advantage we may make of that Order of Men, if  
 (willing to expiate the Crime they have committed) they de-  
 sire themselves boldly for us, and do as much in our Favour, as  
 they formerly did to destroy us; it will be so much the more easy  
 to gain them that they have been a long time sensible, that they  
 were only made Tools of at the Revolution, and no doubt most of  
 them have repented of the Steps they then took; in effect the Non-  
 conformists (whom they dread more than the Catholicks, and whom  
 the late King *James* design'd only for a time to exempt from the Se-  
 verities of the Law) have obtain'd an Act of Parliament which esta-  
 blishes their Sects for ever, and by Consequence sets them upon an  
 equal Foot with the Church of *England*; their Number is by this  
 means extraordinarily increas'd, and all their Preachers are more re-  
 gular in their Conversation than your Clergy; they easily impose  
 upon the People, and make Proselytes every Day; your Ministers  
 are not ignorant of this, but make bitter Complaints of it; you  
 must therefore keep up their Resentments, increase their Jealousies,  
 promise to restore them to their antient Lustre, and put them in a  
 condition to reduce their Enemies.

But in order to gain the Clergy compleatly, and bring them ab-  
 solutely into our Interests, you must give them good Assurances that  
 they shall be restor'd to all their former Prerogatives; they have a  
 long time groan'd under the Oppression of the secular Power, for  
 though they be allow'd to meet in Convocation, 'tis nothing but for  
 the sake of Form, for they will not allow them the Liberty they al-  
 ways had to adjourn themselves during their Session, nor to take  
 into Consideration the Relaxation of Discipline, and the erroneous O-  
 pinions taught every Day by Members of their own Body; the Bi-  
 shops have no Power over the Clergy of their Diocess, and how vi-  
 cious soever they be, they can neither punish nor deprive 'em, in or-  
 der to try them in their own Courts; and the Cause is at last brought  
 away of Appeal before the secular Tribunal, which for the most  
 part makes void what is done in the Ecclesiastical Courts; 'tis the  
 same as to Excommunications which the Clergy pronounce against  
 the Laity, they are always absolv'd by the secular Judges. But if  
 you



you think, Sir, there must be other Motives to bring them intirely to our Devotion, I will propose one which is worth all that can be thought of, and that is to put them in hopes of a Restitution of all the Church Lands which they wish for with all their Hearts, but have no Ground to look for it as long as things continue as they are. The late King *James* began this Affair, but in my Opinion he was ill advis'd ; he set about it too soon, and perhaps this contributed more than any thing else to his being abandon'd by the Nobility, who possess most of those Lands ; the time is not yet come, but they need not doubt it when our Prince comes to the Throne, and this is what ought to oblige the Clergy to hasten his Restoration by all possible Means. To this end, Sir, you and our other Friends ought to exhort them to preach and write continually in favour of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance ; were the People once well persuaded of this Principle and its Consequences, it would not be difficult to bring them to what you please ; in short, this Doctrine tends directly to the Restoration ; for if Kings hold of God alone, if they are not to give Account of their Conduct to any other, if the Right to the Crown be founded on Proximity of Blood, so as they succeed to Dominion, as Children do to their Father's Estates, and in the last Place Subjects are never to resist them on any pretence wharsoever, it clearly and unanswerably follows from thence that *James* the Third is the only Prince since the Death of the late King who can or ought succeed to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, and that all that has been done to the contrary, is absolutely Null and Void. This being once laid down, there's no Man so weak as not to see what he ought to think of the Revolution, which violated all the Maxims just now mention'd ; and by this we may judge by what Title and Authority Queen *Anne* does possess the Crown ; but we must not touch upon that String, till the Peoples Minds are better disposed for it ; that Subject is too nice, considering the present Posture of Affairs ; and we have nothing to do but to maintain boldly that the right of Queen *Anne* is the same with all other Kings, that it is hereditary and founded upon Blood ; for that Language, far from doing us hurt, will establish our Principle, fix it in the Minds of the People, and insensibly prepare the *English* to receive their Prince who is without Contradiction the nearest and true Heir, and who alone, since the Death of his Father, has a Right to claim the Crown by virtue of those Maxims. If you object that this is too gross to impose upon the Publick, since the Act of the Prince of *Orange* that regulates the Succession of the Crown is founded only upon the pretended Rights of the People, to whom it expressly alcribes a Power to choose for King who they please, and to despoil them of the Royalty when they think good, without the least regard to the Proximity of Blood or Birth ; you must allow me, Sir, to tell you at the same time, that you dont well know the Power that the Clergy have over the People, who never examine things, but are easily persuaded of what they please, and eagerly receive all that is told them with Authority and Confidence ; their Genius naturally leads them to that, and they imbrace every thing with Fury when their Passions are

by'd, and at the same time animated with Sentiments of Hatred, War, Interest and Revenge, there's no Contradiction then so palpable, nor Absurdity so gross which they don't receive with all their Hearts, and will maintain, at the Peril of a thousand Lives, if they do them.

After this you may judge what they are capable of doing, when they are possess'd with our Doctrine, they shall see a Prince, who alone has those Qualities which are own'd to be absolutely indispensable for lawfully possessing the Crown. You see, Sir, that according as you are able to persuade the People of the Truth of these Maxims, and prepare their Minds as I have mention'd, the Difficulty will be remov'd, and we shall gain as much Ground as the Dissenters and Low-Churchmen loose. As to the Objection of the Impracticableness of this Scheme, since our greatest Enemies are equally in Possession of the Ministry and Parliament, which are headed by able, cunning, vigilant and active Men, who profess a great Disinterestedness and, a particular Affection for the good of their Country, than which there is nothing more capable to win upon the Minds of Men, and to gain the People, I'll only answer and tell you in general, that you may underhand represent our Enemies to Queen Anne, in the most disadvantageous manner that can be, and that as Women are naturally more tender, and of a nicer Temper than Men, you may present the least Opposition they make to her as a want of Respect, Omission and Deference, and thus you may charge the whole Parliament with the disagreeable Steps that any particular Persons are guilty of; you may at the same time publish to the World, that they treat the Princess without any Respect, oppose her most reasonable Desires, and keep her in a sort of Slavery and Servitude.—— Since what concerns Religion is always the most tender and delicate Point, you must appear intirely devoted to the Protestant Succession; at the same time it may be privately insinuated that the King will turn Protestant, and if that be the only Obstacle in the Way, however zealous his Majesty is for the Catholick Religion, I make no doubt, but with the consent of his Holiness, he will outwardly, for a time, profess himself a Protestant; I say for a time, because I don't despair, that after Majesty has reign'd peaceably for some Years, he may have the opportunity to bring back the *English* to the bosom of the Church of *Rome*. You must not forget to maintain with our Friends, the Clergy, that the Church of *England* is in imminent Danger, and on the brink of Ruin, not only from the Nonconformists, but from the Low-Churchmen and Latitudinarians; you must add that the latter are the more dangerous, that being got into the Church, and professing a great Zeal for the Protestant Religion, they easily insinuate themselves, and have a great Influence among the common People; above all you must insist upon this, that the Low-Churchmen do all they can to keep the Clergy in Servitude, and to bring them lower than they are at present; it wou'd be proper also to insinuate that the House of *Hanover* being bred up in the Principles, very near those of the Presbyterians, or rather which at bottom are the same, they very probably make Alterations in the Church of *England*, either

ther by establishing Presbytery, or endeavouring a Comprehension which will be no less pernicious; you must not fail to improve this thought: In short, as it is lawful in so just a Cause to make use of all Advantages, it will be proper to insist upon the Danger of the Church from the Books of Controversy which the Nonconformists write against the Church of *England*; this must be represented as an unheard of piece of Insolence and Boldness, which is not only contrary to the Toleration wherein no such thing is specify'd, but directly tends to the Ruin of the Church, by perverting her Members, and filling her with Trouble and Confusion. You may also charge the whole Body of the Nonconformists and Latitudinarians with certain Pieces that some Atheists, Deists, and Socinians have publish'd in *England* since the Revolution; you must aggravate the Number of them, and declare boldly that unless the Authors and Favourers of those abominable Libels are destroy'd, nothing less is to be expected but the Judgments of God upon the whole Nation, and that the Church should be intirely ruin'd. These are the Methods, Sir, which we think will be most effectual to restore his Majesty of *Great-Britain*; for my own part, I look upon them as infallible, if they be made use of with the Direction and Prudence which are necessary upon all such Occasions; you must not discover your self too much at first, nor push on things with too much Ardour and Precipitation, but you may from time to time detach as from an Army hardy and bold Fellows to sound the Fords, to view the Enemy, and skirmish with them; such People as these being well sustain'd and supported in due time, do sometimes draw the Enemy into Defiles, from whence they cannot get without being beat — — —. When once you can possess the People with these Maxims, the Restoration of our Prince is not far off, for those Low-Churchmen are almost the only and chief Obstacle in our Way at present.

This is the Substance of the Advice of this Author in his own Words. Many other Particulars of lesser Importance I have purposely omitted to avoid being too tedious; nor has it been sown in a barren Soil, the venomous Weed has sprung up but too fast to pull out, and infect too great a part of the Nation; and I appeal to the Sense of every ingenuous and disinterested Reader, whether it has not been follow'd and cultivated by those of High-Church, he every where calls his Friends, with all the Malice that Hell, or Wit of Man abandon'd of all sense of Reason and Religion cou'd devise. I desire only every such Person to look back and reflect, whether our late glorious King *William*, during the whole Course of his Reign, and since his lamented Death, has not been revil'd, insulted, and reproach'd by them with an unexempl'd Baseness, that nothing can equal but their Ingratitude? Whether the Revolution, with the Principles upon which it is founded, have not been attended with the same Fate, and continually branded by them with the odious and infamous Characters of Sedition and Rebellion? Whether there have not been all the unfair and wicked Artifices imaginable employ'd to foment Jealousies and Divisions amongst us, and to separate the Dissenters from the Low-Churchmen, only to weaken, and thereby



ke them the more easy Prey to their mutual High-Church inve-  
 ate Enemies? Have they not and do not still all their Libels, Pam-  
 phlets and Pulpits ring with the most bitter Invectives and Re-  
 ches against both, in breach of all the Rules of Charity and  
 mon Humanity? Has not the Danger of the Church been bel-  
 y'd by them in all the Cities and Corners of the Kingdom, at  
 ime when she was never better secur'd and establish'd than un-  
 the late excellent Ministry and Protection of the Laws? Has  
 that absolute, arbitrary Power, the hereditary Right and unli-  
 ed Passive Obedience and Non-resistance been the eternal Sub-  
 of every corrupt Preacher and mercenary Scribler, which are  
 utterly incompatible with the Liberty of a free People, and the  
 ure of a limited Monarchy as ours? Have not the execrable Books  
*Atheists, Deists, Socinians*, solely of High-Church Birth and Ex-  
 tion, been father'd upon the Low-Churchmen and Dissenters  
 he equal Falsehood and Impudence? Has not the Illustrious House  
*Hanover* been infamously traduc'd as designing to establish Pres-  
 ery or Lutheranism upon the Ruins of the National Church? If  
 se things are so, if they are Truths of Evidence so palpable as  
 y be seen and felt, what room is there longer for any honest  
*Englishman* to doubt, but that there has long been a study'd and con-  
 sed Design, both of the *French* abroad and the Faction at home,  
 subject and betray our Country to Popery, Slavery, and arbi-  
 y Power, by the Establishment of their Idol of a Pretender?  
 s by these Steps and Degrees they have been able so far (by the  
 efts of a successful Wickedness to advance on their Journey to  
 ir Country's Ruin) as the Removal of an able and faithful Mini-  
 ; the Disgrace of our noble and fortunate General; the Dissol-  
 on of a Parliament, inviolably affectionate to the Honour and  
 ereests both of the State and Church, who were the Glory and  
 port of both; and in the Succession of another, scandalously just  
*France* and the Faction; and in every other Instance they are run-  
 g head-long to compleat their Wickedness in our Slavery, if the  
 nal Providence hitherto ever propitious to us, and our own Ver-  
 and Valour do not timely interpolate to stop their Carrier.  
 But if any of my honest Countrymen are not yet sufficiently con-  
 d'd of the certainty of the Design of the *French* and Faction  
 m the Means already us'd, and the Steps and Advances that have  
 n made by them at home, in order to that one principal End,  
 them but turn their Eyes upon the Affairs abroad, from the first  
 or of the Elevation of this Ministry to this Day, and consider  
 whether all the Turns they have given to them be not of the same  
 ce exactly with the rest; that is, if they do not see that they evi-  
 ntly tend to the Preservation of the *French* Power from Ruin,  
 the sole View of accomplishing the one grand End of introdu-  
 g the Pretender; then are we an insatuated People, and destin'd  
 Destruction, and for our blindness or our treachery deserve it too.  
 ave already in some measure touch'd upon their Situation, till  
 removal of our renown'd General, and proceed to consider their  
 lent Posture and Condition, and from thence deduce the Cog-  
 sequen-

sequences that have necessarily follow'd from the Change. I suppose it will easily be allow'd, the Liberties, Protestant Religion and Interest of all *Europe*, together with our own, absolutely depend upon the Union and good Agreement of the Protestant Princes and Powers that compose it, which are the *British*, the *Dutch*, the illustrious House of *Hanover*, the Family of *Hesse*, the Kings of *Prussia*, *Sweden* and *Denmark*, Duke of *Wirtembergh*, part of the *Swiss* and the *Grisons*; of which, without offence to the others, the *British* and *Dutch* are much the most formidable, and in all Manner most considerable, in respect of their Scituation, Riches, and the strength of their Forces both by Sea and Land: It is as evident that in the last Century but one, the Princes of the House of *Austria* had form'd and pursu'd the chimerical Project of an universal Monarchy; I call it Chimerical, because it is manifest from the Word of God, that there never shall be any such thing, because the Prophet *Daniel*, by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit, having mention'd only four, which he so particularly describes, sufficiently indicates that there never shall be another. In the last Age, the *French* who had rais'd their Empire upon the Ruin of the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding, conceiv'd the same ambitious Design; but which the Protestant Powers of *Europe*, as the Instruments of Providence defeated and render'd abortive both in the one and the other; yet how near to the end the *French* were with which they flatter themselves, will appear to every Man who is acquainted with the Scituation of the Affairs of *Christendom* in the Year 1672, which by the surprizing Valour and Conduct of the young Prince of *Orange* since our glorious King, the vigorous and generous Efforts of the *Dutch*, and the powerful Assistance of the Elector of *Brandenburg* (when they were in all appearance upon the very brink of the Ruin) were intirely baffl'd and defeated. I cannot here but take notice of two very remarkable Incidents which happen'd at the time: In a grand Council of War, which the *French* King held upon the Design of invading the United Provinces, most of the general Officers, either servilely to flatter the Ambition of their Prince, or upon a false Motive of Glory, or the Hopes of enriching themselves by the Plunder of those rich Provinces, gave their Opinion for the Invasion; but the Prince of *Conde*, the greatest Man, and greatest General of their Nation, gave his in the negative; and his Reasons were, that the *Dutch* consider'd in themselves were a rich and formidable People, that they were a very good Ally, and considering that they apply'd themselves wholly to the business of their Trade and Commerce, without troubling themselves or intermeddling with other Peoples Affairs, or disturbing their Neighbours; and that it was not the Interest of the other Protestant Powers, so neither was it their Inclinations to suffer them to be destroy'd, as very well knowing them by their Riches and maritime Strength, one of the chief Supporters of the Protestant Interest of *Europe*, and that therefore, it was his Opinion, that the Invasion of them, as it was attended with greater Difficulties than were generally foreseen, it would never be answer'd with the Success with which they flatter'd themselves.

yes; and if that should happen, it was worth considering whether an Attempt of so much Violence and Injustice without any provocation on their part, might not one Day exasperate a People to revenge and repay it with bloody Interest on their Nation: I leave it to the Judgment of every considering Reader, whether the Event has been more than sufficiently verified the good Sense and Prediction of that great and judicious Prince.

The other was this: King *Charles* the Second, who during the time of his Exile, at the Instigation of *Cromwel*, had been treated and banish'd out of *France* by *Mazarine*, after a Manner more befitting a Slave or a Vagabond, than one of the greatest Princes in *Christendom*, was honourably receiv'd and entertain'd publicly by the *Dutch*; but when by the Necessity of the Times he was forc'd to retire out of their Dominions, he was privately though nobly subverted by them at *Cologne*, till his Restoration, to which they not a little contributed; great and repeated Professions of Friendship on their part, mighty Acknowledgments of their Generosity and Assurances of suitable Returns on his; yet he had not been above five years upon the Throne, when forgetting the ill Usage and Insults of *France*, and the generous Treatment and Liberality of the *Dutch*, was prevail'd upon by the *Tory* Faction, to enter into an Alliance with *France*, the worst of his and Country's Enemies, for the Extirpation of his best and surest Friends the *Dutch*. War was proclaim'd, several Engagements happen'd at Sea, wherein 'tis well known the *French* seldom got any thing but Blows; and in the Year 1672, when the *French* invaded them with a formidable Army by Land, he sent a strong Squadron with Land Forces on Board to insult them at the same time by Sea; but by a wonderful Providence of God, (who has shown himself a Protector of such as are unjustly oppress'd) that Day that was appointed for the Landing of the *English* Forces, there was not only no Tide of Flood as usual upon the Coasts of *Holland*, to carry the Ships up to execute their unjust Design, but the Tide was observ'd twice that memorable Day to fall beneath the lowest water-mark, which retarded the Enemies Fleet, and gave time to the *Dutch* to oppose and prevent their Descent; nor has the good Providence been wanting since upon several other Occasions, by Effects something very like Miracles, to the Preservation of that great and powerful Republick: Next to this secret Protection from Heaven, they ow'd their Safety to the prudent Advice of the noble Lord of *Shaftsbury*, and other faithful and eminent Patriots of both Houses of the contrary Party, who made that deluded Prince sensible that it was by no Means his or the Nation's Interest, to suffer One of the principal Supports of the Protestant Religion and Interests of *Europe*, to be oppress'd by the growing Power of *France*; so persecuted in all times have the *Whigs* been of the Justice and Necessity of cultivating the Friendship and Alliance of a flourishing Protestant People, whose Republick was founded upon the Basis of Liberty; all true Lovers of our Country were very well satisfied then, that while we were providing for their Safety against a Power that threaten'd all *Europe* with Chains and the Extirpation of the Reform'd Religion,



ligion, we were at the same time providing for the Security and Establishment of our own. They were not influenc'd then by any narrow Principles of Fear or Envy in the growth of Power of an associate and friendly Neighbour of the same Religion with themselves; they were very well appriz'd, that the further the *Dutch* should extend their Conquests and enlarge their Barrier against *France*, the further off was the Danger remov'd from *England*; they lookt upon every new Acquisition to be an additional Strength to a Friend, and an enfeebling a haughty and ambitious Prince, who upon the Principles both of his Religion and Interest was and ever must be the mortal Enemy of us both, and never envy'd them the Glory or Advantage of their Successes; whereas if they had basely suffer'd the renown'd Republick to have been ruin'd and overthrow'n, their own Danger as it came nearer, and as it were at their Doors, was inevitable; and they would have had at best but the miserable Consolation to be the last devour'd, and would for their Baseness and Treachery have deserv'd it too. These were the wise and generous Sentiments of the *Whigs* at that time, have been ever since, and must eternally continue so for the Defence of their own Country and Preservation of their Confederate Neighbours, from the very Nature and Necessity of their Principles; and those the Opinions and Counsels of the *Tories* of that time, to cultivate the Friendship of a Popish Enemy, have been ever since, and must eternally continue so, by the very Nature and Necessity of theirs, and which all the World is sensible lead directly at this Day to our own Destruction and Slavery in that of our noble Confederates the *Dutch*; for not all our wooden Walls we so much boast of, nor the Riches, the Strength, the Force, the Valour, and the Numbers of the Nation, equal to any other in *Christendom*, wou'd without a Miracle (which we did not seem much at that time to deserve) have preserv'd us from the Violence and Impetuosity of the *French* Power, if by the Perfidioufness of the *Tory* Favourites, we had been depriv'd of the Assistance of the *Dutch*, who in Conjunction with us have ever made a great overbalance as to the *French*, though singly, as things have been since manag'd, we shall very soon be inferior to them.

Truth and Honesty are in their Nature ever one and unalterable and though Men change their Opinions and Sentiments in matters of Policy which ever fluctuates, and may vary according to the Necessity and Circumstances of Time and Things, and Princes change their Ministers at Pleasure; yet the reason and nature of Things remain eternally the same, and are immutable; for though it be true, that the necessity of Times and Circumstances of Affairs may make necessary sometimes to shift and change Counsels, and the ordinary Measures of Policy, there are no Circumstances or Accidents of time are of force to change the Essence of Truth or right Reason. It is true, that some Considerations of Policy, even amongst friendly and confederated Powers, may oblige them respectively sometimes to think some things both reasonable and convenient to be done on certain Occasions, which at other times they may not; but this is always to be understood of the Out-branches as it were, and Affairs

lesser Importance, but never of the Vitals and Essentials of a State,  
 of a Friendship and Alliance contracted with Confederates when  
 founded upon the absolute Interest of their common Good; for in  
 those Respects, whatever is or was originally good for their publick  
 and common Safety and Preservation, will at all times and constantly  
 so; for Interest, which is the Spring and first Mover of most pri-  
 vate, and I may say, all publick Actions, and the principal Union of  
 Confederacies, can only be best secur'd and continu'd by Means  
 that always and perpetually are or ought to be the same and un-  
 changeable; such as are the publick Faith, Justice, Reason and mutu-  
 al Assistance, and therefore ought never to be suppos'd capable of  
 Change or Diminution; otherwise it is impossible for the best consti-  
 tuted Governments upon Earth to subsist long with Honour and Re-  
 sistance. But to make this general Speculation familiar and intelli-  
 gible to the meanest Capacity, which is what I always propose in  
 this Work, by an Instance in our own Case: If it was ever good  
 and convenient for the Kingdom of *England* and Republi-*c* of *Hol-*  
*land* to have been inviolably united for the Security and Preservation  
 of their mutual and common Interest, it is so still, and will always  
 continue to be so; but uncontrovertible Experience from the begin-  
 ning of that Common-wealth has shown, that such an Union alone  
 can secure and perpetuate their mutual and common Interest: The  
 conclusion therefore that naturally follows is, that it will be eternally  
 necessary for their common Good that it should continue firm and  
 inviolable for ever; Matter of Fact and Experience ever carrying a  
 Certainty and Evidence with them, superior to all the Speculations,  
 either of Divines, Philosophers, or Politicians; for these we all but  
 too well know may be influenc'd by their Pride, their Passions or  
 their Ambition, but the other is founded upon the immutable nature  
 and inflexibility of Truth it self; from hence then it will unavoid-  
 ably follow that they who contribute most effectually to preserve and  
 cultivate a good Understanding, Union and Friendship between these  
 two formidable Powers, are without Contradiction the best Friends  
 to the common Good of their Country, which has ever been the  
 Practice of the *Whigs*, and must always be so as I have said from the  
 very nature and necessity of their Principles; and they who inces-  
 santly labour to create Jealousies and Divisions between them, in  
 breach of the publick Faith of Engagements, are the most pernicious  
 and dangerous Enemies of both, from the same Nature and Necessity  
 of theirs; and I leave it to the World to judge, if this has not always  
 been the Practice of the *Tory* Faction who have sufficiently demon-  
 strated by a late famous Instance that they still, and are very likely  
 to continue it whilst they remain such; for they who espouse an  
 absolute and arbitrary Power in the Prince, and a slavish Passive Obe-  
 dience in the Subject, can never be Friends, or their Politicks consis-  
 tent with the Liberties of a limited Monarchy, or a free Common-  
 wealth.

The generous Firmness with which they adher'd so long after us  
 to the Emperor for the Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy and *West-*  
*Indies*, which were the principal Motive of recommencing a bloody

and expensive War, as it will remain to Posterity a glorious Testimony of their Sincerity and Faith of the Engagements and Honour of their Arms, so will it be a perpetual Reproach of the want of them in us, and a Blemish to the Reputation of a People who have in all Ages before been renown'd as much for their Integrity as their Valour: A plain and natural openness and simplicity of Manners have ever been esteem'd the Genius of the *English* Nation; and an inviolable fidelity to publick Engagements has, till of late, in a peculiar and distinguishing manner been the Practice and Characteristick of it, whilst Men of Honour, known Principles and Love of their Country, were employed in the Administration; and we have this only Consolation left us, under the Misfortune of the present disastrous Conjunction, that our high and noble Allies will distinguish between the simple Honesty and Genius of a People, and the wicked Spirit of a factious few, the Authors of their Disgrace and ours, which is unhappily predominant amongst us, and not impute the Infamy of the Breach of the publick Faith to a whole Nation, which is purely the effect of the cursed Ambition of a handful of Men, grown great by the Indulgence of an excellent Princess they have had the Address to deceive and impose on; and as we are sure that God can never prosper the wicked Designs of such as endeavour the Slavery of their Country, though for Reasons we cannot dive into he may sometimes suffer them to go a great Way; yet we doubt not in the End but to see the Event in the Severity of their Punishment, suitable to the Guilt and Enormity of their Crime.

In the forming this grand Confederacy, the greatest that possibly ever was in *Europe*, and for the Ends the most justifiable for which a War can be commenc'd, that of doing Justice to a Prince, injur'd by the Fraud and Violence of a tyrannical Usurper, and the Preservation of the common Liberty; and considering the happy and glorious Successes that attended it for eight Years, whilst it continu'd in the Hands of Ministers and Generals, who had no other Interest than that of the Honour of their Nation, and the general Good of *Europe*, the Man who should have affirmed that the *English*, the Powerful, the Rich, the Free, the Valiant *English* should have been the first to have broken it, out of the scandalous Pretence of Inability to carry it on, would difficultly have found Belief; yet such is the Instability and continual Flux of all human Affairs, that we have liv'd, in a short time, to see verif'd that which was hardly possible to be believ'd, by which we are by a melancholly Experience taught how far Power, in the Hands of a few corrupt ambitious Men, may be adduc'd to the Disgrace and Dishonour of a whole great and generous People: Yet Virtue and Valour are not only the Portion of the *English*, our noble and illustrious Neighbours and Confederates, by their vigorous Resolutions to carry on so just and honourable a War, and their steady adherence to their Confederacy even after our infamous Desertion, have demonstrated to the World, that they more than equal us in all the magnanimous Qualities that form the Character of Nations that dare dye fighting for their precious Liberty; and I am firmly perswaded that the Genius of the Liberty of *Europe* shall still



prevail in the End, and triumph over the feeble Efforts of the evil spirit of a wicked and impotent Faction; or if for the Punishment of their Sins, it shall be the pleasure of Heaven to permit them to sink under the Violence of superior Power, and wear their Chains, they will at least show the World that their Bravery and Courage merited a better Destiny. What was the End of this great and powerful Confederacy and Armament? Was it not to reduce an overgrown and exorbitant Power of a Prince, who was conspiring to make his sole Ambition the Rule and Measure of the Submission and obedience of all the great and free Nations in *Europe*, and the restoring the Crown of *Spain*, with the *Indies*, to the most August House of *Austria*? How often have we been assur'd of this from the Throne, and the general Voice of the Nation? How often have we been told that no Peace should ever be concluded with *France*, but upon the reduction of her Power, the establishment of the Emperor in his just Rights and the full Satisfaction of all the Allies, confederated only for that End? How are these Conditions executed? Or why are they not? Were we not solemnly engag'd and sworn to see them performed? What is become of the publick Faith, the Soul of alliances? Where is the Security of publick Treaties and Engagements, if the Majesty of *England* and the Honour of a Nation cannot be depended on? Why this unaccountable Rupture of the Confederacy? Why this infamous Desertion of our Friends just in the critical Time when we were upon the point of reducing the common Enemy, and forcing such a Peace upon him with our Swords in our Hands, and upon Terms the Conquerors should have thought in their turn to command, when there was but a paltry Town or two in their way to hinder them from piercing into the Bowels of his Kingdom, and which for Ages to come might have established the Safety and Tranquility of all *Christendom*? Is there a Man in his senses in *England* that does not see that so execrable a Treachery took its Rise solely from the Fears of the Faction, who foresaw their own inevitable Ruin in the downfall of the Tyrant who only supported them? Did they not see the Loss of all their Hopes of establishing their ill got Power they knew not how to use but for the ruin of their Country, and that of their dear Pretender, to screen their wretched Lives under his Authority and Protection, from the vengeance of an abus'd Nation so justly due to their Perfidiousness and Treachery?

It was not the scandalous Pretension of the Inability of the Kingdom, to carry on the War to the desired End, that was the occasion of all this load of Infamy to our Country, and prejudice to our Confederates; but the Inability of the Faction, to maintain and support themselves otherwise than by the intervention of an inglorious separate Peace, which they knew could solely preserve from Ruin the broken shatter'd Force of their Sovereign Popish Protector in *France*. They knew the Nation not in want of Means or Inclinations to carry on the War vigorously in Conjunction with their Allies, till they might have obtain'd such a Peace as would (in a short time) have answer'd their past Expence, and secur'd them for the future; though

they found them in some unwillingness to part with their Money, to establish the Authors of their Disgrace and Ruin, they knew very well, that as the Riches of the Nation are mostly in the Hands of the *Whigs* and Low-Churchmen and Dissenters, they were as sensible they wanted Credit to draw it out upon the Pretension of the Occasions and Exigencies of the State, though upon the Security of such Parliamentary Funds as theirs, when they had but too much Reason to believe, that it was not to be employ'd to the honest Services of their Country, for which it might be intended, but lavished out in secret Services, either to establish a private Interest and Designs of their own, or to corrupt the Ministers of foreign Princes to their Ends, or to the viler Purposes of debauching Elections of Parliament Men at home, or to keep steady in their Iniquity such as are corrupt enough to sell or betray their Country's Honour and Liberty when they are elected: I know well enough that the Man who advances these bold, but honest and undeniable Truths, attempts a very daring and dangerous Enterprize, and exposes himself to the Malice and Revenge of a merciless and unforgiving Faction, who know no more Bounds of their Rage and Fury, than of their Ambition; but I give them to understand that I equally despise their Resentments, and detest their Treachery; 'tis long ago since I have learned to prefer the Honour and Interest of my Country to all other Considerations of this World; and if I had ten thousand Lives, I would sacrifice them all in the glorious Cause of the Defence of its Liberty and established Religion. What honest *Englishmen* can with Patience or Temper reflect upon the Dishonour that rebounds upon his Country, from the Perfidiousness of a Set of Men, who have shamefully abandon'd their Confederates in the very Eve of the Accomplishment of their noble Toils and Wishes? At the very point when they had little left to do but to receive (in the Fruits of an honourable and lasting Peace) the Recompence of all their generous Labours and Profusions of so much Treasure and noble Blood to purchase it? Is there any honest Man in *England* whose Heart would not have joyc'd to see the Power of *France* humbled and reduc'd within the natural Extent of a paternal Dominion, more than sufficient to content the Lust and Avarice of the most Ambitious of Men; except this wretched Spawn of High Church, whose Interest it is, for their own sakes, wholly to preserve it? How came it to pass that *Britain*, all of a sudden, which for Riches and Courage is equal to any Nation in *Europe* (except *France* in its flourishing Condition) and superior to most of the rest, should be the first to desert a Confederacy form'd for a certain End, and stipulated under certain Conditions, by the Sanction of solemn Oaths and Engagements, before that End was obtain'd, or those Conditions perform'd? 'Tis true that the Nation, by the Effusion of so much Blood, and continual draining of so much Treasure, was considerably enfeebled and exhausted, but she was neither dead nor beggar'd; if we were drawn low by an uninterrupted Expence, we are very certain that *France*, our common Enemy, was much more so, and our good Friends and Allies suffered equally in Proportion; but as both we and the *Dutch* had

initely a greater share of Trade than the *French* ever had, (I think we shall not have the Occasion to boast of that long) it must evidently follow that the Riches which accru'd from it, and are the Signs of War would have furnished us with the Means to have maintain'd it much longer with the Treasures brought from all the Parts of the Universe, than he could reasonably have been suppos'd to have done without them, and barely upon the Product and Funds of his own Country how extraordinary soever.

'Tis true indeed that the Present which his singular good Friends of the Faction have made him of the Monarchy of *Spain* and the Riches of the *Indies*, will put him in a Condition to bully again all Europe, (of which he has already given us several pretty good Instances) and that too in the space of a very few Years, either by himself, or one of his Family; yet by the Assistance of the good God, we do not yet despair to see the Ambition of the one, and Perfidy of the other disappointed and confounded; at least had the wise Heads of the latter but permitted the handful of Troops of their Nation to have acted a little longer in concert with those of their Allies, and sh'd the Fortune of that single Campaign, they would have left no Room for Scandal to themselves and Reproach to their Country; and if by the superior Power of his Arms, he had established his Grandson in the Acquisitions he was in possession of, by the infamous Arts of Fraud and Perfidiousness, we had had nothing left to do but to submit ourselves to the disposition of a Providence we are not permitted to dispute or complain of; but to put a stop to their Successes when the gallant Officer and Soldier, flush'd with a Train of Victories, and fearless of the happy Issue, were upon the Point of forcing the last Lines of their dispirited Enemies; at the Instant when they were already breathing *French* Air, and in one Attack more, for I will not call it a Battle, ready to put an End to the Toils and Fatigues of the War; at such a juncture, I say, to put a check to their Career, by Measures as infamous in their Circumstances, as they were unforeseen and less expected, was such a Stretch, such a refin'd Piece of Treachery as none but an Ideot who cannot, or a High-Churchman who will not perceive it, can be ignorant of, or not desert. What Vexation, what cruel Disappointment, what Grief, what Despair to our gallant and generous best Friends; what Contentment, what new Life, what Joy, what Transports to our most mortal Enemies from so triumphant a Piece of Iniquity? Though it be next to impossible for human Wisdom to foresee the particular Designs of a secret Conspiracy, which none but such as are concerned in it can precisely know; yet every single Step that has been made with regard to the Allies, since this mischievous Change, has been sufficient to have convinc'd the least discerning, that there was something hatching that portended some notable Evil which might end in general Ruin, though they could not tell after what manner it would discover itself; as Men at a distance hear the rumbling of Thunder, yet know not where the Danger, with which it is always attended, will fall, till it burst from the Clouds with an impetuous Force that nothing is able to resist: Thus the Resentments and Animosities



mosities of the Faction, big with Mischief against our great and noble Allies the *Dutch*, were as the Lightning that always precedes and foretells the Thunder. 'Tis wonderful to observe with what infernal Malice, with what Infamy of Lies and Calumnies the *Examiner*, the *Review*, the *Remarker* on the *Barrier Treaty*, the Author of the *Conduct of the Allies*, and the rest of the mercenary Legion of the Scriblers of the Faction, (in all which I confidently maintain that in any matter of Importance there is not one single Syllable of Truth) indeavoured to represent the *Dutch*, a free and powerful Republick, professing the same Faith and Religion of Jesus Christ, and one of the principal Pillars and Supporters of it, and render them odious and suspected to our Nation, as a Prelude to the Execution of the Villany prepar'd against them and the whole Confederacy; yet these great People, whose Common-wealth is founded upon Liberty and the generous Principle, the Right of all Mankind, of freeing themselves from the Slavery and Oppression of their tyrannical Bigot *Philip* the Second, have, by the visible Favour and Assistance of Heaven, rais'd themselves to a degree of Glory and Puissance, equal to the most renown'd Nations in the Universe; and have in all Times defended and maintain'd that precious Liberty with a Wisdom, Valour and Constancy, equal to the noblest and most memorable Times of the antient *Romans*, from the expulsion of their last insolent King to the Tyranny of their ingrateful and perfidious Emperors.

I am not entering into the Panegyrick of the *Dutch*; though I ever did and ever shall honour them for their Wisdom, Vertue and Valour; and if any thing can add to the Esteem which I and every honest *Englishman* who loves his Religion and Liberty ought to conceive of them, 'tis their firm and steady Adherence to their Friends and Confederates in the Cause of Justice to an injur'd Emperor and the common Liberty, as long as they could pretend to do so with their own Safety. I do but bare Reason to their Merit, and am proud to do my self the Honour in the Design of an honest and friendly Office; nor can the foul-mouth'd Poison of the Hirelings of a Faction affect them with any Body in the Nation, but Fools or Knaves like themselves, who wish Evil to their own Country, that they intend to so faithful and powerful a Friend and Confederate. How and in what manner unforeseen Accidents or Circumstances of Time and Affairs may have oblig'd them to alter their Measures, was only in the Hands and Knowledge of Providence; but notwithstanding what they have been compell'd to do, there is little Question to be made from the noble Efforts they have so long made, but that they will adhere to the End to the Interests they were engag'd in, as far as shall be consistent with the Honour and Security of their own Republick; but this we may with Confidence maintain, that when they can no longer support and defend their Friends, they will never basely sacrifice or betray them; and in case of such a Misfortune, all the reasonable Part of Mankind will distinguish the Force of an irresistible Necessity, from the Effects of a study and concerted Treachery; and whilst they may lament so pressing a Misfortune, will acquit them from the Guilt of having willingly con-

puted to it. In the mean while they have so handsomly, and with such a Force of Truth and Reasoning, justified and defended their Conduct and Innocence from the frivolous Cavils of an Enemy, abuse of Commons, and the viler Reproaches of the laborious Triers of the Faction, that it is time lost, and a sort of Presumption to pretend to add any thing to it.

If they are a People who perfectly well know their own Interest, and how to pursue it, 'tis no more than what is to the last Degree commendable, and adds to their Character; it ought to be the business of their Neighbours to do so too, that is, to understand theirs, and cultivate it the best they can. If there were an Article in the Barrier Treaty that seem'd to intrench or interfere with the Commerce of the *British* Nation, as in effect it is most certain that there is not, it had been a Matter to have been amicably adjusted in a Conference amongst Friends, and not an Argument for a Rupture, or Handle for the Breach of the publick Faith of a solemn Confederacy: They have in so friendly and respectful a Manner offer'd her Majesty and the Nation all the Satisfaction they could desire, as is sufficient to convince all the World of their earnestness to cultivate sincere and hearty Friendship and Understanding between the two Nations. A Treatment so rude and violent as they met with in so nice and critical a Conjunction, had been enough to incense any People who were not as commendable and famous for a rare and uncommon Candour, as for their Power and Valour; and they who by the surprising Effects of both, the Providence of God, and Assistance of their Allies, have not only withstood all the Efforts of so formidable Power as that of *France*, but abated and humbled it to a degree of contempt, may in Compassion and Charity for the frailties of Men, pity, but can never fear or apprehend any thing of Moment from the able Malice, or Rage and Fury of a paltry and despicable Faction. It is not indeed for the Credit of any Nation to be the Dupees of any of their Neighbours of less Figure and Consideration in the World than themselves; but it is for the Honour of every or any great, rich and powerful Kingdom, as that of *Great-Britain*, in a general Cause, so Glorious as that of the Defence of the common Liberties of *Europe*, (and in that of their own) to make Effects proportionable to the measure of their Riches and Power; and if they do more than confederates of lesser Capacity, they do but what in Justice they ought to do, and what will augment the Glory of their Reputation, and the noble Ideas they give the World of their Puissance. This is so far from being a Reproach, as has been frivolously insisted on by the Faction, founded upon any real Defect of the knowledge of their proper Interest, that it adds a new and real Glory to a generous Nation, who are willing to give Proofs of the greatness of their Riches and Power upon certain extraordinary Occasions, without fearing the senseless Reproach of a blameable Dissipation; for all Men will commend as laudable a Magnificence and Liberality of Expence, when it is not attended with a criminal and destructive Profusion. Power-ful Kingdoms do not measure and estimate the Treasure they expend in the prosecution of an important War by the value of the Expence, but

but by the Benefit and Advantages they may expect to receive in return, or by the increase of their Glory and Reputation; as private Persons of a beneficent Temper and Ability above the common, do not rate the Presents they make so much according to their Value, as the innate Generosity of their Minds, and the Conscience of having done a good natur'd and generous Action, which is ever the Mark of a truly noble and elevated Soul, as the contrary always is of a poor and narrow one.

Whatever stands in the way of the Designs of the Faction they necessarily hate; 'tis sufficiently known that their implacable Hatred and Animosities against the *Dutch*, as they know no Bounds or Measure, so are never likely to have an end but in their Ruin, if they can contrive it. They will never forgive them the powerful Assistance they gave the Illustrious Prince of *Orange*, which enabled him, with the concurrence of his Friends here, to accomplish a Revolution, which was a mortal Blow to the Designs of King *James* and his dear Brother and Confederate of *France*: Those great and worthy Patriots, who were sensible betimes of the Storm that was ready to break in upon them, to the certain Destruction of their Religion and Liberties, thought it high time to look out for the only Remedy was left them; and to make use of the Means in their Power, as the unquestionable Rights of Mankind, to oppose with Force the Violence and Injustice of a tyrannical Oppressor; and as it was next to impossible for them to pretend to prevent the Danger that threatened them by their own Force alone, whilst King *James* had a great and potent Army, (great numbers of which, both Officers and Soldiers, were Papists) they were compell'd to have recourse to the Prince of *Orange*. The *Dutch*, a wise and prudent People, who easily foresaw their own Destruction inevitable in that of the *English*, readily consented to furnish him with such a Fleet and Number of their best Troops, as they judg'd sufficient for the accomplishment of the Design, at a time when they were in a manner absolutely necessary at Home, to defend themselves from the Insults of the common Enemy: but they thought it of greater Importance to save a great and friendly Nation from Slavery, upon which their own Security intirely depended: They knew full well, that King *James*, (as he was a declar'd Papist, and consequently their implacable Enemy, was wholly influenced and govern'd by the Counsels and Maxims of *France*, and did nothing but in concert with her) was fully determin'd when he had enslav'd his own People, to unite his whole Force with the other for the Subversion of the Religion and Liberties of their Republick, as the first and surest Step to the Reduction of the other Protestant Powers in *Europe* to the same miserable Condition of Slavery. They were not insensible what they were to expect from the Inclination of a Prince, who in the Debates of a Council at *Whitehall*, upon the Invasion already mention'd in 1672, whilst he was yet but Duke of *York*, gave his Opinion in these few notable Words; *Delenda est Curia shago*. They well enough foresaw that if the Powers of *England* and their Republick were reduc'd under the Domination of their two most mortal Enemies, all the rest of the Protestant Interest in



Europe was near it, and could be no longer in a Condition to make but feeble Efforts to defend themselves against the impetuosity of a Torrent it would be impossible for them to oppose. Not to insist on a Subject that all the World knows, and no honest *Englishman* can ever forget, without being the most ungrateful of all Mankind, that wonderful and surprizing Revolution under the good Providence of God, which was the Basis and Commencement of the Safety and Happiness of all *Europe*, was accomplish'd; our own happy Country was freed at that time from the dreadful Terror of Popery and Slavery, and *Carthage* was preserv'd.

Thus 'tis to this generous People, that we owe the Happiness of enjoying what is most dear and of greatest Estimation amongst Men, our Lives, Estates, our Liberties, and our Religion; and as from this glorious Epoch we may justly date the Abatement and Diminution of the exorbitant Power of *France*, from the same we may compute the Revival of the Resentments and Animosities of the Faction against the People who so effectually contributed towards it. Heaven preserve them from ever falling into such a Scituation as may challenge our Assistance in return; but if that Misfortune should happen to them, there is not an honest *Englishman* who ought not with Joy to hazard his Life and Fortune in their Defence, as much out of Policy and Interest of State, as Gratitude. They who continually rack their brains to find out frightful Colours to dress them up in, who revive the past Miscarriages of private Men to render them odious to our Nation, and place them to the account of their whole Republick, which are impossible sometimes to be avoided even between great and friendly Communities, (and ought either out of Charity, or for the sake of the publick Tranquility, be buried in Oblivion) and who create and foment Jealousies that tend to Division, make so many fallible Advances to the Ruin of their own Country; and I would desire such others who have the shameless Effrontry to reproach them with Ingratitude, or want of a due Sense of the Obligations they have had to *England* from the Commencement of their Republick, to look a little at Home, and reflect upon the Infamy of a certain Alliance with *France* enter'd into by a Prince, who but a little before had been beholding to them for his Support, and in a good measure for his Restoration; and the latter Treachery of the *Tory* Faction, when in Favour and Power in the Affair of their rich *Smyrna* Fleet, when they thought themselves as secure in our Ports as their own, under the Security and Protection of a settled Peace. Things of this nature when they unfortunately happen, ought ever to be forgotten, or there can be no foundation in Nature for the Preservation of publick Tranquility, which depends absolutely upon the Faith of Treaties and right Understanding between neighbouring Kingdoms and Common-wealths: Differences sometimes will arise between such, and Acts of Violence and Injustice will often follow upon them; and it is for the Honour of a People who receive them, if they are able to make those who offer them accountable; but when that is done, they ought no more to be thought of, and the memory of succeeding Obligations ought to cancel the Resentments of past Injuries; otherwise

by

by reviving them, we but keep up Animosities that seldom end but in the Ruin of one or both of the People who may be concern'd; yet this has incessantly been the Practice of a Faction who apprehend the certain miscarriage of their own wicked Designs in the Union of two Nations, whose respective Security and Happiness depend intirely upon the Harmony and mutual good Offices of a sincere and inviolable Friendship. Their little Enemies here have not yet succeeded with all their wicked Artifices and base ill Usage, to exasperate them to break that Union and Amity they are so desirous to cultivate with us; and 'tis to be hop'd never shall on our parts so far, as to animate the greatest, wisest and honestest part of our Nation, to loose their Esteem of their best Friend and Confederate, and I will add for the Reason already mention'd, Benefactor; they have once by their generous and late noble Assistance, in the extremity of our Danger and Calamity, sav'd the Interest of our Country; and I heartily wish they had been as successful in spite of our and their factious Enemies, by their vigorous Resolutions and Firmness to the common Cause, have sav'd the Honour of it, by defeating an Union so artfully labour'd, and at last effected with *France*; which as it must be of the last ill, and most pernicious Consequence to us both, will fix an indelible Mark of Infamy and Dishonour upon the faithless Contrivers of it.

We have always been told according to the Tenor of the last grand Alliance, That a Ballance of Power by the Reduction of the exorbitant one of *France*, the Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy and *West-Indies*, a safe Barrier for the *Dutch*, and the just and reasonable Satisfaction of all the respective Allies who were concern'd in the War, were the sole Motives to recommence and continue it; that no Peace shou'd ever be concluded but upon these Conditions, nor privately or separately concerted between any of the Powers, without the Consent and Advice of the whole: They who are acquainted with the nature of such Confederacies, know that they are enter'd into with all the Solemnity of mutual Obligations, that are most sacred and binding amongst Men, and ratify'd and confirm'd by the Sanction of an Oath; the publick Faith is the Complement, and as it were the Seal of the Union: This is ever to be esteem'd, and ought to be preserv'd inviolable; 'tis the Voice of Nature in the general Sentiment and Practice of all Nations; without a strict and scrupulous Observation of which, there is an end of all publick Friendship and Alliances betwixt People and People; and they who have been guilty of the Violation of it, have ever been detested and branded with the blackest Marks of Infamy and Dishonour. I am sorry to observe, as can easily be demonstrated from the History of all Times and Ages, that for the general it has been observ'd and cultivated with a Fidelity and Exactness by the barbarous and *Pagan* Nations, to the Reproach of those professing Christianity, tho' in it self consisting of a Moral, as the most severe, so the most pure and perfect of any that has or ever shall be known to the World. The Laws of Nature, which is right Reason imprinted as common Notions and immutable Principles upon the

the Heart and Mind of all Mankind, being of the same Force and  
 efficacy with the honest, vertuous Heathen, as the reveal'd Will of  
 God, which never contradicts or acts contrary to it, is to the Chri-  
 stian; the reason of the different Influence they have on Practice  
 seems to be this; because the Law of Nature, which is, as it were,  
 congenial and familiar to the Temper and Genius of Mankind, makes  
 deeper and stronger Impressions on the Mind, than external positive  
 precepts, which for the most part are attended with something se-  
 vere and rigorous, and therefore are look'd upon with a sort of dis-  
 like, and with difficulty submitted to; the Nature of Man being much  
 more prone to be led by what agreeably engages and insinuates, than  
 what exacts and commands under a Penalty. We know at pre-  
 sent but one Prince, and he, as he styles himself (by a certain High-  
 Church Figure we call Contradiction) the most Christian King,  
 who makes a Sport of the sacred Obligation of his Oath; who, as  
 to his Tyranny, he has elevated himself above the Reach and Power  
 of all human Laws, by his Duplicity and Treachery has shewn the  
 world, he never had any esteem or regard for divine Ones; nor is  
 much to be wonder'd at, whilst he suffers what in other Men is  
 ill'd Conscience to be directed, or his Ambition to be indulg'd and  
 foster'd, by a viperous Brood of Vermin, the Pest and Ruin of all  
 Princes and all Mankind, I mean the *Jesuits*, who acknowledge no  
 other Power than the Pope's, whom they blasphemously exalt above  
 that is call'd God, nor other Religion than their Interest: Yet,  
 I have observ'd, we have of late sprung up amongst us as dead-  
 ly and pernicious a sort of High-Church *Janisaries*, who, as they  
 pour indefatigably to subject their Country to the Domination and  
 model of the *French* Government, wou'd prostitute the Simplici-  
 ty and Innocence of a great and free People to the Maxims and  
 imitation of their detestable Politicks and Religion. If any of them  
 can but show the time when an Alliance and Confederacy with  
 France was either of Advantage or Honour to *England*, nay, when  
 it was not infinitely dishonourable to the Prince, and to the Infa-  
 my and manifest Detriment to the whole Nation, as well as to the  
 interests of all the rest of *Europe*, let them do the World that ju-  
 stice but to point it out, and we will recant all that has been said,  
 and acknowledge them to have been in the right in all their late  
 measures; but as it is as notorious and evident as Light at Noon,  
 that Scandal, Disgrace, and Ignominy, and Shame that is insepa-  
 rable from wicked Actions, Danger, Insecurity and Ruin, with  
 contempt, which is always inseparable from foolish ones, have ever  
 been the Monsters produc'd from this unnatural Conjunction, what  
 there that remains but to conclude, that such as have hurry'd our  
 Nation into so infamous an Alliance at this time of Day, and pre-  
 sent Circumstances of Affairs, in Breach of the publick Faith, of  
 solemn Contracts, Infractions of the most sacred Oaths, and to the  
 disgust of all our noble Allies and Confederates, are of all *Engli-  
 sh*  
 the most infamous and faithless Betrayers of their own Coun-  
 try, and the Liberties and Religion of all *Europe* besides. 'Tis  
 very wonderful to consider by what Artifices they have been able  
 to



to surprize a most excellent and religious Queen, in the Zenith of her Glory, Happy, Belov'd and Renown'd above all that ever were before her, into Measures fatal to her Honour, her own Interests and that of her People: But we find by melancholy Experience, that the wisest and best of Princes are liable to be deceiv'd and impos'd on by the artful and plausible Insinuations of cunning and designing Knaves; and it is but too often a Misfortune that arises from an Over-Confidence and Opinion of the Fidelity, the Affection and Capacity of those they trust in the management of publick Affairs, without consulting their own Prudence and Judgment: for such Men will ever lead the Prince, when they have discover'd his Feeble into such Measures as will contribute most to satisfy their own Ambition, the accomplishment of their private Designs, and the establishment of their own Interest and ill-got Power and Fortunes, rather than study the Honour of the Prince, or Good of the People. The World may judge, whether we have not a terrible Instance of this Truth in the Case before us, I mean all the honest Part of my Countrymen, who are neither in the Secret or Interest of the Conspiracy, but who, we are sure, shall suffer more than the Guilty, if by our Cowardice they long keep the Ascendant.

Is it not true, that by the blessing of God upon our Arms, and those of our Confederates, under the Conduct of the renown'd Duke of *Marlborough*, this exorbitant Power of *France*, that for sixty Years has been the Plague and Terror of all the Western World, was reduc'd to so low and pitiful a Condition, as to be to the last Degree contemptible? One wou'd have imagin'd, that in such a Situation, no Terms wou'd have been refus'd to a conquering Confederacy, that bore down all before them. What then is become of the Restitution of the *Spanish* Monarchy and *West Indies* to the Emperor, the rightful Heir of them, which was the principal Motive of recommencing the last War? Where is that just, full and reasonable Satisfaction stipulated by this grand Alliance to the respective Potentates engag'd in it, who at the Expence of their Treasure and Blood of their gallant Subjects, with a Vigour and Generosity that can never be sufficiently admir'd or recommended, have contributed so long to support it? What is become of the publick Faith and Honour of the Nation so solemnly engag'd for the Performance of the Conditions, never to treat separately, or concert any private Measures with the common Enemy concerning any Accommodation, but what might end in a general Peace, secure, lasting, glorious, and advantageous to the whole Confederacy? Were not our victorious Troops upon the Point of forcing their way to the very Heart of *France*, and imposing what sort of Peace they pleas'd upon a cruel and ambitious Prince, or of compelling him to fly his Country, (as for much the same Reasons we had serv'd a certain Brother of his) if he had a Friend, or there be a Place in the Universe where he cou'd hide his perjur'd Head? Was not this the only intallible way of obtaining such a general Peace, as must have ended to the Honour, Security and Satisfaction of all the Princes and Powers concern'd in the War, rather than by the dilatory and

fidious Way of Negotiations with a Prince, whose Faith and Ho-  
 our they knew was never to be depended on? The shortest way to  
 the Throne of *Spain* had been through the Bowels of *France*, and  
 there remain'd but an inconsiderable Town, the Work of a few days,  
 to open a Passage, and begin their Journey thither. Is there a Man  
 in *Europe* in his Senses, notwithstanding all their bluster, that can  
 believe the Usurper Duke of *Anjou* capable of maintaining himself  
 in his unjust Possession one single Campaign, against the conquer-  
 ing Troops of the Allies, when he should have seen the Forces and  
 Powers of *France* every where beaten, and flying before their vi-  
 ctorious Enemies? Does not every body know, that the *Spanish*  
 Nation, the most mortal and irreconcilable Enemies of the *French*,  
 for above these twelve Years past been held in a miserable sub-  
 jection, solely by the fear of a Power they were unable to op-  
 pose? That they are weary to the last Degree both of *French* Max-  
 ims and *French* Tyranny? That they groan under the Weight of  
 Chains, which they want only the Power to shake off? That there  
 is none of the *Grandees*, the haughtiest and most impatient of  
 strangers of any People under the Sun, would adhere to the U-  
 surper a moment, depriv'd of the assistance of his Grandfather; but  
 such as by their standing by him so long have lost all Hope of Par-  
 don from their lawful Prince, and can only find their Security in  
 continuing their Rebellion? With what Joy, with what Transports  
 would that gallant Nation, who so gloriously defended their Liber-  
 ty for above two hundred Years, against the formidable *Roman* Le-  
 gions destin'd to the Conquest of the greatest Part of the Universe,  
 give into their Arms and Bosoms the conquering *Germans*, who  
 came only to redeem them from *French* Slavery, and place the  
 legitimate Heir of their belov'd House of *Austria* upon the Throne  
 of their Fore-fathers? Can any body believe, that in case of extincti-  
 on of the Line of their ador'd *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, they were  
 inclin'd to the necessity of choosing another Family, that they would  
 prefer any Prince in *Christendom* to one of the House of *Bour-*  
*bon*, or any other *Frenchman*, to whom, from the beginning of time,  
 Nature has implanted in their Hearts an unconquerable Aversion,  
 from the diversity of Genius, Manners, Customs and Temper, and  
 which is none of the least a Rivalship of Honour? Is there not still  
 remaining amongst themselves, in case of such a necessity, more  
 Branches than one of the illustrious Houses of *Castile* and *Leon*, who  
 have an unquestionable Right to the Succession of their Crown, as  
 by Proximity of Blood can intitle? Is not the noble House of  
*Medina Celi* descended in a strait Line from their *Alphonso*, sur-  
 nam'd, *El Desheredado*? And has not the cruel, unchristian Po-  
 licy of the most Christian King put an end to the Life of a gene-  
 rous Prince, who stood too much in their way, and was too visible  
 a Reproach of their Injustice and Usurpation? Was his Crime any  
 other than his Fidelity to his natural Prince, his Love to his Coun-  
 try, and his Pretensions to the Crown by Proximity of Blood, in  
 case of failure of Issue of the August and Royal Family that ought  
 to be in Possession? What was there to hinder this glorious Pro-  
 spect

spect of the Confederates? *France* beaten and humbled into a Condition, more in need of seeking Assistance for her self than affording it to others; *Spain* incapable, if it were willing, to maintain the War alone; the Usurper only supported by the feeble Succour of a few rebellious Subjects, Traytors to their Country, whose Crimes only make them desperate to defend him against the Universal Wishes and Desires of the Nation. Tell the World, those who art the most frontless of all High-Church Politicians, are these things true, or are they false? If they are false, convince the World of their Falsehood by something better than your bare Assertion or Denials, which have long since lost their Credit, if they can be said to lose their Credit who never had any, with all the sober, thinking, honest part of Mankind; but if they are true, rack your mercenary Brains to assign any other Reason for the Practice and Measures of your Faction you are hir'd to support, than the Introduction of your Pretender, and in him the Establishment of the got Power and private Fortunes of a few at the Head of it; whereas they visibly oppose the feeble Efforts of an impotent Wickedness to the Orders and Decrees of an eternal Providence, which by secret and invisible Means is again leading us into a Deliverance not so miraculous, shall in the end receive the just Reward of their execrable Treachery. Reflect betimes upon the Fate in all Ages of grounded and immeasurable Ambition, which is ever attended with Violence, Injustice and Oppression: Think upon the miserable Down-fall of all perjur'd faithless Betrayers of their Country's Honour, Liberties, and Religion, and if you can before it be too late, repent.

But if we are not yet convinc'd enough, that the sole End of the present Managers, and every single Step that has been made by them since their Exaltation, has directly contributed to that sole End of introducing the Pretender; and more especially their Measures and Negotiations with the *French*, contrary to the Faith of Treaties and frequent Assurances they have been able to procure from the Throne, that no Peace should be concluded, no private or separate Negotiation with the *French* should ever be enter'd into, or carry'd on, but with the Knowledge and joint Consent of the whole Alliance; let us further consider how well the Safety and Interest of *Europe* and our own are provided for by them. All Men know that the Force and Strength of the Confederacy, and consequently the happy Issue that might reasonably have been expected from depended intirely upon the Union and good Agreement among the Powers that compos'd it: This was a Truth so evident, both to the *French* and Heads of the Faction, that the Power of the one, and the Designs of the other, must unavoidably have been crush'd and defeated, (if they had been permitted to have continued united) that the most shameless and scandalous Artifices and Concessions, both on the one side and the other, have been employ'd and granted to dissolve their Union, by detaching from the Confederacy a formidable Power, which was justly esteem'd the Support and Cement of it; for no Man questions, but that the *French* King



and the *British* Ministers believ'd constantly, that if *England* could be debauch'd into the Measures of an inglorious, separate Peace, and consequently be detach'd from the rest of their Allies, that the Confederacy would soon of Course dwindle away, and in a short time be dissolv'd: This was a great Point to gain, and unhappily, who at the Expence of the Prostitution of Honour and Conscience, succeeded to their Wish; yet their Consequence, as it did not necessarily and unavoidably follow, might not have prov'd good, and maintain, would not, if it had pleas'd God to have permitted the Dutch to have remain'd firm to the rest of the Confederacy, who together would, humanly speaking, have been more than sufficient to have carry'd on the War, till they obtain'd the glorious End for which they first enter'd into it, the Reduction of the *French* Insolence and Power, and in that the Security of the Liberties and Protestant Religion and Interest of all *Christendom*; nor will this appear a rash or irrational Judgment to any one, who is convinc'd of the utter Inability of *France* at that time, to have continued it much longer upon their own Funds, either of Money, Credit or Forces.

For tho' there be nothing more certain, than that whilst *France* was in a full and flourishing Condition, the whole combin'd Powers of the Confederacy were but hardly a Match for her, yet notwithstanding her Treasures were immense, and her Forces formidable, by the Numbers and Martial Genius of the People, the Event has sufficiently declar'd that the one was not infinite, or the other invincible; since we have seen her in the Course of upwards of a twenty Years War reduc'd so miserably low, as to be necessitated to have recourse to all the most criminal and unjustifiable Artifices of Perfidy and Collusion to sustain and cover the Rests of a Reputation, which as it was only founded upon the Pride and Vanity of the Monarch, was all along supported by the Violence of arbitrary and insupportable Tyranny; whereas on the other Hand, the Confederate Powers and Princes, whose Domination is all of them founded upon the solid and natural Foundation of Liberty, (tho' otherwise every Way unequal) remain'd still in a notable Capacity and Ability to have continu'd the War much longer, even without the assistance of the *English*; and the reason of it is this; for the Prince, who begins a War in every Instance unjust, only to gratify his Ambition, in order to subject or oppress his Neighbours, or to establish a Tyranny, is indispensably oblig'd to greater Expences of Money to corrupt the Courts and Ministers of foreign Princes, besides the necessary Expences of numerous Armies, than they who being confederated against him in the Defence only of their common Liberty, keep within the frugal Management of the common Stock, in the just and necessary Disbursements of the War, without squandering either their Honour or Treasure to purchase their honest Ends, by the criminal Lavishments of Bribery and Corruption. This is directly the Case before us, and those mercenary high-Church Fools, who speak in all their Gibberish so contemptuously of the petty Princes, as they insolently call them of *Germany*,

and of their Inability to have carry'd on the War without their invincible *English*, would have done well, before they had shot their Bolts, to have consider'd, that the present Emperor, by the peaceable Possession of his Demeans in *Italy*, the Reduction of *Hungary*, the Electorate of *Bavaria*, and his own hereditary Countries, was in a much better Condition to make more considerable Efforts to carry on this War on his Part, than his Father or Brother ever were on theirs since the beginning of it; that the Elector of *Hanover*, he is one of the Wisest and most Valiant, so he is one of the Richest and Greatest Princes of *Germany*; that the King of *Prussia* is in every way interior to him in Riches, but exceeds in the number of Troops; he is capable of bringing into the Field; that the Elector *Palatine* and the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, are in a good Proportion still formidable; that the King of *Denmark* abounds with excellent Troops; that the *Swiss*, tho' they are not so Rich, are an inexhaustible Fund of as good Souldiers as any are under the Sun; and that the most renown'd and potent Republick of the United Provinces, (suppos'd they had continued United) by Vertue of their late Alliances with them, will always be supply'd for their Money, which they can never want, with what Numbers they shall ever have occasion for; since by the Address of the Faction, the Power of *French* Money and hard Necessity of the Times, it has been the good Pleasure of Providence to have permitted Treason to triumph over Vertue, and the Confederacy has been dissolv'd, and our Enemies have thus far carry'd things to our Ruin, by the Effect of a successful Treason, we must submit to what we cannot resist; but this I constantly maintain, that however secure they may think themselves in their triumphant Wickedness, that the Honour, the Interest, the Trade, the Navigation, which are the Fund of the Riches both of *England* and the United Provinces, can never be secure or lasting whilst the Monarchy of *Spain* and Treasure of the *West-Indies* remain in the Hands of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; so that however the War, by an unaccountable Fatality has been discontinued by the Address and Conspiracy of Men in Power, a Nation need not pretend to the Spirit of Prophecy, who shall foretell, that the Princes and Powers of *Europe* shall in a little time be under the necessity of commencing another bloody War for the Restitution of them to their rightful Heir, or some other Prince more compatible with the Peace and Tranquillity, or else bid an eternal adieu to Protestant Religion, Liberties and Interest of all *Europe*; for there is nothing more demonstrably certain than that, humanly speaking there is nothing to hinder the *French* and *Spaniards*, with the Treasures of the *Indies* under the Direction of the former, in less than ten Years time to be Masters of such Fleets, as shall be able to drive all the other Maritime Powers out of the Sea; and I leave it to the sensible World, and particularly to my own deluded and betraying Countrymen to consider, before it be too late, what they may expect under such a Situation; what the Church of *England*, *Luther* and *Calvin* are to hope for, when they are at the Mercy of *France*, *Spain*, the Devil, the Pope, the *Jesuits*, and High-Churchmen.

traitors: It will be a notable Consolation for us then to complain of the Villany of those we tamely suffer'd to fool and betray us into Slavery; to talk of *French* Faith, infernal Faction; Renuntiations, *Millento's*, *South-Sea* Visions, and assurances of Trade and Commerce; we shall do well to seek for Passages into the Moon or *Europa*, to look for those Advantages, for we are sure never to meet with them here; nor are we to expect any thing in this World, but that our new imperious *French* and *Spanish* Masters (whom we might have kept at least our Equals) shall think fit to allow us. Tell the Countrymen, tell me besotted *Englishmen*, you that were born to Freedom, not to be parallell'd in the Universe, how will this Slavery become you? But if you will not be sensible for the Miseries of your Folly or Cowardice may betray you to, tremble at the Curses of your Posterity, when they shall groan, and eat in Sweat and Grief the Bread of *French* and *Spanish* Slavery.

But further, if in the War carry'd on against *France*, during the whole Reign of King *William*, if in the recommencing of it by her present Majesty and the famous Alliance entred into in 1701, we have been always told, That one of the principal Ends of it was to form such a Ballance of Power, that for the future no ambitious Prince, if he were desirous, should be able to insult or oppose his Neighbours, or to disturb the Peace and Tranquility of the rest of Europe; where or how is that Ballance of Power to be found from the present Measures or Management of Affairs, and the Establishment of *Spain* and the *Indies* in the Possession of the Duke of *Anjou*? We remember very well that soon after the Treaty of Partition, which gave High-Church so much Offence in the Year 1699, when one Mr. *Harley* was Speaker of the House of Commons, the House address'd King *William*, complaining that by the Grant he had consented to of *Naples*, *Sicily* and other insignificant Islands in the *Mediterranean*, and few Ports upon the Coasts of *Italy* to *France*, he had made that King too great, and particularly that he had enabled him to interrupt our Trade into the *Mediterranean* and the *Levant*; and I think in the *January* following the House of Lords address'd him to the same purpose; and so zealous at that time was the Faction seemingly for the Honour and Interest of their Country, and the Insecurity they judg'd their Commerce in from the growing Power of *France*, that they impeach'd the Lords *Portland*, *Orford* and *Halifax*, as the King's Advisers to that Treaty of Partition, which so much aggrandis'd the Power of *France*, without the Participation of both Houses; and we know as well that *St. John*, *Colonel Byerly* and others of the Faction were the Persons who made the greatest Noise, and concern'd themselves most in the management of that Impeachment. Well then, if the setting of a few Out-branches of the Monarchy of *Spain*, of small importance, were a just occasion of so much Complaint against that great King, and of so much Prejudice to the Commerce and Interest of *England* at that time, one would be glad to be inform'd what *Englishmen* in their Senses ought to think of a Majority of both Houses, who have at present thought fit to complement him with



every Province of that whole Monarchy in *Europe*, with the pretence of the Treasures of the *West-Indies* into the Bargain? What the Interest of *England* prejudic'd by the Concession of a frivolous part to *France*, and is it better provided for now by the addition of the whole? Or if those noble Lords I have mention'd deserved to be impeach'd for advising the King to make that Treaty, what must these dishonourable Ones be thought to deserve, in good time, for advising their Queen to conclude a separate Peace, that leaves the House of *France* in the Possession of the intire Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies* for ever? Could Mr. *Harley* and Mr. *St. John* have so much Concern for the Honour and Interest of their dear Country then, when there was, in effect, nothing to be apprehended, as can my good Lord of *Oxford*, and my honest Lord *Bolingbroke*, consent now to augment the Power of *France* to such a degree of Orbittance, as not only threatens, but must inevitably destroy the whole Protestant Religion, Liberties and Interest of all *Europe* and *England* own? Shameless Prevarication! What Honour or Advantages can a Nation expect from the Service of Men, who can thus scandalously sacrifice the publick Good to their private Interests? Time we know though it changes the Circumstance, can never alter the Nature or Property of things; Opinions and even Judgments of Men may change, because they may be founded upon Incertainties, but Honour and Conscience are or ought to be immutable and eternally the same; yet in this Instance of the Abandonment of both we are so much trusted, that a proceeding of this kind in the space of a few Years was not a bare Compliance or Accommodation to the Unhappy Times, which an irresistible Necessity might in a great Measure have excus'd, but a voluntary and infamous Prostitution of the Honour which all Mankind must condemn. What Construction can reasonably be put upon the Intrigues of a Faction, wicked enough to separate us from our Confederacy, other than the Design of freeing the *French* King from the Opposition of one of the most considerate Members of it, in order to weaken and dissipate the rest? What? For no other Reason more or less than to give him a breathing while to recover himself, and an Opportunity to enable him in a very short time to force their dear Pretender, and his Tool, upon the Throne of *England*, with just as much Right and Equity as their good Help he has done his Grandson upon that of *Spain*. Will Men undertake the Defence of what is really Just, and consequently True; or what is founded upon Principles of Nature, and consequently Rational, the Arguments to prove them are easy, plain and inexhaustible; they carry with their genuine and artless Simplicity a strength and force of Conviction that are irresistible; but when they stand up in the Support of what is either manifestly false or forc'd or unnatural, their Inventions are ever upon the Rack, and find out at best but plausible and popular Arguments, which are ever captious, and seldom carry an Evidence with them of Force enough to persuade; they end at most but in Appearance and Probability, and always leave the Question but doubtful and problematical; they never thoroughly convince, but carry a strong Tincture of

ity with them; sufficient to puzzle and embarrass the Weak and Credulous, who have not Capacity enough to distinguish the Sophistry of Error or Falshood from the clear and solid Reasonings of Truth and Honesty. Whoever will but give himself the trouble to reflect a little upon what is past, will easily be satisfy'd, that it has been solely by these sly, but dangerous, and concerted Artifices of the Faction, that so great a part of the Nation has been deceiv'd and brought into the Opinion of the present Measures, under the popular Motion and Appearance of the publick Good, which yet at the bottom visibly tend to the utter Ruin and Destruction of it.

'Tis very surprizing to observe, with what Nonsense and Impudence, a young pragmatistical High-Church Priestling, just hopp'd, as were, unfledg'd out of his Nest of the University, shall very gravely pretend to maintain that the Danger to *England* and the other trading Powers of *Europe*, in respect of their Commerce, is much greater from the Restitution of *Spain* and the *West-Indies* to an Emperor of *Germany*, the legitimate Heir of them, than from their Union with *France*, who has no more any Pretension of Right to them than the *Cham* of *Tartary*. I have something else to do with my Time, than to trifle it away in answering or satisfying such ignorant or corrupt Impertinents, if I did not see that it is a Topick has been generally insisted on by most of them, even those of better Figure, Sense and Consideration in the Faction. I shall therefore pretend to open the Weakness and manifest Falsehood of the Assertion, as the grossest and most nonsensical Piece of Absurdity that possibly has been broach'd in *England*, in respect to her trading Interest, since the beginning of their Modern Politicks which gave it both. *France*, by its natural Scituation, seems to have been design'd to extend her conquests; as it is wash'd on the *South* by the *Mediterranean*, so is on the *North* by the Ocean and Channel that divides us, and on both Sides is furnish'd with Forts and Harbours, which by Art add to the Conveniences of Nature, have been render'd almost impregnable. This gives them the Means to extend their Commerce, as well as Security to their Naval Armaments, in which by the Baseness and Treachery of *Tory* Counsels in some former Reigns, they have been permitted from nothing to become equal, if not an Overmatch for any one Maritime Power in *Europe*. By this happy situation, and the Temperament of their Climate, they abound with infinite Numbers of People, industrious, active, and of a fiery martial Temper, that equally fits them for all Conditions of Life; and whilst they had any Remains of their original Freedom, of a formidable Valour; and, lastly, of such an intrinsic Fund of Riches the natural Result of their Industry and Fertility of their Country, as might have been thought inexhaustible, but by a despotical Prince, whose Profusions in his Attempts of Oppressing his Neighbours were as immeasurable as his Ambition; both which, I mean the Numbers of his People, and the Immenity of his Treasure, he has drain'd to the last Degree of Exigence; the former by his continual Wars and endless Effusion of his Subjects Blood, and the other by the necessary Expences of carrying them on, and infinitely more

by the Extravagancies of his Luxury, and those of Bribery and Corruption. And I must take leave here to insist a little upon what has been esteem'd the most impolitick Step of his whole Reign, I mean the detestable Extirpation of his Subjects of the Reform'd Religion as the first and most evident Advance to the Ruin both of himself and Kingdom. I shall not insist upon the blackest Ingratitude to the People who both plac'd and conserv'd him upon the Throne, against the Attempts of the Prince of *Conde*, in the first Civil War of his time; but this cruel and inhuman Policy, if it deserves that Name, was the desperate Counsel of their implacable Enemies the *Jesuits* who are in so distinguished a manner the Support of High-Church in *France*; by which as they laid the Foundation of the Ruin of their own Country, have furnish'd a laudable Example to their Brethren here, (who only differ from them in Name, but agree with them in Principles and Practice, and if I should say in Religion, should do them but little if any Injustice) to effect the same in ours. By these furious Means he has depriv'd himself of the Assistance, Riches and Valour of above four hundred Thousand, by Imprisonment, Death, Banishment and other Methods of his Inhumanity, of the bravest Soldiers, and most faithful Subjects in his Dominions. It has by a modest Computation been made appear, that in the beginning of his Reign there were in *France* fifteen hundred Thousand Souls of the Reform'd Religion, in which number I include the four hundred Thousand I have mention'd, and that there remain conceal'd about six hundred Thousand. This I look upon to be one of those wonderful Turns of a mysterious and inscrutable Providence, by which God frequently contrives the Destruction of Tyrants and Oppressors of Mankind, by the very Means they propose for their Security and Establishment. The Emperor, though a bigoted *Roman Catholic*, and the other Powers of *Europe* both Popish and Protestant who had suffer'd from his Insults, were too sensible of the Weakness that by this false and impolitick Step the Kingdom of *France* was reduc'd to, and too habile not to make their Advantage of it upon occasions; and by the Impressions they have every where made upon him in the whole Course of this long and bloody War, they seem to have been but the Instruments of that Providence to accomplish its mysterious Ends and Designs; for I will be bold to maintain, that if that Number of brave and loyal People had been encourag'd and indulg'd in the Possession of their natural Rights, and the free Exercise and Profession of a Religion that teaches all Men to be good Subjects, but none to be Slaves, as they must of Consequence have exceedingly increas'd, it would humanly speaking been impossible for all the united Forces of *Europe* to have defended themselves from the Insults of so redoubtable an Enemy, much less to have made any Impressions upon him. But to return from this short, but what I thought seasonable, Digression.

*Spain*, as it is on three Parts surrounded with the Sea, has the same Convenience of excellent Ports and Harbours; and by the Possession of the *Indies*, is sole Mistress of that inexhaustible Fund of Treasure, from which all the Parts of the Universe draw their principal



Principal Riches: 'Tis true that the vast Conquests and Extent of their Dominions in the *Western World*, have drain'd their Native Country of infinite Numbers of its Inhabitants, by which it has been considerably enfeebled; but what remains of them, when under good Discipline and well paid, are a patient, brave and valiant People; it must be further considered that these two great and noble People, are only separated by the *Pirenean Mountains*, of which in the present Situation of Affairs they are equally in Possession, and are likely to continue so whilst they remain in the same Posture and Condition of Consanguinity and Alliance; so that in Effect they cannot politically be consider'd but as one great People, united in one and the same Interest and Religion.

The Emperor with all his magnificent Titles, though greater now than any of his Predecessors by the Accessions already mention'd, since the Advancement of the noble Family of the Counts of *Hapsburg* to the Imperial Dignity, bears no manner of Proportion singly to the Power of *France*, but infinitely less when in Conjunction with *Spain* and the *Indies*; he is a very limited Prince, and subject to the ancient Constitutions of the Empire of which he is the Head; and the Empire it self is compos'd of several great and powerful Princes independent of each other, and sovereign in their respective Dominions, but frequently divided, and of different Views and Interests. A Government so constituted, though compos'd of robust and vigorous Members, yet wanting the Soul of Union, is but a Body, by Weakness inseparable from Division, always feeble and languishing; seldom capable of defending itself from foreign Insults, and less to conceive and prosecute with Vigour and Success any great and important Enterprize. It may indeed be granted, that if the whole *Bosnia* of the *German Nation*, in its Latitude, were one intire People under the Conduct of a bold and enterprising Monarch, both in Respect of their Numbers, the Strength of their Bodies, and their Eminent Valour, would be infinitely more than a Match for all the other Powers in *Europe*: And this, in my Opinion, seems to be another Order and Decree of Providence that has not permitted such a People to be united in one intire Body, as might have indangered the Liberty of the *Christian World*; but as they stand thus divided, we are frequently seen some of them liable to the Corruptions of *Bribery*, thereby depriving the Head of the natural Succours and Assistance of the Members. Let it be further consider'd that the Body of the Empire is an Inland Country, except on the Side of the *North*, where the Maritime Powers, that are Members of it, are of small Consideration; on the *South*, the Emperor has no strong Forts or Havens, but a few inconsiderable Ones on the Coasts of *Tuscany* and Kingdom of *Naples*, and not one Ship of Force of his own in any of them; without which it is impossible to form the Design of foreign Conquests, or of disturbing the Peace of distant Princes. I the more willingly insist upon this important Circumstance, because it is of the greatest Evidence to prove the Grossness of the Absurdity of those, who affirm that there is much greater Danger from the Restitution of the Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies* to the House of *Austria*, than from their

their Union with that of *Bourbon*. This then is the essential Difference between the two great contending Powers of the *Empire* and *France* in the Point in Dispute, both in respect of their Situation, the Constitution of their Government, the Numbers and Genius of their People, and the Funds of their Riches. Let us not from these general Premises, consider and compare the Consequences that might, nay, that shall infallibly happen to *Europe* from the Junction and peaceable Possession of *Spain* and the *Indies*, either to the House of *Austria* or that of *France*, and leave the Issue to the Determination of the unprejudic'd Reader.

The Notion of universal Monarchy, as has been hinted, is a Chimaera only of Ambition; which though it hurry'd those two great Families in the two last Centuries to attempt it, yet the ill Success both, in the pursuit, have shown the thing impracticable for any Prince in *Europe* to accomplish. 'Tis true that *Charles* the Fifth, Prince of great Activity, Wisdom and Valour, (who yet with his great Qualities, had more of the Air of the Knight-Errent Romance, than a just and prudent Conqueror) had unquestionably form'd the Design of it; yet, though he was the first of his Family who had the Honour and good Fortune at one time to wear the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Crowns, the Difficulties he foresaw and met with from the Opposition of the other Princes of *Christendom*, compell'd him to drop it as impracticable. This Reflection oblig'd that wise Prince upon the famous Resignation he made of the tumultuous Dignity and Honours of this World, to vacate to the more lasting and glorious Ones of the other, to leave with the consent of the Prince Electors to his Brother *Ferdinand* the Empire, which though the first Crown in *Europe* was by Reason of its Constitution of Variety of Sovereignties much inferior to that of *Spain*, which he left to his Son *Philip* the Second; as being convinc'd that the united Power even of the two Kingdoms, however potent or redoubtable considered in themselves, by reason of their distant Situation, were of Force sufficient for the Accomplishment of such a Design; yet it is as certain that his Son *Philip*, who inherited all his Ambition, and few or none of his Vertues, (for notwithstanding all his Gravity and Reputation of Wisdom, there never was a more cruel or impolitic Tyrant upon the Throne) entertain'd the same Project; till after a fruitless Dissipation of an infinite Treasure, the Defeat of his invincible *Armada*, the Revolt of the United Provinces, his Loss in the *Netherlands*, *Italy* and other Members of his Dominions, and polluted with the Murder of his Son and best Friends, he put an end to an inglorious Life and immeasurable Ambition together; the Splendor of which he had maintain'd in a long Reign, by all the most execrable Arts of Violence and Fraud. Thus he lay'd the Foundations, if I may speak so, of the Ruin of a great and potent Monarchy he found in the height of Glory and Reputation above all in the Universe; and which has since, under the Reign of his feeble Successors, dwindled into so mean a Condition, as in our Days he us'd with a Contempt only due to Slaves; whereas had these great and warlike Nations, commanding the Treasures of the *Indies*

been united and conjoin'd by their natural Scituation, it had not been in the reach of humane Wisdom to foresee how far they might have gone in the pursuit of their ambitious Project of Universal Monarchy, if possibly there were not an insurmountable Bar on the side of Heaven; God having no where commission'd any of his Prophets to foretel a fifth Monarchy, as they did the great ones many Years before they had a Being in the World. It was upon the Declension and Ruin of the *Spanish* Greatness, that the Exaltation of *France* and the House of *Bourbon* took their Beginnings, and under the Reigns of the respective Kings of that Family gave Birth to the same ambitious Enterprize when the others had laid it down; but as it was form'd upon the same wicked Principles of Violence and Oppression, it has pleas'd the great and good God (in whose Hands alone is the secret Disposition of all Powers and Kingdoms upon Earth) to return them with the same Disgrace and Disappointment, as the just Reward of an insolent Presumption that dar'd to combat the Decrees of an unsearchable and irresistible Providence; This *France* has presum'd to attempt barely upon the Funds of its own Riches and Power, during the last Century; and in our Days we have been permitted to see both the vanity and wickedness of the Attempt, in the justice and severity of the Punishment that has attended it; yet we may make this just Reflection from what they have been able to perform by the strength of their own single Puissance, what they may and will be capable of undertaking in the space of a very few Years, when united and in Conjunction with *Spain*, and supported by the inexhaustible Treasures of the *Indies*.

This is what our worthy High-Church Politicians will neither see or consider; gratify but their own ambitious Designs, secure to them by a vile and slavish Indulgence the Possession of their ill-got Power, permit them to establish their worthless Families, though upon the Ruin of the Honour, Liberties and Religion of their Country, and they will never trouble themselves what shall become, either in the present or for the future, of their own or any body's else; but to prove past Dispute, that the whole Design of the Faction is no other End than to put *France* in a Condition sooner or later to establish the Pretender on the Throne of great *Britain*, in whom alone they place all their Hope and Confidence of their Perpetuity and Establishment; for what may not such noble *English* Protestant Patriots expect from the Gratitude and Sincerity of a Popish Prince, bred up in the Maxims and known Probity of *France*, who shall be rederable to them for the Possession of a Crown invested with a divine, hereditary, indefeasible and unalienable Right? I only desire my honest Countrymen to consider and examine what other Reason they can assign for their famous Desertion of the Confederates; for the base and ungenerous Contrivance of a separate Peace; for the private and underhand Negotiation of it without the Knowledge and Consent of the rest; for the most unrighteous and scandalous Concession of *Spain* and the *Indies* to a Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, to the dishonour of her Majesty, and so infinitely detrimental, nay, ruinous to the Interest of the Nation, in the open Violation of the publick Faith



Faith and solemnity of Engagements: For if *France* be not reduc'd and humbled by the Valour and good Fortune of the Confederates who shall be once more under the necessity of uniting again for the End; or if by such a separate Peace with *Great-Britain*, or even by a necessitated and constrain'd general One, she is enabled to preserve her Affairs in the Condition they are at present, as she will be Mistress of those Funds of Treasure of the *Indies* that furnish to the Necessities and Luxury of the whole Universe, what is there that an ambitious Prince is not capable of when supported by them in such a Superfluity, as by a Management tolerably frugal can never be exhausted? What Security in such a Situation for the Peace and Security of *Europe*, from the haughty Insolence of a Man, whose Policy has no other Rule than his single Will, or his Ambition any Restraint of Faith or Honour? Is it not evident as the Sun at Noon, that if he has time to breathe, he will in a very short space of time recruit his broken shatter'd Forces to a degree of Ability once more, possibly in his own time, to invade the Dominions and Liberties of his unequal Neighbours? Or at least it may be in the Power of his Grandson, or the first Prince of his Family, of a daring and active Spirit, to attempt it? Shall he not be able in a very few Years to fill all the Ports of *France* and *Spain*, and cover the Seas with such numerous and powerful Fleets as will be infinitely superior to all the maritime Power not only of *Europe*, but the Universe? Is there any thing more than the single Barrier of the *Pirenees*, of which he will ever be in Possession, that separates the two Kingdoms, and which enables them mutually upon any important Occasion to maintain an Intercourse and furnish each other with Forces and Assistance as may be thought necessary for the Execution of whatever they shall think fit in concert to undertake? If the single Power of *France* has all the last Century been superior to any one Prince, nay, even to those of *Europe* together, will it not be infinitely more so by the Union of *Spain* and the *Indies*? Have we not been lavishing away for the four and twenty Years our Blood and Treasure, to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France* alone? And is not that same Power, or at least will it not in a very little time be infinitely more exorbitant than ever it was before by this fatal Conjunction? Where in such a Case shall be found the Forces to oppose them united, when they shall conspire and joyn together, as they certainly will, to complete their Conquest, and in that the Slavery, with the whole Protestant Religion and Interest of all *Europe*?

What Security in such an excess and superiority of Power for the Preservation of foreign Trade either to the *British* or *Dutch*, which is as it were the Soul and Life-blood of both their Constitutions? Can any Man out of *Bedlam* believe that they will not ingross the whole to their own Nation, and only leave the Rests to them as the Slaves, which they cannot tell how to imploy or dispose of to their own Advantage? The *Dutch*, as formidable as they are in the *Indies*, cannot long promise themselves those Possessions they have with so much Industry and Valour acquir'd there; nor the *British* with their Fort *St. George* and other few Places of small importance.

will not long boast of the Possession of those, though under the Administration of the contemptible *Chevalier* of that Name; nor of as much Pepper from thence of their own, as will season a Protestant bunch of Venison, but by the good grace and condescension of their Spanish imperious *French* Masters, when by our Treachery or Cowardice we shall have made them so. Our Trade with *Spain*, which has ever been esteem'd the most beneficial Branch of what we had by our Woollen Manufactures of all sorts, by this short Union of the two Kingdoms, is already fallen less by half value than it has been formerly, before the *French* found the way to get both our Wool and theirs which they have wrought up to a Perfection equal to our own, and which they can afford to undersel by the Ease of Transportation over the Mountains and the Neighbourhood of all the Corners of that Kingdom: What share of it shall we then expect to have, or what profit to reap from it, when they shall no more be consider'd as two, but in all Political Respects and Interests but one and the same Kingdom? Our Commerce to the *Levant*, which is of as great importance, will inevitably run the same Destiny, and be either wholly ruin'd us by the Situation of their Ports, or render'd so little valuable by the nearer Neighbourhood of the *French*, who for the same reason of less expensive Transportation will be able to undersel us, that it will never answer the Trouble and Charge of carrying it on. The very same will be our Case in the whole Extent of their *West-Indies*, where they will be alone the absolute and uncontrollable Masters; and if they have so much Goodness and Indulgence, as to suffer us humbly to carry our Commodities to any or all of these Places, we may depend upon it, that it shall not be till they have glutted the Markets with the Vent of their own; and in such Case we shall be under the necessity either to sell our Goods and Manufactures to loss, or leave them there to rot in our Storehouses. It will indeed be a glorious and advantageous Change for *Great Britain* and *Holland*, from the Power of Commanding, which they had acquir'd by the Strength and Reputation of their Arms, to dwindle into that of being Commanded, and crouch like Slaves begging the Permission to trade from their new insolent Masters they once had it in their Power to have trampled under their Feet. These are some, amongst an infinite number of others, of the most material and undeniable Consequences of the Union of *France* and *Spain*; and I challenge the most frontless High-Church Politician, to demonstrate with the same Certainty, that the like in all or any particular Instance can be deduc'd, or rationally be suppos'd to follow, from the Restitution of them to the rightful Heir of the House of *Austria*, though at the same time Emperor of *Germany*: From the former all that I have mention'd, and a thousand times more, is inseparable and unavoidable; from the latter, as absolutely impossible.

It is with more Pity and Compassion than Resentment, that a man reads the feeble and despicable Reasonings upon this Subject the Partisans of the Faction, who pretend to maintain the Cause of *France* against that of *Germany*, but more especially of such of them, who have either out of Pique or views of Interest quitted the honest

honest Party they were formerly engag'd in, for the Service of the prevailing Faction; there is so remarkable a Difference in their manner of Arguing on the one side and the other, that it is difficult to conceive them to be the Productions of the same Men; though the Reason of it is obvious enough, because on the one side they plead the Interests of Truth, Justice and Reason, which are ever easily defended, and best by the plainness and simplicity of Reasoning; but on the other they engage their Wits in the support of Falshood, Error and Absurdities, which must ever be necessarily attended with the artful and laborious perplexities of Disguise and Insincerity; not to mention the more frivolous ones of what Men call Conscience, which to Mercenaries, who content their Avarice at the expence of their Judgment and Honour, are of no consideration in the mode of High-Church Divinity. Amongst the rest, the Author of the *Review* has taken much Pains to tell us of the dreadful Inconveniencies that threaten all the World from the addition of *Spain* and the *Indies* to an Emperor of *Germany*; but is as silent as if he had been in a Grave, upon those that must inevitably follow from their Union with a King of *France*. In like manner he expatiates largely upon the dismal Consequences to the *Dutch*, both in respect of their Liberty and Navigation, in Case of a Rupture and War with *England*, without taking the least Notice in the World of the Traytors, who must be the unhappy Contrivers and Occasion of such a Misfortune if it should have happen'd, or who should have drawn the Guilt of the Christian Blood and Treasure that must have been expended in the Prosecution of it. If as that Author gravely urges by any Stimulation of the first Grand Alliance, it was provided that the Monarch of *Spain* should never be united to an Emperor of *Germany*; let us be consider'd, that the Father being then in Possession, and the eldest Son King of the *Romans*, and therefore presumptive Emperor, it was from that thought reasonable to confer it upon the youngest Son, *Prince Charles*; and as there was at that time a very fair Prospect of a numerous Issue of that Imperial House, there was no Man could be of an Opinion, but that it would be much more for the Peace and Happiness of *Europe*, in order to form a just Ballance of Power, that *Spain* and the *Indies* should be rather confer'd upon a younger Branch of that Family, than united with the Imperial One upon the Head of any single Person of it; 'tis granted, but what then? Is it from hence reasonable to conclude, that if it should please God, as he has since done, to reduce that Illustrious Family to a single Person, that therefore he should be debar'd the Possession of his natural and dubitable Right, only to confer it upon a Prince of an Enemy's House already too great, and who has no more pretension of Right to it than any High-Churchman in *England*, who has contributed to make him the Present of it, and from whom the most dangerous and terrible ill Consequences are unavoidable? This was the Case of the Family in the Division of those Powers by *Charles the Fifth*: It is well known, that it was then thought inconvenient to leave those two great Nations united in the possession of one Man, and therefore the Emperor *Ferdinand* was prefer'd to the Empire, and the Son *Philip*



second, as has been said, had in Partage *Spain* and the *Indies*; but  
 was at the same time expressly stipulated, that in Case of failure of  
 the either in the one or other Branch of the Family, that they should  
 remain and be united in the Male Line of the Survivors; since  
 besides the natural Right of that Family, it was judg'd impossible that  
 the same Dangers should accrue to *Europe* from such an Union, as  
 from one with the House of *France*. And if in the second Grand  
 Alliance it is expressly provided, that the Crown of *Spain* and the  
*Indies* should not be united on the Head of an Emperor of *Germany*,  
 was for the same Reason, because there was little or no likelihood  
 that it should ever happen to be so; but it cannot be suppos'd that if  
 should, that therefore the Prince should loose a Right indisputably  
 his Family.- But supposing all that he and all such mercenary  
 members of the Faction advance were true, that they say in Disfavour  
 and Prejudice to the natural and legal Rights of the House of *Austria*,  
 but can rationally be concluded from thence in favour of the House  
 of *France*? How do they pretend to make out that the Ballance of  
 Power they banter us with is procur'd by such a Junction? Either  
 they must allow themselves to be out of their Wits, or the most  
 enemies of Mankind, or at least believe us to be so; and as we think  
 ourselves to be unconcern'd in the latter part of the Character, we  
 are mistaken if they don't find themselves in an Error with respect to  
 the former. All the World knows, that in Case of failure of the Male  
 branches of the present Imperial Family, the House of *Savoy* has an  
 unquestionable Right to the Crown of *Spain* and the *Indies*, accord-  
 ing to the ordinary Course of hereditary Kingdoms founded upon  
 Primogeniture of Blood; and the Princes Electors in such a Case left at  
 liberty, by the fundamental Laws of their Constitution, to elect whom  
 they please, and think most worthy for the common Good, to be at  
 the Head of the Empire. What then is all this to *France*, which has  
 no manner of Right either to the one or the other; yet as Things  
 have been manag'd by us, is in a fair Way upon the Death of the  
 present Emperor without Issue, to be in possession of them both; for  
 he got the One by Fraud, so he will the Other by Violence and  
 usurpation, which we all know are two divine unquestionable  
 maxims of the modern High-Church Policy: Why then must *France*  
 be aggrandiz'd by so immense a Strength and Surcrease of Riches and  
 Influence, which never employ'd what was singly and properly her  
 own, but to the certain Disturbance of the Peace and Tranquility,  
 and even total Subversion of the Liberties, the Protestant Religion  
 and Interest of all *Europe*? In like manner, if in the seventh Arti-  
 cle of the first Treaty of Partition, and the ninth of the Second, the  
 provision is made to prevent the Union of the Imperial and  
 Spanish Crowns, upon any one Head of the House of *Austria*; I  
 think it may reasonably be presum'd that the wise Author of the Re-  
 treaty, or any other of his Faction, dare not have the Impudence to  
 maintain that it was ever the Intention of King *William*, for whom  
 the House had so great a Veneration, or of any other Princes or Powers  
 consulted in that Treaty, that they should therefore ever be united  
 in the Possession of any one of the Family of *Bourbon*, who some  
 time

time or other may very probably happen to wear that of *France* at the same time, to the wonderful Commodity, no doubt, of all *Europe* may, or that they should ever fall into the Hands of any Prince that Family at all; for there are none that we know of, but our High Church Disposers of Crowns, (who have just as much Right to so as their Father the Pope) who can reconcile the incomparable Nonsense of reducing an exorbitant Power, by augmenting it with Puissance superior to its own; or who have the Art of preserving Ballance of Power, by making one Family too Potent and Formidable for all the rest of the Princes of *Europe* together, which we have been fighting these three or four and twenty Years to bring down from that degree of Exorbitancy it was arriv'd at, upon the Foundation of its own natural Strength and Capacity; but I forget that there can be any thing impossible to those great Men who have found out the admirable Secret of securing the Liberties of *England*, by subjecting her to the Power of *France*, or of securing a Protestant Church and Religion under the Domination of a Popish Pretender.

I know that Author to be a sensible and judicious Man; for Honesty and Integrity let him defend them as well as he can; and I believe too, that no Man in *England* knows better than he by what Necessity our great King *William* was in a manner compell'd to enter into those Measures of the Partition Treaty. The *Tory* Faction, who had long labour'd hard to embarrass and perplex the whole course of his auspicious Government, as well as by the foulest and most malicious Insinuations to tarnish the Glory of it, were at that time powerful enough in the House to hinder the giving the Supplies in proportion to the necessities of the War, which they thought already too tedious and expensive, so too far carry'd on for the Design they were then meditating, and at this day ripening into Execution; they saw too large Steps made every Campaign towards reducing the Power of *France*, upon which all their confidence of Success was solely founded; they foresaw that the Continuance of the War was like to terminate in the utter Reduction of it, and in that the loss of their Hopes of ever introducing their beloved Pretender, which they well enough knew it was impossible for them ever to effect without their Assistance. This made them to compel that great King to put an end to that War against his Judgment, by refusing him the Means to continue it longer with Honour for the general Safety. *France* though considerably abated both in her Power and Reputation, was yet in a Condition to have carried it on a good while longer. Charles the Fourth of *Spain*, naturally a weak and unactive Prince, was reduc'd to so low and languishing a Condition of Health, as to be in danger of Life: This was at that time the Situation of the Affairs of the respective Princes concern'd in this famous Treaty of Partition. I do not here undertake to determine by what Authority two or three great and powerful Princes assume to themselves a Liberty of disposing of the Rights and Possessions of their Neighbours without their Participation, and principally without the Consent and Conference of the Courts and general States of a Nation; but this I pretend to maintain, that a Prince or next Heir dispos'd and in

his legal and natural Rights by any such foreign Disposition, is his liberty to have recourse to all the Means that God and Nature, his People and Confederates shall put into his Hands, to recover and defend them; nor do the Stipulations and Agreements between such Powers in the least bind or affect others, who are either consulted, or so much as acquainted with them, who yet may have an equal Interest to have a watchful Eye to the common good upon so important and delicate a Conjunction; and as at that time the King of *Spain's* Death was in a short time expected, it was thought necessary to form such a Ballance of Power by such Disposition of his Estates, as should be esteemed the best and most expedient to prevent Disorders, and thereby secure the Peace and Tranquility of the rest of *Christendom*. A Treaty then of Partition was enter'd into and concluded, by which the *Spanish* Monarchy was divided; *Spain*, the *Indies*, and the Isles of the *Mediterranean* granted to Prince *Charles*, the younger Brother of the Emperor of *Austria*; the *Spanish Netherlands*, all the Fiefs of the Empire in *Italy*, *Milan* and the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Emperor; and some Parts of *Tuscany*, and other Parts of *Italy* to *France*. This was then look'd upon as the only Expedient to prevent the confusions might inevitably happen upon the Death of the King of *Spain* between the Powers that might pretend to the Succession, and which must have engag'd on one side or the other all the rest, their Interest or Inclinations might direct them; and it was further provided, that in case of failure of Issue of King *Charles*, the Duke of *Savoy* should succeed to the Crown of *Spain* as next in succession by Proximity of Blood. Now if it be here acknowledged, that it was not then conceiv'd convenient for the publick good of *Europe*, that an Emperor of *Germany* should not be at the same time in the Possession of the Kingdoms of *Spain* and the *Netherlands*; I think we may with much reason conclude, that it never could, or could be thought convenient to unite them to the Crown of *France*, or any Branch of that Family: And I further affirm, that the *Spaniards*, and especially the *Grandeess* and Nobility, so jealous of the Honour of their Monarchy, and who were so exasperated at the dismembring of it, tho' in the most part to the Family of their belov'd House of *Austria*, and infinitely more so at that time, when it was conceded to their mortal Enemy the *French*, were the People in the World that would have made a Present of the whole, or any one Province of it to them, if they had not been engag'd into it afterwards; and I am very positive, that there is no Prince, Nation or People in *Europe* of any Consideration, (the *French* and our High-Church Faction only excepted) that would rather see and contribute to procure that intire Monarchy to the Emperor of *Germany*, even tho' without any Right, than to a King of *France*, or any Branch of his Family, who we are sure has no other Interest. 'Tis demonstrable, that our glorious King *William* enter'd into this Treaty with his natural Wisdom and Fore-sight, as the necessity of the Times, and the nice and critical Circumstances of Affairs would admit of, and with his natural Honesty



neſty and Sincerity to defend and preſerve it; and it is as demonſtrable, that the King of *France*, with his natural Preſidiousneſs never deſign'd to obſerve or perform one ſingle Article of it; it is ſufficiently known to all the World, that at the very ſame time that his Miniſters were treating with thoſe of *England* and *Spain* concerning this Partition, his Emiſſaries in *Spain*, with Cardinal *Portocarero* and other falſe Friends to their Country had corrupted, were hatching the infamous Forgery of a Will ſhould at once put the whole in the Poſſeſſion of a Grandſon of *France*: The Event in a ſhort time juſtify'd the Truth of all this for the King of *Spain* was no ſooner in his Grave, but the Duke of *Anjou* was ſetled in the Throne. Adieu Partition, adieu French Faith, farewel French Honour; and at the ſame time the Pretender, in the Contempt and Violation of the Treaty of *Ryſwick*, publicly acknowledg'd and declar'd King of *England*; and it ſeem'd thought enough to ſham the World and banter all the Princes of *Europe* with the laudable Cant of their High-Church Caſuiſts diſtinction, of obſerving the Spirit, and with a very ſafe Conſcience breaking the Letter of the ſame Treaty.

The Reſentment then of the Affront offer'd to the Maſtery of our glorious King and Honour of our Nation, the Juſtice of revengeing the Treachery of a perfidious and faithleſs Tyrant, the Reſtitution of the Uſurp'd Dominions of the lawful Heir, and the Reduction of the exorbitant Power of *France*, were the only juſt motives of recommencing a War, which by the viſible Favour of Heaven upon our Arms, had led us to the very Eve of reaping the Fruit of all our Expence of Blood and Treafure; when all of a ſudden the Name of Wonder and High-Church! *France* was no further to be humbled; there had been enough done of all conſcience, and one may, without the Danger of Perjury, venture to ſwear that a great deal too much in their Opinions, and for their Deſigns, every honeſt *Engliſhman* hopes there ſhall be more; for if we had all this while been fighting to reduce this exceſſive overgrown Power of *France*, why were we debar'd from finiſhing ſo great, ſo neceſſary and ſo glorious a Work, when we had it in our Hands to do ſo effectually? If we have been fighting all this while for the Reſtitution of the *Spaniſh* Monarchy to the rightful Heir of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, how came they, as it were in the twinkling of an Eye, to be permitted peaceable to remain in the Hands of a ſurper, without any Title but that of Forgery and Violence? If in the Name of Faction is this preſerving the Ballance of Power when with one Daſh of a Pen we give to *France* what we have taken from her theſe twelve bloody Years been forcing from her by the Edge of the Sword, the leſs powerful and pernicious Weapon of the two, thereby made the preſent King ten times more capable of inflaming the reſt of *Europe*, than either he or any of his Predeceſſors have been, ſince by their arbitrary and deſpotical Power they have reduc'd to a miſerable Servitude their own free and generous People. One may juſtly admire with what Impudence the wretched Authors of mercenary Scriblers of the Faction can dare to impoſe

on the World, in maintaing this to be the way of pre-  
 serving a just Ballance of Power; if we did not know that all Ob-  
 jectiōns, all Laws divine or human are but Cobwebs to such as  
 are destitute of all Sentiments of Vertue and Honour, in the shame-  
 less Prostitution of both for their Interest: For now the Apostate  
 Author of the *Review* tells us, we must not fight to dethrone the  
 King of *France*, and we must not fight to dissolve the Kingdom  
 of *France*. Wretched and Infamous! which of the Confederates  
 on this just and honourable War ever entertain'd the least Thought  
 of doing so? Tho' if they had design'd the former, they would have  
 had much better Reasons to have urg'd for the Attempt, than he  
 has for the Defence of their Cause; but with the humble Leave of  
 modern Politicks, may not the exorbitant Power of a faithless  
 King be reduc'd and brought to Limits without dethroning the  
 King? May there not be Bounds prescrib'd to his destructive Am-  
 bition, and thereby the Liberties of an oppress'd People restor'd,  
 without destroying the Kingdom? Have they not seen both these  
 things done in their own Country, and yet the Honour and Liber-  
 ties of it remain in their Intire? Will these hard Heads never learn,  
 that Kingdoms constituted upon Freedom and Consent, neither are  
 ever can be the Kings but the Peoples, who, as Freemen, are the  
 Proprietors of it? We have never been told, or dream'd of it till the  
 other day, that the Confederates fought for the Conquest of *France*,  
 to reduce and humble it; not to enrich themselves with her Spoils,  
 but for future Security to themselves, and recovering every one his  
 share, that in the long Course of a successful Tyranny had been torn  
 from them by the laudable Arts of Treachery and Violence. To  
 the *Englishmen* talk at this lead and extravagant rate, one would  
 conclude them already *French* Slaves, if we did not know them  
 to be the High Church *Englishmen*, which in our Language are Be-  
 lievers of God and their Country; who, as they are debauch'd with  
 such Principles and Maxims of Government, which we call Ty-  
 ranny, would easily be prevail'd with for their Interest to profess  
*French* Religion too, which we call Popery.  
 At the Treaty of *Ryswick*, they who insisted upon the Restora-  
 tion of the Protestant Religion in *France*, and of the People to their  
 former Liberties, the Parliaments, the Nobility and Counsellors, in  
 short, the free General Assemblies of the Three Estates, which  
 were the supream Legislature originally of that Kingdom, to their  
 Authority; and if those who assisted more lately at another  
 Place, for the same things were told, that those things were  
 concern'd in that War, but that it was only a War to restore  
 Peace, and to bring *Europe* to a Ballance of Power, we know very  
 well who were the Authors of those laudable Declarations; in the  
 first they were *French* Traytors, who by a servile and degenerate  
 Interest, had contributed to enslave their own Country, and in the  
 second they were *English* ones, who out of the same Views and Prin-  
 ciples are labouring hard to do the same good Office to ours; and I  
 can only in their respect remark here by the by, that the two last  
 —; one of a Family, the first of which lost his Head in the

Prosecution of so commendable a Design, and it is to be hop'd will not be the last; ——— and the other of an Order, that upon the like Occasion has furnish'd the Nation with an Example, and taught them some time or other what to do again upon the like Occasion and may it be the Fate of all Orders and Degrees of such among us as carry on the same traiterous Designs: Yet whatever may be the Opinion of these worthy High-Church Politicians, I will resolutely maintain against all and every of them, that it is much more just, nay more indispensably necessary for a conquering Confederacy, the greatest part of them of the reform'd Religion, upon the conclusion of a just and necessary War, to retrieve a great and noble Nation, (reduc'd by an usurp'd, arbitrary and tyrannical Power to the Miseries of an unsupportable Slavery) to reestablish the banish'd reform'd Religion, and restore the Honour of a great and noble Nation, in the free Exercise of their ancient and original Liberties on the fundamental Principles of their Constitution, than for a two or three Princes and Powers, how Just and Vertuous so be their Intentions and Inclinations may be both in the Design and execution, to take upon them to dispose of the Dominions of another Prince's legal and unquestionable Inheritance without his Participation and Consent; for the former is in its nature a good and commendable Work, founded upon the eternal Principles of Reason and Equity, but the latter is liable to import something which I forbear to mention, because of the Share of glorious King had in it, whose Vertue and Memory I shall ever venerate, as much as I detest the Perfidy of a Tyrant that fool'd both him and all the World besides; nay I hardly affirm, that till that noble King be reinstated in the Possession and Exercise of their original Freedom and their banish'd Religion, and their Monarch reduc'd within the Limits of his first Institution, that it will be utterly impossible to expect any Peace or Security to the rest of *Europe* longer, than till *France* wants the Power to disturb and interfere with them; for in that natural Situation of the liberty of the People and limitation of the Prince, tho' they were much more formidable than ever they have been, there would be nothing of which I need apprehend; but from the excess of Power and Ambition of an absolute Prince, whose Will alone is both the Motive and Rule of all his Actions, and from the servile Obedience and submission of the Subject, the worst of Evils is to be fear'd.

We allow it to be true what the Author of the *Review* says, that we fought to put the *Spanish* Monarchy in the Possession of the House of *Austria*, whilst there was a Male Branch of that House being to receive and enjoy it; and no Man in his senses then could have been of any other Opinion, but that *Charles* the Third could at least have had the greatest part of it, *viz. Spain* and the *Netherlands*: All this, he says, is granted; but we never fought with such a Design, or with the least thought of giving the Monarchy of *Spain* into the Hands of an Emperor of *Germany*, for this had been to slay one Monster and erect another more dangerous in his room. Very notable, here we have one side of the Question very fully



and ingenuously propos'd, and pretended to be supported by Arguments that never have or can be answered: Not so fast, good Sir, for I am as positive, and I hope with better reason too, that the Arguments he produces are all of a piece with the rest of his Fellow-bablers, that is, founded upon false Reasoning and false Policy, always the Shift of the Faction, it is not the difficulty but the frivolousness of them that makes it not worth answering; for there are indeed the most dreadful Dangers and Inconveniences that can be imagin'd by People frightned out of their Wits at the Crown of Spain's being upon the Head of an Emperor of *Germany*, but where all this while is the other Part of this difficult Question? That with them is a trifle of no moment, it is not to their purpose, and therefore not worth their while, as against their Interest and Design, to consider or mention it; the Practice indeed is worthy the Principles of those who plead the Cause of Injustice, whose business is only to impose and not to inform. A fair Enemy who contended for Truth, would have well weighed and examined both sides of a Controversy of this moment to all *Europe* and our selves, and have remembered that, *qui aliquid statuit parte sua altera in justum facit*; but with these honest Men it is not much what is right or what is wrong that is their business, but what is for the Interest of their Faction whether it be right or wrong; for there is not one Syllable in all this Jargon of those dangerous Confusions and Disorders that must inevitably follow from the Possession of that Crown by any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, and especially if that Person should happen to wear that of France at the same time, which in case that Family should be reduced to a single Person must necessarily follow; and we should be glad to be inform'd by the wisest of all these High-Churchmen that Power under Heaven could prevent it: If therefore such care has been taken by former Stipulations, that the Imperial and *Spanish* Crowns should never be united upon the Head of one of that Family which has the legal Right to them, for fear of making that Family too exorbitantly great; by what new Stretch of High-Church wonder-working Policy have we been prevail'd upon to bring us into such a Scituation, that we possibly very soon shall see both united upon the same Person of the House of *Bourbon*, who all the World knows have no Right at all? For if the most solemn Act of Renunciation of all the *Spanish* Dominions for ever, made at the Treaty of the *Pirenees*, upon the Marriage of the present *French* King with the Infanta of *Spain* be good, and of any force, then it is most certain, that the Princes of *France* by that Marriage have no more Right to that Crown than I have; but if not, with what impudence do these Men dare to banter and delude the World again with the Renunciation of the Crown of *France* by Philip Duke of *Anjou*? If the *Spaniards*, jealous of the Honour of their Monarchy at that time exacted that formal Act for their security, that no Prince of that Family should ever pretend any Right to their Crown, as the most binding that human Wisdom could be oblig'd by the divine Obligation of the most solemn Oaths upon

the Holy Evangelists could devise, how can any Man alive suppose that twelve Years ago they should be so chang'd in respect to their most mortal Enemies, as to admit one of them into the Throne if he had not been impos'd and obtruded upon them by France and supported in his Usurpation ever since by Violence and the sole Power of the *French Arms*? If that Act of Renunciation could not bind the Grand father, how can the like be suppos'd to have any greater influence upon the Grand-son? Do we imagine that he will want High-Church Casuists, who will tell him, that if he may bind himself, he cannot Renounce for his Descendants? can any *Englishman* be such a Sot as to believe, that in case the present Usurper, the Duke of *Anjou*, should survive the rest of his Family, that he will ever Renounce to such a Kingdom as *France* to which he has a sort of Right, for the Kingdom of *Spain*, or with those of the *Indies*, to which he has none at all? And if he will not, we desire his High-Church Friends amongst us who make him what he is, to consult their Oracle, and tell us who shall compel him.

But to show the leud Prevarication and sudy'd Perfidiousness of the *French King* and the Faction, in respect of this ridiculous Renunciation of the Crown and Kingdom of *France* by the Duke of *Anjou*; I desire my honest Countrymen seriously to reflect upon what they have been made to know of late, and we knew long enough ago, that at the very same time that he was sent to the Possession of the Crown of *Spain*, it was expressly provided by Declaration of the *French King*, that in case the rest of the Family should fail, and he should remain the sole Survivor, that in case he should not be cut off from his Right and Pretensions to the Crown of *France*; which Declaration was formally enregistred in the Parliament of *Paris*. Now I think it behoves every honest *English* Man to inquire a little into this Matter, and consider the nature of this Declaration of the Grand-father, which expressly provides, that the Duke of *Anjou* shall by no means, or in any manner, or by no Act of his, forfeit or lose his Right to the paternal Kingdom in the case before mention'd, and compare it with the notable Renunciation of the Duke of *Anjou* to *France*, by which he swears he will; if so leud and bare fac'd a Collusion in the face of the Sun is not sufficient to open the Eyes and discover the shameful Perjury of the *French* and *Spanish* Kings and the execrable Treason of the *English* Faction, I know no Nation under Heaven so much deserves to be Slaves as *Great Britain*. Nay upon the supposition that the two Crowns continue in distinct Branches of the Family, the Danger will nevertheless be the same to *Europe*, because all the World knows that is not wilfully blind, that in *Spain* and the *Indies*, with all their Dependencies, as to their armies, their Finances, their Trade, their Policy and Maxims of government and every material Branch, are already under the sole direction and Management of the Court of *France*, and are effectually engag'd in the pursuit of the same Interests and Designs; which of our wisest High Church Traitors will let us into

secret, when or how, or by what means they shall ever be divided, at least till the great Business of enslaving all the rest of *Europe* is accomplished: What then are we to expect if ever the two Kingdoms shall come to be united on the Head of a single Person of that Family, which is so far from being impossible, that there is a very great probability that it will be so, and that in a very short time too? For they who are the least acquainted with the late Maxims and Policy of *France*, know that nothing is impracticable with them, who know no other Rule of Morality than their Ambition, and of Religion than their Interest. What then will the Addition of the Crown of *Spain* to an Emperor of *Germany* make him only too abjectly formidable to all *Christendom*, and a King of *France* so? Yes most certainly, according to the profligate Reasonings of the High-Church Faction, who are irreconcilable Enemies to the one, and most faithful and obsequious Friends to the other, tho' the inevitable Ruin and Slavery of their native Country.

But laying aside this notable Scheme of theirs, of debarring the Prince of his legal Right, and supporting the other in his iniquitous Usurpation; let us bring this Matter to a short and reasonable Issue: Since these Men in all their Writings and Discourses upon this Subject pretended to have nothing more at Heart than the establishing a just Balance of Power; he that should have propos'd them to apply themselves in good earnest to have obtain'd it, by laying aside the Pretenders both of one Family and the other, and placing the Family of *Savoy* upon the Throne of *Spain*, who after the Imperial Line are next in Blood, would have propos'd an Excellent, (which tho' there had been some Injustice in it to the House of *Austria*, yet there was none to that of *France*) much more rational and practicable than this at present; but which we are sure they would never have consented to, tho' never so much for the publick Good, for a reason which with them has something of invincible, and that is, because they knew very well, that neither the Emperor or the House of *Savoy* would ever have assented or encouraged them to have establish'd their Pretender on the Throne of *Great Britain*, which they are as certain that their kind and grateful Friends of the House of *Bourbon* will. And here, the Subject of the Duke of *Savoy*, one cannot sufficiently admire or be surpriz'd at his Conduct in the Steps he has made since he has been detach'd from the Confederacy, especially such as are nothing acquainted either with the Genius of his Family, or the natural Qualities, the Wisdom, the Valour and the Ambition of the Duke: 'Tis certain that there is but few Princes, if any in *Christendom*, who better understand their Interest and the Means to pursue it; yet what I am going to offer in relation to the Empire and the present Affairs, will convince us, that he has in his late Proceedings gone far beyond the Rules of all Policy, and has given us a memorable Instance, that the most irregular Ambition is better contented with a distant Advantage, tho' inconsiderable, than with the Views of a nearer, tho' without Proportion greater; and I am firmly of Opinion, that we shall see him, as a Punishment for his



weakness, and that in a very little time, just such another King of *Sicily* as he is of *Cyprus*; for let any Man consider what Views the present Duke of *Savoy* had upon the Crown of *Spain* in respect of the Family of the Emperor, and those he has in regard to that of *France*. By the infamous Forgery of *Portocarrero's* Will the House of *Savoy* is cut off from all Pretensions to the Succession, except in case of failure of Issue Male of the present Duke of *Anjou*, or any other Branch of the *Bourbon* Family, that by the same Art of Fraud or Violence may be foisted into the Throne after him. The Duke of *Anjou* is young, he has already three Children, will questionless marry again if he lives, and probably may have many more. There is still a Child *Dauphin* in *France*, and was Brother, the Duke of *Berry*, who if he had liv'd might be supposed to have many too. These seem'd all to be so many insuperable Obstacles, while they have a Being to the Succession of the Family of *Savoy* to *Spain*, as hardly leave the least Ground to hope of ever arriving at it himself or any of his Family after him, unless the Hand of God, that has appear'd too terribly of late against the Family of *France*, shall please to finish what he has begun, which is solely in the Hand of his Providence. On the other side, the present Emperor, tho' young, is the last of the Male Line of the Imperial Family, has yet no Child, and 'tis uncertain whether or no; in case of his Death, and failure of Issue Male the Duke of *Savoy* is the immediate Heir in Right of Blood. This being so, let it be then consider'd whether a Wise, Valiant and Ambitious Prince ought not at least to have attach'd himself to the Interests of an Emperor, who gives him so near and short a Prospect of the Monarchy of *Spain*, (especially since he had contented him in all his Demands in *Italy*) rather than to that of a King of *France*, whose yet numerous and growing Progeny throws him at a distance from it next to infinite; on one side there seems to be but a single Step left him to make into the most powerful Throne of the Universe, in the other so many as seem unsurmountable. But to return from this small Digression I thought seasonable upon the surprizing Measures this Prince has of late taken: I hope will appear from what has been said, and from the Reasons I have alledg'd, which without Arrogance the Adversary will hardly be able to answer or confute, that either from the Union of the Imperial and *Spanish* Crowns upon one Head, or from their continuing separate in two Branches of the House of *Austria*, if there be remain'd more, it is absolutely impossible that the same Dangers and Inconveniences should threaten the Peace and Liberties of *Europe*, (as well from the distant Situation of their Dominions from the mix'd and limited Constitution of the Empire composed of different Independent Sovereigns, who frequently have different Views and Interests, want of Ports of and Shipping, and from other Important Considerations dream'd of by the Faction) than shall certainly accrue to it, if they are allow'd to continue in the Possession, tho' of two distinct Branches, of the House of *France* but more unavoidably when both in the Hands of any one Prince.

of it, who may be at the same time at the Head of the two greatest and most powerful People in *Christendom*, separated only by one great Wall of Mountains of which they will always either singly or jointly be the Masters, abounding in a multitude of Subjects, abounding with the most commodious Ports in the Ocean, and supported by the inexhaustible Treasures of the *Indies*; and whether it is possible there should be any manner of proportion, or fear of an Exorbitancy of Power from the Junction of the Monarchy of *Spain* with the House of *Austria* as with that of *France*, consider'd under their respective Circumstances, I leave to every modest and reasonable High-Churchman, if there be any such, to consider, and to all my other sensible and honest Countrymen, to determine.

But further; 'tis certain that all Trade, and especially foreign Commerce, depends absolutely upon the Power of a maritime People, who only can be capable of carrying it on to any great Extent of Profit or Reputation; and I think in this respect it is evident to demonstration that our Commerce would have been infinitely better secur'd and provided for by cultivating a strict Friendship and Alliance with the Emperor if he were possess'd of *Spain* and the *Indies*, who it is evident, for want of Shipping of his own, could never be in a Condition to carry it on to any great Degree himself, or to give any Disturbance or Interruption to us who can, than by leaving them in any Branch of the House of *France*, whose interest it will be eternally to disturb and interrupt it; for in a particular manner the *English* and the *Dutch*, who are the two greatest trading People in the World, would by the former means be the sole Masters of all that is most valuable of it in the Earth, and have only what share of it they please to the *French*, and other maritime Powers to glean after them; whereas if the *French* are suffer'd to remain Masters of *Spain*, there is no Man who does not see, that in the space of a very few Years they must become infinitely more powerful at Sea than ever they have been since they were a Nation; and as an Infinity of Riches well manag'd will make them in proportion powerful, we are but too well acquainted with the Ambition of their Princes, the Maxims of their Policy, and the Genius of their People, not to know that in respect of Trade they will not fail to ingross to themselves all that is worth ingrossing, and leave only just so much to their gracious *English* Benefactors as they shall not know how to imploy or make use of themselves. Complaints and Reproaches, the feeble Consolation of Fools and the Impotent, will then have no effect upon a Prince, who knows not what Gratitude, publick Faith, or royal Promises are; he will despise and laugh at our simple Credulity, but never redress the Grievance, or suffer us to be in a Condition to do it our selves; because his Force and Power at Sea must necessarily in a little time be infinitely superiour not only to ours, but the *Dutch* and all the other Maritime Potentates together. This is an undeniable Consequence, for the Riches of the *Indies* joyn'd to those of their own Countries, will soon enable them to build what numbers of Ships they

they please: The Ports of *France* and *Spain* shall be crowded with Armado's that will be invincible to any Power under Heaven; the Seas shall swarm and be cover'd with Armaments, that shall command without control in every Corner of the vast Extent of them; the *English* and *Dutch* Flags shall strike every where to the triumphant *Sun* of *France*; we shall be forc'd to cringe and beg for a share of Trade we once had it in our Power to command: The Riches, the Honour, the Reputation that resulted to us from it shall be for ever lost; and what is, or ought to be infinitely dearer, the Religion and Liberty of a People accustom'd to give Laws and to command, shall run the the same Fate; yet this shall unavoidably be the case from the Scituation our perfidious High Church Faction have reduc'd us to, by the fatal Addition of *Spain* and the *Indies* to *France*.

In a Word, the Issue and Result of Things that must necessarily have succeeded from the union and continuance of that Crown in the House of *Austria*, even upon the Head of an Emperor of *Germany*, must of necessity have all turn'd to the Honour and Advantage of these two potent maritime Powers; for if the Emperor had been once Master and in peaceable Possession of *Spain* and the *Indies*, he must have been oblig'd solely for it to the assistance and concurrence of the Confederacy; and particularly, the two maritime Powers, the *English* and the *Dutch*, without which it must ever have been impossible to secure to himself the Possession of them, or to have defended them from the Insults of the *French*; from whence we may draw an unanswerable Argument, that as he could never have pretended to recover them, or to preserve them when recover'd, but by keeping up an inviolable Friendship and Alliance with them; so would he never have been able to have employ'd the Strength and Riches that would have accru'd to him by that Possession, to the Disturbance or Disadvantage of the one or the other. I purposely wave the Obligations of acknowledgment and ingratitude for so important a Service, because they are not always of that weight with Princes as they ought to be, and turn my Thoughts only to the side of Interest which is the principal Motive and Measure of all publick Affairs between contending Powers; and in this Respect I maintain that the Emperor could never have had it in his Power, if he should have been willing, to have disturb'd the Peace and Tranquility of *Christendom*; but that particularly, the *English* and *Dutch* must have been the sole Masters of all the most important Trade in the Universe. This must necessarily have follow'd from the nature of his Obligations, founded purely upon Interest and the preservation of his State; for that Prince who cannot conquer for or by himself, will never be able for or by himself to preserve what has been solely conquer'd for him by the assistance of his Allies. This is what I call an eternal and indispensable Obligation founded upon Interest of State; since the Assistance of the same Allies will ever be as absolutely necessary to the preservation of his Conquests, as it was at first to make them; and this Consideration must as certainly have oblig'd or compell'd him to have cultivated the Friendship and Alliance which he finds always necessary for



his own Security; for as by the natural Scituation of his Empire in Germany, it is absolutely impossible for him ever to be strong enough in Shipping, either for the Security of *Spain*, or carrying on the Trade of the *Indies*, he will ever be under the necessity of obliging and keeping a firm and constant Correspondence and Amity with those friendly maritime Powers that can; which as the *English* and *Dutch* are those only, it must unavoidably follow that they alone should have reap'd the greatest Fruit and Benefit of all the Trade that depends upon his Dominions, which in effect is the best and most valuable, and to us the most beneficial of the whole World, since he is by no Means, or ever can be in a Capacity to manage and carry it on by his own Subjects of either of his Dominions; and this I think is as plain as the Sun: For *Port Mahon* and *Gibraltar* in the *Mediterranean*, which we have conquer'd, would not only have been left in all security in our Hands, but *Cadix*, and others in *Spain*, and what others in any part of his more distant Dominions, which the Confederates might have thought reasonable to demand, would without all doubt have been so too; not only for the Security and Inlargement of their Traffick, but for the Reimbursement of those immense expences they may have been at for the Recovery of them. By this means, in a short time, the *English* and *Dutch* would have been indemnify'd; their Wealth and Treasure been increas'd to infinite; the Honour and Reputation of their Nations perpetuated; *France* humbled; all *Europe* without Fears, Peaceable and Undisturb'd; the Principles that compose it, in Ease, Plenty and Security; the Emperor freed from all Apprehensions of further Danger from its old Enemy; Happy, secure, Contented; no sign or reason of Disgust or Discontent in *Christendom*, but in *Lewis* the Fourteenth, his Grandson in *Spain*, their great Tool the Pretender, the Pope, the *Jesuits*, the Faction and the dear — High Church of *England*! This, my Countrymen, would have been the happy and glorious Condition of our Nation, and she been permitted to have continu'd with her natural Honesty and Firmness to her Confederates, and not constrain'd by these pernicious Traytors to an infamous Desertion, in violation of the publick Faith, who have tarnished the Glory and Reputation of a People, as infamous for the honest Plainness and Integrity of their Manners, as for their Power and Valour.

On the other Hand, with regard to *France*, we have daily and hourly been amus'd and trifl'd with by them, with the wonderful benefits of a secure, lasting and general Peace, to our own Advantage and Satisfaction, and that of our Confederates, which yet at last dwindled into an infamous separate one, in which neither our Allies, nor any honest *Englishman*, finds either Satisfaction, Honour, Security. But suppose the Nation could be prevail'd upon to believe that this Peace should be attended with those Mountains of the good knows what Blessings they pretend to fool and cajole them into Opinion of, where is the Guarranty? Where the Security for Performance? We know it is very natural to Men in Distress to be very liberal of Promises, and of Returns of Gratitude and Acknowledgment to those from whom they expect Relief; and we know

as well in the Case before, as that we have to do with a Prince as munificent and profuse of his Words, as of his Money, to purchase a Treachery which could only save him from the Destruction was ready to overwhelm him; but we know too, that we have to do with a Prince who knows no Law but that of his Will, nor other Measure of right or wrong but that of his Interest; who esteems himself above the Obligations of all Laws divine or humane; who has broke all the most solemn Engagements he has ever enter'd into in the face of the Sun, and laugh'd at the Reproaches have been made him for his Perfidy; who never observ'd a Treaty longer than it was consistent with his Designs, and never fail'd to violate it when either he found it his Interest, or had the Power to do so; who makes it a Principle of his Religion, to keep no Faith with such as he pleas'd to brand with the name of Hereticks; and who is never likely to depart from those laudable Maxims, whilst he is influenc'd and directed by his High-Church Janisaries, the *Jesuits*, a Brood of Vermin that are born the Pest and Bane of all Religion, and Liberties of all Mankind but their own: And lastly, a Prince who by his Interest, his Inclinations, his Maxims and Religion is the most implacable Enemy that *Great Britain* has, because she has ever hitherto been the only invincible Obstacle to all the unjust and violent Efforts of his Ambition. This is then the Man whose Faith, whose Probity, whose Gratitude and whose Generosity we must rely upon, for the performance of Promises and the execution of Treaties: Can we who know to have been always his most dangerous Enemies, be suppos'd at a sudden to interpose to preserve him from Ruin out of Kindness when we have been in all times labouring, especially above the twenty Years with our Confederates, to reduce and humble him? Or is it not as visible as the Sun, that it is only a Faction in the Nation who have shown him this Favour, solely to carry on both his and their own private Designs? Or can he be reasonably suppos'd to gratify our Nation he hates out of a bare Sense of a Virtue of Gratitude he never knew? A Tyrant and Oppressor may indeed be munificent, but he can never be grateful; for there is a Purity and Excellence in that amiable Virtue that are incompatible with the Inconstancy and Ordures of an immeasurable Ambition: The Concessions he has made, are not to remunerate and secure, but to amuse and fool the Nation whilst he supports the Authority and Reputation of a Faction, who under the appearance of the publick Good which they affect, have been all along taking Measures in concert with him to betray it into his Hands: He knows full well, that if they are not thus supported, both his and their Designs must prove in the End abortive; neither even in this Respect can he be properly said to be grateful to them, but barely in view of his own Interests; for when ever he shall find the Treason, which has so far answer'd his Ends unsuccessful, he will hate and despise the Traytors: They will then find, when they have gone so great a length towards betraying the Country, that all his fair Promises and large Concessions, if Men will not open their Eyes before, shall vanish into Smoke, and we be left to the agreeable reflection of having been the Sots and Bubbles of them both.

For I think nothing can be more visible, than that this Intercourse and Traffick of Friendship with a Prince, whose Interest and Principles both of Policy and Religion are as distant as Light and Darkness, as Truth and Error, especially in such a nice and delicate Juncture of Affairs, can be understood no otherwise than as a concerted Communication of Wickedness between him and an infernal High-Church Faction at home, to bring about the Establishment of the Pretender; this is that mystery of Iniquity they have been both so long a hatching: The Faction will enable him to give them their hereditary Pretender, and he will for a while content their Avarice and Ambition, at the expence of the Religion, the Liberties and Honour of our common Country. But say his good Friends, we have something more than bare Words and Promises; we have more real and solid Security to depend on. What? Better Security than the sacred Royal Word of one of your Lord's Anointed, of your dear absolute Arbitrary Monarch, with a divine Commission to be the greatest Villain of the Kingdom at whose Head he is? Why surely you forget your selves. But Raillery a part, for at present I am mighty serious: 'Tis true, that he has at length, after a world of scandalous tergiversation, consented to the Demolition of this terrible *Dunkirk*; what then? Why he is erecting another Port and Harbour in the neighbourhood of it, that will have the very same dangerous Effects upon us as the former. There is no Magick that I know of in Names; and whether it be said, *Dunkirk* or *Mardyke*, or for the Honour of the Faction the Devil should put it into his Head to call it *B.....d* or *B.....ke*, it imports but little; the Consequences will be still the same, and equally fatal and pernicious to the Honour, the Interest, the Commerce and Navigation of the Kingdom. Was there ever such an infamous piece of Prevarication on the side of *France*, or such an impudent piece of State-Mummery on the side of High-Church Faction? They have prevail'd upon the Nation to suffer him like a Fool to erect *Mardyke* upon the Ruins of *Dunkirk*, and yet banter us with the Rendition of *Dunkirk*, for the Security of the performance of his Promises. Well then, to indulge these wise Ones a little in their Villany, he has given us and demolish'd *Dunkirk*; he may give us too what other strong Places we may demand on the Frontiers of the *Netherlands*; he may give us others upon the Coasts of *France* and *Spain*; he may add to those of *Gibraltar*, and *Port Mahon*; and consign us what else we shall think fit to ask in the most valuable parts of *America*; but I humbly desire to ask of any High-Churchman, whether we might not have had all this and all the rest too, long before this time of day, after another and much more honourable Manner, if their Treachery had not interpos'd to put a stop to the Confederates, when they were upon the Point of granting to their French Friend, and not demanding and begging Conditions? But what of all this fine stuff? How long can we propose to our selves to keep what he has in a certain Juncture of Affairs been necessitated to grant? The great Cry against the last War was, the Inability the Nation was under, both in respect of Men and Money, to carry it on any longer; yet all these distant Places cannot be maintain'd but by an in-



infinite Expence of both, which the Commodities and Emoluments of them will in no proportion counterballance; but if they did, I still demand what Security have we that they shall continue longer in our Hands than he shall be pleas'd to leave them there, which we may be well enough assur'd, shall be no longer than he shall think consistent with the Condition of his own Affairs, or till he has Power to force them from us, if we are not civil enough to surrender them upon Demand? Let us not flatter our selves with our maritime Power, the Strength, the Force, the Number of our Ships, or the Valour of our People; all these things were, and some of them still are, but they are not Immortal: Our Riches, our Credit, our Reputation, are no longer real Things; they are but imaginary and chimerical Faints: We have confess'd and shamefully discover'd the Nakedness of our Mother, and a Curse hangs over us for it; we have expos'd the Weakness and Poverty of our Country, as too unable to support our Affairs at home with Glory, and yet we must pretend by the Power of our Arms, to transplant Colonies, and numerous Garrisons, and to secure so many important Forts, as are or may have been given us only as so many Baits to draw us into the Ruin is preparing for us: We flatter our selves in vain, we are only in a Dream of Power; we complain we are poor, and we may depend upon it we shall be in a very short time much poorer, whilst our dear good Friend of *France* shall grow every Day richer with the Treasury of the *Indies*, which with just as much Prudence as Reason we have put into his Hands: He will speedily be enabled to cover the Sea with such numbers of Ships, as shall be able to beat us, the *Dutch* and the lesser Powers of *Europe* out of it, if we were willing or daring to exert our selves in Defence of what we think our own; for the time will come, if things continue in this Train, when we shall neither have Ships to equip, nor Sailors to man and fight, or Money to pay them: Happy *Britain*! Perjur'd Faction!

These, my honest Countrymen, are no vain or groundless Fears, no fantastick Dreams of a Man eaten up with the Spleen, or imbibed with Passion or Prejudice: The Man who writes this, the good God be thanked, is in perfect Health, with a full taste of his Liberty; a honest well hearted *Englishman*, who roundly loves his Country, and will cheerfully loose his Life in the Defence of the Religion, the Liberties and Honour of it, in opposition to all *French* and High-Church Traytors, who are drudging hard in concert for the utter Subversion of them all; these are real Dangers that are imminent; they are not in the Clouds or so far off, we shall find them march with wide and hasty Steps to our doors; they will soon be seen and felt as they are already heard, and may be easily understood; the Consequence are unavoidable; *France* great, and *Britain* little: If *French* Power preponderate and weigh down in one Scale, the *British* must of necessity kick up in the other; there is no *Equilibrium*: either *France* must fall, or *Britain* must fall; and methinks an *Englishman*, who has it in his Power to turn the Scale, should not hesitate a Moment which way to incline the Ballance. There can be no Medium in the Case of two great Powers contending for Dominion, are as incomparable

the same time, as two Suns in the Firmament: *France* may give us  
 Towns to please us for a while, as Women give Rattles to Children,  
 to serve a Turn, whip them if they grow froward, and take them  
 back again, not to keep and grow grey with them; thus we are  
 flatter'd with the Gugaws of *French* Towns, which we may be per-  
 mitted to keep till we are grown weary of the Expence, and they  
 will not fail to resume when their Fancy or Interest shall make them  
 more necessary for themselves. We are wonderfully proud of *Gi-*  
*braltar* and *Port Mahon*, though we conquer'd them with our Blood,  
 and flatter our selves with we know not what Advantages and Secu-  
 rity to our Trade, and we know not how long; these with our  
 Swords in our Hands we took from *Spain*, and shall loose them  
 again by the pimportain Pimp of High-Church Treachery; for hold  
 them we shall not much longer than till we have repair'd their  
 fortifications, that we may deliver them in the Hands of our *French*  
 landlords, stiff, stanch and tenantable, who will not fail to de-  
 mand them at the Expiration of a certain Lease; and either distrain  
 or force us out of Possession by a Writ of Ejectment deliver'd by the  
 Mouth of their Trains of Artillery: Where is then our Remedy? We  
 shall find our selves egregiously fool'd and bubb'd by these Perfid-  
 ious, and take it together with the Scorn and Contempt of all the  
 World into the Bargain for our Pains: For whenever the *French* and  
*Spaniards* have a Mind to those or any other Places at that or any  
 greater Distance, they will become Masters of them in spite of all our  
 High-Church blustering, before that we may know that they are so  
 much as besieg'd, unless the irreproachable Integrity of *French* Faith  
 secure us in the Possession, which we know is a sacred and never  
 failing Security. Can we expect the Denuntiation of a fair War, to  
 prepare for the Defence of our Places, from a Prince who has al-  
 ways made it more like a Thief that robs for Money, than a great  
 and generous Captain who fights for Honour or Conquest? Is there  
 a Man in *England*, even a High Churchman, who does not know  
 that he has possess'd himself of more Towns, and despoil'd his weaker  
 Neighbours of more strong Places by Bribery and Corruption, than  
 the Number and Valour of his Troops, and many of them in the  
 security of a profound Peace, and under the Protection of the most  
 solemn Engagements? This, my honest deluded Countrymen, is the  
 melancholy Train of Consequences shall unavoidably happen to all  
*Europe*, and particularly to *Great Britain*, from the Union of *Spain*  
 and the *Indies* to the House of *France*; this the Usage we must ex-  
 pect; this the Faith of solemn Treaties.  
 It will be a notable Consolation to us and our Children half an  
 Age and less hence, to look back and curse the Villains that brought  
 us into Ruin; who betray'd and prostituted the Glory and Honour  
 of our Nation, together with our Religion and Liberties, when  
 they shall see themselves insulted by their new *French* Tyrants, with  
 Swords of Iron at their Backs, compelling them to drudge their Earth  
 for bare Bread for themselves, but to maintain them in all the vari-  
 ous Luxuries of Magnificence; when they shall see again their  
 Churches polluted and profan'd with the vile Ordures and abomina-  
 ble

ble Superstitions of an idolatrous and tyrannical Popery; their Estates in the Hands of insolent *French* Masters; their Wives and Daughters expos'd to the Brutality of their savage and merciless Lust; their Liberties, their precious Liberties, that cost their noble generous Ancestors so much gallant Blood and Treasure to establish and transmit to us, and ourselves so much more hitherto to preserve and which have so eminently distinguish'd our Nation from all others under the Sun, trampil'd under foot and destroy'd; and nothing left them but the miserable Comfort of the damn'd, the sad Reflection of the Happiness from which by our Cowardice or Treachery they are fall'n: They may groan and complain under their Chains, but in that Day there shall be none found to help them; they must still drag them with them with all their Load of Infamy, and drag them with them to the Grave; they may possibly eat the Bread of Sweat and Labour, the Refuse of their haughty Masters, but it will always be the Bread of Slavery. Look well upon this distant, though certain Scene of Wretchedness, and tell me *Britons*, tell me honest *Britons*, is it not better dye and loose ten thousand thousand Lives, in valiantly defending our dearest Country's Religion, Liberties and Honour, than be reduc'd to this inglorious wretched State of Slavery, the Sport of *Frenchmen*, themselves but Slaves, till we infranchis'd them and made them Masters? Poor *Britain*! Desolate Island! Yet this shall be thy Case, the Glory once of Freedom, and be for ever; whether in that sad Day of wondrous Woe shalt thou apply for Succour, Friends thou hast none but those perfidious false ones thy Folly has impower'd to enslave thee; the *Dutch*, thy best and noblest, cannot help thee; forsok, betray'd, deserted by their Treachery, they share the common Fate of *Europe*, Slaves like thee. I don't know what Sentiments may possess the Hearts of High-Church *Englishmen*, from the Reflection of this melancholy and not far distant Scene of Miseries, which they are the unhappy Occasion and Contrivers of; but I know there is not one honest *Englishman* of the old Stamp, who truly loves his Country, Religion or his Liberty, who will not, at least I am sure who ought not, to shed the last drop of his Blood and Fortune to prevent it. It is not difficult, even for humane Wisdom, to foresee a distant Evil, and avoid the Danger, which all Power and Means of humane Wisdom may prove too weak to remedy, when once arriv'd; yet I hope we are not all yet so frantic or corrupt, so destitute of old *English* Valour, or so far degenerated from the Vertue and Merit of our Ancestors, as tamely to submit our Necks to the insupportable Yoak of *French* Popery and Arbitrary Power. What these Men mean by their infamous Indulgence and Complaisance to *French* Greatness, is very easy to divine, and I have been oblig'd more than once to repeat; but that *Englishmen* of a Profession, should be so far debauch'd, as not only to content but to be the only Contrivers and Establishers of a Grandeur, that must inevitably, early or late, terminate in the Slavery of themselves and Country, since they cannot but be sensible, that whilst they aggrandizing the Power of a Prince, who by the Principles of Religion and Interest, is their most mortal Enemy, they are pre-



ing Chains for themselves and their Posterity, is what at present surpasses all degrees of Wonder and Surprise, and difficultly shall find Belief hereafter.

I shall take notice but of one wise Foolery more of this notable Author of the *Review*, who whilst in another Interest was us'd to speak better Sense and more to the purpose, in relation to the *Dutch*, upon Supposition of a War with *England*, if they should have stood out, and not at length came in with the Measures of the Ministers, wherein he floridly descants upon the dreadful Consequences that must necessarily have attended the *Dutch* from a Rupture and War with *England*. This is one of the merriest Turns of all this witty High-Church Farce which they have yet shown the World: We have wisely publish'd to it, that the extream Poverty of our Nation was the Reason why we were no longer able to furnish the necessary Expenses, to the further Prosecution of the War against *France*, and yet we must pretend to bully a great and noble People, in better Condition than our selves, into our Measures, and threaten them with a War, if they had good Sense and Vertue enough to have resist'd it. Now if these stubborn refractory *Dutch*, who though they had largely suffer'd, never acknowledged themselves undone, or if they were, had the Grace and Prudence to conceal it, had not consented to be either wheedl'd or menac'd out of their Integrity or Interest of their Common wealth and common Cause of *Europe*, where had we or any body else the Means to compel them? We know that we are poisoned with *French* Politicks; we have been told that we were infeebled with the Loss of too much Blood; that we were exhausted of our Treasure; that we were reduc'd to so low and miserable a Condition, that we were no longer able to carry on the War against the *French*; where, in the Name of High-Church Consensus, or how should we have conjur'd up the Spirits of Men and Money, to have carry'd it on against these unmannerly *Dutch*, who should not have had so much complaisance for the Faction, as to enslave their Country, after the laudable Example that had been given them of doing so to their own? Did the Nation want Money to fight against the *French*, the most perfidious and implacable of her Enemies, and could she all of a sudden find it to fight against the *Dutch*, the truest, noblest, and most faithful of her Friends? Would the whole Kingdom want Money to carry on a War against Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power, which necessarily implies the Subversion of our native Liberties and establish'd Religion; and would all a Corrupt and Treacherous Faction in it discover new Mines of Wealth to prosecute one, to the Suppression of a renown'd Republick, which next our selves are the principal Rampart and Support of all the Protestant Interest and Protestant Religion of all *Christendom*? What Nonsense! What Contradiction! What ridiculous Mummery! What Ambition! Oh Treachery! Oh Faction! Oh High-Church Fanaticism! Whither would you lead us?

But if these unhappy Measures of the Faction had been the Occasion of a Rupture between two friendly and confederate Powers, which it is only the Interest of the Devil, the *French* and High-Church

to disunite, who would have been to blame? At whose Door should the Guilt of Treachery, and the Effusion of so much Christian Blood as must necessarily have been shed, been thrown? Theirs who betray their Friends, and fight on behalf of their common Enemy, or at theirs who were desirous to have continu'd generously combating the wicked Ambition of that common Enemy, by a firm and steady Attachment to their best Friends? We know the *Dutch*, as they are a Great and Wealthy, so are they a Wise and Valiant People: they have a true Taste of Liberty, equal to the most celebrated Common-wealths of Antiquity; they know their own Interests, and those of their Friends and Confederates, and the Means of pursuing them; they have just Notions of the Extent and Latitude of their Riches and Power of their Republick, and Wisdom and Courage to employ them in the Prosecution of their own and the publick Good: nor can they in any Instance be suppos'd to be ignorant of the Affairs of any of their Neighbours; and from a just Opinion and Estimate of their own and others, and comparing them, a Wise, judicious and Penetrating People may form a Judgment of the Reasonableness of any Enterprize they shall think adviseable to engage in, at least as far as lyes within the Reach and Compass of an imperfect limited human Reason to pretend to: They very well knew the Consequences of a Rupture and War with *England*; and therefore to prevent them, were at length constrain'd to come into the Measures of *England*, and gave that to the fatal Necessity of the Time, which was intirely against their Judgment and Interest: We have seen them, with all the Respect and Deference Men can be capable of, sedulously endeavouring to cultivate a good Understanding and Amity between her Majesty and themselves, as well knowing, that upon their strict Union the Welfare and Happiness of all *Europe* should depend: We have seen them, with humble and respectful Memorials, clearing themselves from the unjust Reproaches thrown on them by her and their Enemies, offering Satisfaction where they might with Reason and Justice be demanded; either excusing their Conduct, by the necessity of Affairs where it might seem to displease, or justifying it by the Force of their Reasonings where they did not; in short, we have seen them doing every thing a true faithful Ally could be desir'd to do to avoid a Rupture, that was absolutely inconsistent with the Interest of their own Republick, the common Cause and Good of all *Europe*: One would have imagin'd, that a People in such Dispositions, and such a Situation, might reasonably have expected a better Treatment; and if it were not upon that Occasion, whether a few upstart ambitious *Englishmen* of Power were mad, or the whole Body of the Common-wealth of the United Provinces were Fools? I think it would not take up much of a sensible Man's time to determine to which side of the Question to incline; for as the *Dutch* were by no means reduc'd to the necessity of having recourse to their Counsels, neither were they under any to be directed by their Opinions. The Fate of their renowned Republick depends, under God, solely upon their own Prudence and Valour, and not on the Sentiments of a *British* Faction that

so basely betray'd the Honour of their own; and as it was founded originally upon Liberty, did not stand in need to be supported by the Opinion of foreign mercenary Slaves, or such as desire to be so. But this sort of Journey-men Politicians, who (when they have neither Mind enough, or Capacity of their own to set up with, are fain to struggle for Bread with the Tools and Materials of the more cunning and abler Knave) judge of the Power of a Great and Potent Commonwealth, according to the Visions of their own corrupt and tender Imaginations, and will allow it no more Extent or Force than what is consistent with the Nature of the Design they are imagin'd in, or the narrow Idea that a Mean and groveling Fancy is capable of conceiving, will allow of; for it is impossible for Men to form noble and elevated Sentiments of any thing, who can fall so low as the vile and servile Condition of being Mercenary, or stoop to the corruptions of Bribery; and therefore it was something too forward and favour'd strongly of Impudence in our Hirelings, by a hasty Anticipation of the Issue of Things, which was not in their Power or Knowledge, to pretend to threaten so Wise, Rich and Powerful a People, or to bully them with the Apprehensions of a War from a People, who by all the Obligations of Honour and Interest ought to treat them with all the good Offices of Humanity and Friendship. But if *Great Britain* had thought fit to have begun and broke with them; if in favour of *France*, she, or I mean the Faction, had forc'd War upon them, no Body questions but the World would have seen them made Efforts suitable to the Riches and Power, and worthy the Honour of their Republick.

Yet whilst these generous People were giving the World the noblest Proofs of their Vertue, in adhering to the Interest of their injur'd Ally the Emperor, and of their Fidelity to the Honour of their Alliance and Engagements, there was nothing in the Mouths of the Nation, but Clamours against the Obstinacy of the *Dutch*, the Necessity of a Rupture and War with the *Dutch*; and the Plenipotentiaries told them plainly at last, that if they did not immediately come to the Measures, as they call'd them, of *England*, that they should consider themselves oblig'd to joyn their Forces with the *French* to combat them; and in such a Case as a War, to hear their Hirelings talk of a Success purely future, and of the Imagination only, with as much certainty as if they had the Victory already in their Pockets, would incline one to believe, either that they were Fools or something worse themselves, and took all the rest of their honest Countrymen to be so too. This in Effect is the Tragedy of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, with the merry Conceits of High-Church Harlequins. What terrible and unavoidable Destruction, in the Opinion of the Author of the *Review*, must have overwhelm'd the poor unfortunate *Dutch*, when they should have seen the Ocean cover'd with the invincible Armada's of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Spain* united by the very Mention of such an execrable Union, is enough to make any honest *Englishman*, who loves his Religion, Country or Liberty, shudder to destroy them? What would become of their Trade? What of their Fishery, upon which their Navigation principally depends?



What Corner of the Earth will they fly to? Or what Powers in *Europe* can succour and defend them from these united Powers of *England, France* and *Spain*; and to help them out and make sure Work of it, I will add those of *Eutopia, new Atlantis*, and *Brazil*? If this very honest and ingenuous Author will give me leave, or if he won't I'll take it, to tell him freely, that these are very miserable People in his Opinion, in spite of all his Noise and Nonsense, and invincible Armada's, will be, and in respect of their Trade and Navigation shall continue in the very same Situation if not much better than they are at this present Writing; but in Case of the worst, I have an old Friend at *Amsterdam*, who will tell them a Place they have to retire to when they can no longer live with Honour and Liberty where they are, I mean my Friend *Corvere*, upwards of Eighty----- Come, my Friends, let us continue the War, and spend the last Penny of our Fortunes, and Drop of our Blood, in the Prosecution of it; and if we are to be overpowered, let us lay our Lands under Water, retire to our Ships, and go to the *East-Indies*, that it may be said, there once liv'd a People who chose rather to loose their Country than their Liberty..... Blessings light on thy Soul for it, old Vertue, for 'twas a noble One May'st thou live many Years to chew upon the Glory of it, and keep thy native Country safe, and all theirs and our Enemies confounded. Fall down you High-Church Slaves, and worship this noble Spirit of Freedom; and in this, as in many other things, imitate the Devils who are compell'd to adore a Brightness they never can possess or imitate, ye hourly blaspheme. But to proceed; the *Dutch*, for our wise Author, will be prohibited the Trade of the *Baltick*; they shall be depriv'd of the Corn from *Dantzick*, which is the principal Support of their People; and the *Sound* shall be shut up, and the Lord have Mercy upon them poor unhappy People; for if the King of *Denmark* will not do it of himself, the *English* and *French* will compel him to it whether he will or no. Quickly said, once Friend *Daniel*, but not so quickly done. Let him and the rest of them consider, that that King, as contemptibly as they think of him, is in a firm Alliance with the *Dutch*, and must eternally find it his Interest to continue so; and that the Czar of *Muscovy* has enter'd into the same; and in such a Prospect of Affairs, if the profound Politicians would have been pleas'd to have thrown away a few Minutes of those Intervals they were in their Senses, it would not have been amiss to have consider'd, how to have secur'd the beneficial Branches of their own Trade thither, rather than of interrupting that of their more powerful Neighbours and Concurrents; it; nay, whether the *Dutch*, exasperated by ill Usage, might not have been provok'd to have ingross'd the whole of it to themselves. Prejudice and Exclusion of such, who without Reason or Justice had render'd themselves their new Enemies: And if I be not mistaken, this and other important Considerations of Traffick, they would have oblig'd the *Dutch* without all doubt, maturely have consider'd before they came to a Rupture with *England*, where no Man in his Wits ever believ'd they design'd, if they could w

the Safety and Honour of their Common-wealth, have avoided it; so would it as certainly have oblig'd the *English* as maturely to have consider'd how they precipitated their Nation into a War with the *Dutch*, out of which it would have been difficult to conceive how they might have extricated themselves either with their Glory or Advantage: But if such a Misfortune had happen'd, I am sure it might have with much more Truth and Justice been said, than was formerly upon another Occasion urg'd by the Adversary, that such a War would have been the War of the Faction, and not of the Prince or Nation.

But as these Gentlemen are very notable at asking Questions, when they want Reasons to prove or defend their Positions, I will take leave in my turn to ask them one or two: Whether if, humanly speaking, there was any thing to hinder the renown'd Prince *Eugene* (had he not been basely betray'd and forsaken by the Orders and Intrigues of the Faction) from penetrating the last Campaign he made into the very Bowels of *France*, and giving Winter Quarters to his victorious Troops in *Champaign* and *Picardy*; which, if they know any thing of the matter are, especially the latter, the most abounding in Corn and Cattle, besides other things very agreeable to old Soldiers after the Fatigues of the Field, of any provinces in the Kingdom? And in that case, whether there was any thing to hinder him from raising Contributions even from the very City of *Paris*, and all other Places on this side the *Loire*? In such a Scituation of their Affairs, I think it may be pretty reasonable to conclude, That the *French* would have been but in an unhappy sort of Condition to have such formidable Fleets to have act'd in Conjunction with their new *English* Friends, to have drubb'd the *Dutch*, deprive them of Bread to eat with their salt Fish, ruin their Trade, spoil their Navigation, bully the King of *Denmark*, shut up the *Sound*, and the Lord knows what Fanaticisms besides. 'Tis indeed time squander'd away to take notice of the Ravings of a People, who seem to have as little Sense in their heads as Probity in their Hearts; who do not think like other Men, but seem to be of a new and different Species of Mankind; yet if they would but for once take the Advice of a fair Enemy, (for I profess my self to be one to them all, as far as my Religion will permit, and my Love to my Country justify me) I have a very good one to give them: There is a little Island, which I remember to have read of when I was a Boy at School, I think it is amongst the *Cyclades* and yclep'd of Yore *Anticira*, abounding with sort of Medicinal Drug call'd *Hellebore*, which Physicians affirm to be of sovereign Use in certain Distempers of the Brain, and for their further Consolation and Encouragement, is at present under the Dominion and Grace of *Mahomet*, a Saint of high Renown, and in singular Estimation with a very particular modern Friend of theirs; now if they would be but pleas'd to pack up their crazy, shallow Senses, their *French* Politicks, their *English* Treachery, their religious Sincerity, and their no Religion, and transplant into that famous Island, and leave this more happy one in the Hands of honest

neither *Englishmen*, who know the Value of Liberty, and want neither Vertue or Courage to defend it, I will ingage upon the Faith and Word of an honest *Whig*, and give them good *London* and *Amsterdam* Security into the Bargain, which is something better than they can give from their dear and good City of *Paris*, that neither their dear Friends *Abel*, *Dyer*, the reverend Author of the *Conduct*, or *Daniel de Foe*, or any other Scoundrel of the Faction shall ever send them word betwixt this and Dooms-day, that we shall ever quarrel with our great and good Friends the *Dutch*, or agree with our worst and most perfidious Enemies the *French*, otherwise than by the Intercourse of a safe, lasting and honourable Peace, which we design to give, and not receive from them; that we shall ever desert or betray our noble Confederates, whilst the publick Faith and Honour of our Nation shall stand engag'd to support them; that we shall ever joyn our Protestant Powers with the Popish ones of *France* and *Spain*, to the inflaving of our own Country, or the Extirpation of the Protestant Religion and Interest of all *Europe*; that we will ever suffer the Monarchy of *Spain* and the *Indies* to remain in the Possession of any Branch of their dear House of *Bourbon*; that we will ever enter into any secret Negotiations with our Enemies, to the Prejudice, or without the Knowledge and Consent of our Confederate Friends, contrary to the solemn Engagements of our Treaties with them; but that we will convince the World, that at the Conclusion of a successful and triumphant War, which they will force us to recommence, the Infamy of a separate Peace was the result of a corrupt and traiterous Faction, rather than of the Inclination or Inability of a generous Nation to carry on and finish with the same Glory and Reputation of Sincerity they shall begin it: And so our very good and dear High-Church Messieurs we commend you heartily to the Favour and Protection of *Mahomet*, who would have instructed you in a Moral, till such Christians as you taught him how to violate it, that teaches more Fidelity, and commands a nicer Observation of the publick Faith, than you know how to practise whilst you pretended to be Christians; or if that Voyage seems too tedious, and you would rather stay further to torment us at home, there may possibly in a very short time be found a more infallible Cure of the Growth of our own Country for your Frezzy, which, in the Language of the vulgar, are commonly known by the Name of Axes and Halters, which never fail of their Effect *probatum est, Laud, Strafford, Gregg.*

But to return: If the Nation had really labour'd under those extreme Difficulties that were pretended, if she had been really reduc'd to a low and languishing a Condition, as to have been under an absolute Inability to have carry'd on the War one Campaign or two more, think it might reasonably have become a wise and honest Minister to have sav'd at least the Appearances; it in effect we had been weary or unable any longer to furnish the Expences, might we not have come out of the War with something, a better Grace which we were no longer able to carry on? If we were reduc'd so low we may reasonably suppose, that both our Friends and our common

Enemies



Enemy were not in a much better Condition, and the former could  
 not have been so unreasonable as to have expected Impossibilities  
 from us, any more than they were in a Condition to perform them  
 themselves. We had shamefully pretended the Weakness and Pover-  
 ty of the Nation, at a time when one would think it had been the  
 Interest of prudent Managers for their own sakes to have conceal'd  
 them; but as that was evidently false in Fact, it is as evident, that  
 such groundless and scandalous Pretence was rather the Cover of a  
 private Treachery, than the Result of the real Exigence of the Na-  
 tion: Had these things at least been fairly represented by the usu-  
 al and proper Methods upon the like Occasions to the Confede-  
 rates, they would then have possibly been oblig'd to have concert-  
 ed Measures the best they could for their common Good, and have  
 accepted such Terms of a general Peace as the Necessity of the  
 Times, the Circumstances of Affairs, and the Power of the Enemy  
 would have suffer'd them to have pretended to; by such a fair Pro-  
 ceeding the Honour of our Country would have been provided for,  
 our Confederates could have had no reason to complain, and the  
 common Calamity would have compell'd us all to have submitted  
 to a cruel Necessity we had it no longer in our power to resist.  
 We were engag'd by the Sanction of the most solemn Treaties ne-  
 ver to enter separately into private Negotiations with the common  
 Enemy; to avoid giving any Ground of Jealousy and Distrust to the  
 rest of the Confederacy; or providing for our private Advantage in  
 prejudice of the Publick: We were engag'd never to enter into  
 Measures of a separate Peace, without the Knowledge and Con-  
 sent of the whole Confederacy, neither any general Peace to be  
 concluded, but by the Advice and Concurrence of all the Princes  
 and Powers concern'd in the Alliance; nor was there ever an end  
 to be put to the War, but upon the Restitution of the Monarchy of  
 Spain to the House of *Austria*, that by the means of a secure, last-  
 ing and honourable Peace, the respective Liberties, Religions and  
 Interests of *Europe* might effectually have been provided for in time  
 to come. Have all these Obligations we had so solemnly laid our-  
 selves under, been observ'd, nay have they not in every particular  
 instance been scandalously contraven'd, to the Dishonour of our Na-  
 tion, the Dissolution of the whole Confederacy, and manifest Ad-  
 vantage solely of the common Enemy? Did we ever by any Messa-  
 ges or Memorials (till the Game of Treachery was actually play'd)  
 demonstrate to our Confederates our real Incapacity to carry on the  
 War any longer? Had we not manag'd a secret Correspondence  
 with the common Enemy, without the Participation or Knowledge  
 of our Allies, till they were but too fully convinc'd of a Truth they  
 were of a long while unwilling to believe, from every Part but from  
 thence they ought most reasonably to have expected it? Did not these  
 ungenerous private Negotiations produce at length an insolent Scheme  
 of Propositions from a broken and dispirited Enemy, which could  
 not justly be expected from a Conqueror in the midst of Triumphs,  
 and the greatest Prosperity of his good Fortune; and which our  
 noble Allies (as mean and despicable as their Condition and Gene-  
 rosity

rosity was represented by the Faction) with a noble Disdain reject-  
ed, as neither becoming the Circumstances of the contending Pow-  
ers, or any way advantageous, or honourable and satisfactory to any  
one of them? Has it not been the Occasion of an infamous separa-  
rate Peace, and a shameful Desertion of a Confederacy which we  
ought to have dy'd supporting, since it was only for the Suppression  
of the common Enemy, and in the glorious Cause of the Defence  
and Preservation of the whole Protestant Religion and Interest of  
all *Europe*, against the exorbitant Power and Ambition of a Tyrant  
who never had any thing more at Heart than the utter Subversion  
and Extirpation of them all? And was it not in a foul way of be-  
ing the occasion of a War between two friendly Protestant Nations  
upon whose Union and Agreement the whole Fate of *Europe* abso-  
lutely depends? What is it that our cruellest Enemies could have  
desir'd more, than by these fatal Measures to ingage us to have  
beaten out one another's Brains, only the more easily to find their  
own Account, and to reap the Harvest of our Folly and Madness? A  
separate Peace we know they had for many Months in their Pock-  
ets, which the generous Faction that gave it, for Reasons very well  
known to the World, were long both asham'd and dar'd not to  
proclaim; they poorly and basely forsook and betray'd, and thereby  
ruin'd a Confederacy, solely enter'd into for the Good and Safety of  
*Europe* by the Humiliation of the common Enemies, and which  
had Force sufficient, without the Cause of Treachery amongst  
themselves, by their Vertue and Valour to do the Work of Glory  
and Liberty effectually without us. Tell us then, High-Churchman  
thou who art skill'd in all the Arts of Treason and Mazes of mys-  
terious Wickedness, why have all these things been thus manag'd?  
Can any Man besides in his Senses and Integrity interpret this to  
be the Voice of a great and valiant People, asserting the Religion  
Honour, Liberties and Interest of their Nation, and not the In-  
trigues of a wretched Faction, who to content the Apperites of  
curst Ambition, have basely betray'd them all into the Hands of  
their most mortal Enemy?

The pitiful Cavils against the *Dutch* for not performing the Quo-  
ta of their Engagements, or less whilst it was pretended that we  
had done a great deal more than we were oblig'd to, (from which  
captious Injustice they have so sufficiently vindicated themselves  
and prov'd the Malice of the Aspersions from the Falseness of the  
Fact) are not worth the taking notice of. Frugality is always com-  
mendable, but what occasion for a more affected Management in  
this Ministry than was suppos'd to be practis'd by the former, if  
their Ends were equally the same? It could not be only on the  
pretence to carry on a War in Conjunction with their Allies with  
greater Parsimony, which in effect they never had the least Thought  
to continue; for we very well know, that at the very same time  
that they were laying Taxes upon the Nation, with a pretence to  
carry on the War and to finish their Quota's, as they call'd it, and  
no more, they had form'd the Plan of their secret Negotiations  
and never design'd a Farthing of it to be employ'd in that Service  
further

rather than the Payment of their national Troops, and that (the  
 vent has sufficiently testify'd) not with an Intention to fight nei-  
 der; for if the foreign had been continu'd and paid upon the same  
 not as formerly, there would have been no need at that time of  
 ay to have been sending your *Bolingbrokes* and your *Priors* upon se-  
 cret Errands to the Court of *France*. This we think is employing the  
 publick Money of the Nation to the private Intrigues and Designs of  
 Faction with a witness, and which shall e'er long be severely ac-  
 counted for with a vengeance. A Ministry that manages with a pru-  
 dent Economy the publick Money of their Country deserves all man-  
 ner of Commendation, which was the constant and undeniable Pra-  
 ctice of the former; but a Ministry, that under the pretence of a  
 more than ordinary Frugality, starves the Honour and Interest of the  
 Nation, and betrays the common Cause of Religion and Liberty they  
 pretend to maintain, into the bargain, deserves to be - - - I leave  
 the honest *English* Reader to make what Conclusion he pleases, and  
 to determine to whom it belongs. In former Campaigns, if there  
 were great and unusual Sums granted, there were beyond Proporti-  
 on wonderful and surprizing Victories and Successes in return ob-  
 tain'd, that more than counterballanc'd the Expence; in these last there  
 was as great or greater rais'd than could reasonably have been expect-  
 ed from a People so miserably exhausted, as we have been represent-  
 ed by the wise Managers, and nothing at all done for them of that,  
 which they mean, for which they were suppos'd to be given; the Expences,  
 as true, were equal, but the Effects were very different; for great  
 Sums granted, we had greater Things perform'd, and the Enemy  
 every where beaten; for greater Sums since, nothing at all, and the  
 Enemy every where either laughing at us for Fools, or despising us  
 as Knaves; and a Nation's Money is but wretchedly manag'd when  
 it is at the Loss of her Honour and Reputation. This seems to every  
 man to look more like want of Honesty in the Managers, than of  
 Money in the Nation: From the Triumphs of former Campaigns,  
 there was reflected upon us a noble Stock of Glory and Renown,  
 that eminently distinguish'd and made us rever'd by the Nations round  
 about us; from the Management and Operations of the last nothing  
 but Infamy, Dishonour and Contempt. We continu'd indeed to  
 load the People with new Taxes, and keep up the Hopes of the  
 Confederates, and we very finely fool'd the one, and bubb'd the  
 other; we kept an Army in the Bowels of their Country to molest  
 and embarrass them, when we should have had them upon the Fron-  
 tiers to have insulted the Enemy. Most learned Men of my Acquaint-  
 ance seem to be of an Opinion, that to keep an Army in the Field,  
 was the custom of old, to fight, and yet give them positive Or-  
 ders secretly not to fight, is a great deal worse than having no Ar-  
 my at all; this we think with much Justice may in plain old *Eng-  
 lish* be call'd the betraying a Cause, and employing our Troops to the  
 service of our worst Enemies, and the Ruin of the Interests of our  
 Friends.

How long has the *English* Soldiery of so high a Reputation in the  
 world been accusom'd to be thus prostituted? And what do these  
 Men



Men merit, who after so base and infamous a manner have profan'd the Majesty of their Sovereign, the Honour of their Nation, and Bravery of their Troops, to the villain Purposes of Treachery and private Ambition? And if a Practice of this Kind is capable of aggravation, it receives an ample one from the Circumstances of the Time and Manner of it. To amuse the Confederates with false Hopes, and put the Nation to the Expence of an Army, when they were at the same moment meditating an under-hand Negotiation in order to conclude a private and separate Peace with the common Enemy, is no more than a State-Farce. Wickedness is ever fertile in Expedients and Disguises to cover the natural shocking Deformity of it; and a Villany is no sooner contriv'd for publick Mischief but immediately all the vile Arts of Falsehood, Duplicity and Dissimulation are invented to dress it up in the popular and plausible Appearances of Truth and the publick Good; for Treachery can never long be carry'd on, but by the wretched Crafts of Collusion and mean Prevarications: What Occasion else for Plenipotentiaries and one of them a Priest, (whose Business it was not, but whose Word and Character he ought at least to have esteem'd Sacred) to give repeated Assurances to the general Congress, that there was no such thing as any private Negotiations with the Enemy? That there was not the least Intention to carry on, or conclude a separate Peace without the Consent and Participation of the Allies, but to amuse and deceive them? What for a General of an *English* Army to declare, that the Queen his Mistress was under no private Engagements with *France*, or would be without their Knowledge; but to lull asleep and cajole an Assembly of too much Experience and Penetration to be so frivolously impos'd on? Why lead his gallant eager *Britains* to the Frontiers of a broken Enemy, bear the Confederate Generals in Hand that he would share with them the Toils, the Hazards and Glory of the War, and at the very Eve of a Battle, that in all human probability would have crown'd their Valour with Success, and procur'd an advantageous, lasting and honourable Peace, which might have for ever secur'd the Interest of the Protestant Religion and Happiness of all *Christendom*, declare that he did not come thither to fight? What can be said in Excuse or Defence of so infamous a Management, but that it was the secret Design of the Authors of it to betray their Friends and support their Enemies, from whom alone they could ever propose to themselves to expect their Pretender, and in him their own Security? A Proceeding in all its Circumstances so unfair and faithless, has only the Mien of a study'd and concerted Purpose to deceive, till the very moment that the Treachery should be ripe for Execution, when they knew it must prove most fatally pernicious to the Interests of the Confederates, and most to the Favour and Advantage of the common Enemy; that a Ruin sudden and unforeseen might in the hurry of the Confusion be found without a Remedy. What can this great unfortunate Man's best Friends say in his Excuse? Was he supposed to be in the Mystery of Iniquity, or was he not? If he was, that would make him a Sharer and Accomplice in the Guilt, and brand him

with the Odium of a Treachery, all the World have thought him incapable of; if he was not, how ought he to have resented the Influence of a Faction that dar'd to make an infamous Tool of a Person of the first Quality in the Nation, or put him upon the Level with such a Scoundrel as *Sacheverel*, for their private Ends to act the inglorious Part of a vile Deceiver, or something worse, which I am unwilling to name (because I love the Man) so incompatible with Vertue, and so unworthy the Man of Quality or the Man of Honour?

What then was the Purchase of all this shameless Treachery? A Peace. There's no honest Man in the Kingdom who did not long and heartily wish for such a Peace as would have been consistent with the Safety of *Europe*, and particular Honour and Advantage of his own Country; but there is not an honest Man in it who would not have contributed all he had to have continu'd the War a Year or two longer, rather than have consented to huddle up such a one, as could not been obtain'd but with the Infamy and Dishonour of his Country, and which at the same time left the rest of *Europe* insecure, and her self expos'd to the Insults and Violence of a perfidious Enemy, abandon'd of her Friends, and sunk to the lowest Degree in her Reputation, which is ever one of the best supports, and noblest Ingredients in the Character of a great and valiant People. Such a Peace can never be thought to be glorious, lasting or advantageous to the Nation, tho' it may be an admirable one, and absolutely necessary for the Establishment of the Power and private Fortunes of the Faction that contriv'd it: For in all other respects it is false in every Article; for instead of Glory, it reflects the Infamy of Breach of Honour and the publick Faith, in so foul a manner as we were never justly chargeable with before; for the duration of it, 'tis evident, it shall last no longer than the Tyrant, whose Favour it was made, shall want the Power to infringe it, which as we (with as much Honesty as Prudence have manag'd Affairs) shall be but a very little while; and for the Advantages, it appears plainly from what has been said, and what already appears, that there are none at all that can answer the thousandth Part of the Blood and Treasure have been spent to acquire them, even such as but in appearance they seem at present to be; nor can we pretend to enjoy them, despicable as they are, longer than it shall be the pleasure of the common Oppressor to permit us. One would desire to be inform'd, whether there was not all the reason in the World to believe that we might have been sure of a much more glorious, lasting and advantageous general Peace, if we had continu'd firm to the Honour of our Engagements to our Confederates, in the Prosecution of a War, which was begun and carry'd on with such a wonderful Train of Success, under the Conduct of the late wise and honest Ministry, and our renown'd General, than we have by a scandalous separate one under the present? All the Difference lies in the Designs and Interest of the Faction; for such a one as the former was altogether incompatible with the Safety of the Heads of it, and the Interests of their Pretender; and I leave it to my honest Countrymen

trymen to judge what we are in reality to expect from the Administration of such Men, who can prostitute the Honour, Security and Religion of the Nation, to the vile Considerations of their private Fortunes. We saw our noble Confederates long after struggling to overcome the Difficulties of an infamous Treachery, and willing vigorously to carry on the War without us, till they might force from their Enemy such a general Peace, as should fully answer their Expense and Expectations of the honourable Ends for which they entered into it; and which could never be happily terminated, but in the entire Reduction of the exorbitant Power of *France*, the Expulsion of the Usurper out of *Spain*, and the Restitution of that Monarchy to the House of *Austria*. This was so far from being impossible without our Assistance, in the miserable Condition *France* had been reduced to, that it is next to impossible that it should not have been accomplished by the Blessing of God upon the vigorous and generous Efforts of the Confederates, in the Pursuit of so glorious a Cause, the Subversion of Tyranny and Injustice, and the Security and Establishment of their common Liberty and the Protestant Religion, it had not been prevented by the detestable Intervention of the Faction; for 'tis visible, that the Insolence of the *French* was founded solely upon the Advantages they had obtain'd the ensuing Campaign, and that their Hopes of greater, and indeed of all their Ends, at their Rise from the Strength and Power of their same good Friends in *England*; yet all this is in effect no more than the Bluster of a Tyrant reduc'd to the last Extremity, the last Flash of the Candle that goes out with a Stink: However, I wou'd desire my honest Countrymen to think a little and reflect, what Usage their Country and Religion are to expect from a Prince, who had the Insolence to bully all *Europe*, when he was in so miserable a Condition that the World knows he was reduc'd to, when he shall be permitted to recruit his broken Spirit and Forces, and with his Grandson be in the peaceable Possession of *Spain* and the *Indies*, and his Tool or Pretender upon our own.

The Scriblers of the Faction have made a mighty Noise about the wonderful Advantages we have reap'd from those Parts of *North America* have been granted to us by this notable Peace; these indeed are Notions besitting the wicked Contrivers of our Misfortune and late Disgraces, but unworthy any wise and honest *Englishman* who would have either prevented, or would still redress them at the Hazard of his Life and Fortune if he could: What are all the scandalous Concessions in that distant Part of the World, but a bare Restitution of what had been by the *French* usurp'd from us before? Is it not plain, that if they had been worth preserving, they must of course have fall'n into our Hands, by the Terms of such a general Peace as we have so many Years been fighting for? Would they not have been redeliver'd to any Body that should have been sent to command them? Or what were more glorious, should we not have been able, by the superior Power of our Fleets, to have forc'd them out of their Hands, when they should no longer have been preserv'd by the usual Succours and Assistance from *France*, which first rob'd us



them, and has so long with the same Violence and Injustice detain'd  
 them from us? Would not this have been a more honourable Way of  
 retrieving their Possession, than by the scandalous Concessions of an  
 enemy, whom we had reduc'd to the Necessity of defending his own  
 Kingdoms, rather than being able to keep from others what with  
 Justice belong'd to them, and only his by the Villain Arts of Treachery  
 and Usurpation; or rather than recovering them on the shameful  
 Terms of a separate Peace, to the eternal Dishonour of the *English*  
 Name and Nation? What then was the Meaning of all this wretched  
 Argon of High-Church Policy? And where the Necessity to reduce  
 to Execution in so happy and flourishing a Conjunction, as the Affairs  
 of *Europe* and our own were in less than four Years ago? Was  
 the Nation in reality unable to have carried on the War a Year or  
 two longer? No such matter: Were the People who bore the heavy  
 Burthen of it unwilling? Nothing of that neither; though they  
 were weary, they were not spent: The Nation were both able and  
 willing, but the Faction who had ingross'd the Power were neither  
 One or the Other; not able, because they were soon sensible that  
 they wanted the Credit to command the Wealth that was remaining,  
 and which was more than sufficient for the Purpose; not willing,  
 because it was as absolutely inconsistent with their private Interests  
 and Designs. Nor is there any thing in Nature can be more mani-  
 festly evident, than that all this Management terminates in the one  
 Point of the Introduction of the Pretender, in whom alone they  
 propose to find the Security of their Treason, and we hope in  
 some Body else who has better Pretensions, shall meet with the ju-  
 st Punishment of it; for there is not the meanest Capacity in *En-*  
*land*, except those of High-Church, whose Business it is to maintain  
 the contrary, that does not foresee that the Accession of the Monarchy  
 of *Spain* to the House of *Bourbon* will in a very little time enable  
 them, not only to revoke and resume, by the same Measures of Fraud  
 and Violence, whatever he has by the necessity of his Affairs been  
 compell'd to surrender abroad, as the Price of our Treachery, and  
 aims to fool and deceive the People into the Notion of a Security  
 never intended, but to employ them in the End to conquer and  
 enslave us at home; and as he has foisted his Grandson without any  
 Right or Title, contrary to all Justice and Equity, against all divine  
 and humane Laws, in contempt of the sacred Obligations of the most  
 solemn Oaths, on the Throne of *Spain*, to do us the same Honour, to  
 impose one of his own Religion and Maxims upon ours, in the Person  
 of his dear Brother and the Faction's dear Friend the Pretender, who  
 is just as good a Pretension as the former.  
 Thus far we have trac'd and expos'd the Arts, the Measures and  
 the Means of the Faction, by which they have, as it were ripen'd  
 their long concerted Designs into the Execution of this notable Peace;  
 and we proceed next to consider the insolent Terms and Propositi-  
 ons which were offer'd as the Foundation of it on the side of *France*,  
 when one would have rationally believ'd she was in a Condition ra-  
 ther humbly to sue and accept such Conditions from her Conque-  
 rors, as they might have thought fit in their good Pleasure to have  
 granted

granted and impos'd on her, than to have receiv'd from her. I shall not here pretend to insist upon all the Particulars of them as the Preliminaries, as they were pleas'd to call it, of a general Peace, because they have been in every body's Hands who were curious of satisfying themselves; and the unreasonable Insolence of them has been so amply expos'd by so many others, as heartily are in the true Interests of, and love their Country: I shall therefore only touch, and that briefly, upon so much of them, and in such manner, as shall seem most pertinent to the Design of this Work, which is to show that the whole Train and Management of Affairs since the Demission of the last glorious Ministry terminate solely in the private Design of the Faction, which labours nothing less than the Subversion of the Laws, Liberties and establish'd Religion of our Country. It has always been observ'd hitherto, that Wars carry'd on by Ambition and Desire of Conquest between great contending Powers, after an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure, have been amicably adjusted by such a Peace in way of Negotiations, as the most Powerful has thought fit to grant, and the Weaker were forc'd to receive; not possibly so much out of a Sense of the Injustice already done, or Desire of Peace in the former, as from an Inability with Convenience of continuing the War any longer; and in the latter, from the Inequality of Force and the necessity of submitting to a superior Power they were no longer in a Capacity to oppose; but I think has seldom or never been known, till our times, that an ambitious Prince, forc'd by the Arms of his Enemies from all his unjust Possessions upon them, and reduc'd to the Necessity of defending his own Dominions, and utterly unable to do even that; who for the twelve Years past has never fought but has been beaten, nor has had a strong Place besieg'd, but what has been taken in the Sight of his enfeebled and dispirited Armies, though never so superior in Numbers, has yet had the Insolence to presume to give Laws to his Conquerors, and to make his sole Will the Measure of the Peace of others Kingdoms, when it was wholly in the Option of his Enemies, whether they should have pleas'd to have left him Master of his own; or to insist upon more haughty and advantageous Conditions, when he was humbled to the last Necessity, than he did forty Years ago, when he was still in a flourishing and much better Condition. Yet this peremptorily, and in every Instance, is the Case before us, as will be manifest past Scruple or Contradiction to every impartial Person who shall examine the difference of the Preliminaries humbly offer'd by *France* for the Foundation of a Treaty for a general Peace at *Gertruydenbergh* in the Year 1709, and those haughtily obtruded on the Confederates at *Utrecht* in 1712, together with the very different Circumstances and Situation of the Affairs of the respective contending Powers.

We shall consider them separately, and begin with those offer'd at *Utrecht*, after they had been concerted and made publick at *Lond* which, because they are but Seven, I shall lay them down at large, and only touch at some of those at *Gertruydenbergh*, as are most pertinent to my present Purpose, which is to show, that the Difference

the *French Measures* is wholly derived and founded upon the Discrepancy of the *English Ministry's*; and to avoid Prolivity, shall refer to the whole of them who may have the Curiosity to inform themselves further.

THE *French King* will acknowledge the *Queen of Great Britain* in that Quality, as also the Succession of that Crown according to the present Establishment.

II. That he will freely and *bonâ fide* consent to the taking all just and reasonable Measures for hindring that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* may never be united on the Head of the same Prince, his Majesty being persuaded that this Excess of Power would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of *Europe*.

III. The King's Intention is, that all the Parties engag'd in this present War, without excepting any of them, may find their reasonable Satisfaction in the Treaty of Peace which shall be made; that Commerce may be establish'd and maintain'd for the future, to the Advantage of *Great Britain*, of *Holland*, and of the other Nations which have been accustomed to exercise Commerce.

IV. As the King will likewise maintain exactly the Observation of the Peace when it shall be concluded, and the Object the King proposes to himself being to secure the Frontiers of his Kingdom, without disturbing in any manner whatever the neighbouring States, he promises to agree by the Treaty which shall be made, that the *Spanish* shall be put into the Possession of the fortified Places which shall be mention'd in the *Netherlands*, to serve hereafter for a Barrier, which may secure the Quiet of the Republick of *Holland* against any Enterprize on the part of *France*.

V. The King consents likewise, that a secure and convenient Barrier should be found for the Empire and the House of *Austria*.

VI. Notwithstanding *Dunkirk* cost the King very great Sums, as well to acquire as to fortify it, and that it is further necessary to be a very considerable Expence for razing the Works; His Majesty is willing however to engage to cause them to be demolish'd immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, on Condition that for the fortifications of that Place, a proper Equivalent that may content him be given him; and as *England* cannot furnish that Equivalent, the Discussion of it shall be refer'd to the Conferences to be held for the Negotiations of the Peace.

VII. When the Conferences for the Negotiations of the Peace shall be form'd, all the Pretensions of the Princes and States engag'd in the present War shall therein be discuss'd *bonâ fide*, and amicably, and nothing shall be omitted to regulate and terminate them to the Satisfaction of all the Parties.

Done at *London*.

27 September N. S.

8 October O. S. 1712.

Sign'd,

MENAGER.



One cannot better express the Reflections these unreasonable Proposals are lyable to, than in the Words of the excellent Memorial his Excellency the Baron de Bothmar, done at London the 28th November, 9th of December the same Year.

The Sentiments of his Electoral Highness on the Peace, and its Negotiations are, That the Allies have need not only of positive Declarations, but likewise of real Securities, especially having to do with an Enemy whose Methods of acting are well known; this the former Preliminaries provided for, by obliging *France* to give previously some places of Security; in these there are neither a real Security, nor any clear and distinct Declaration; all is couched in indefinite general Terms, which in reality express nothing, and which Years might be spent in Negotiating. 'Tis left to be consider'd which is the surest Way to put a speedy End to the War, whether by previously insisting on such Conditions from *France*, or nothing may remain to be done in a general Assembly, but to give them the Form of a Treaty; or to open that Assembly upon Articles that are captious and obscure, which leave an open Field for *France* to put in Practice her usual Intrigues and Chicanes.

Let every honest *Englishman* make what Judgment he thinks upon these Articles, they have been the Subject of many wise and judicious Reflections of such as have always approv'd themselves true Lovers of their Country: I shall only insist here something more at large, and particularly on the first of them, as what more immediately concerns the Honour and Majesty of the Crown of *Great Britain*. The *French King* then will vouchsafe to acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain* as such. A very Princely and Royal Bounty. One would be glad to know what Answer, either a *French* or *Hugonot* Churchman would be pleas'd to give to the Question that might be ask'd, what her Majesty has been for these thirteen Years past, and the Consent and Acknowledgment of a *French King* are necessary to confirm Her our Sovereign? Is there e'er a Prince in *Christendom* who has disputed or call'd in Question her Title? Or if they be, have we any thing to do but to let him know we despise him? What a contemptible Situation are we betray'd into? Are we fallen into the hands of *French* Slaves? Or are we become already what we shall be in a very little time, *French Slaves*? If he has not esteem'd and acknowledged her Majesty Queen of *Great Britain* all this while, there must be some body else, who in his Opinion has a better Title to be King; are we such Sots then, as not yet to see that this is but a Compliment he has been compell'd to make by the necessity of his Affairs, while he waits only for an Opportunity to abuse a Goodness, which is unhappily for her self and Kingdoms sav'd him from Ruin, and thereby enabled him to force the Pretender upon her Throne? Shall we be made the Jest and Sport of all the Earth; the Dupees, Fools, the Bubbles of *France* and Faction? What *Englishman* need trouble himself, or care whether Monsieur acknowledges her in that Quality or no? The Insolence of the Proposition supposes a Doubt in her Title; how ought such a Nation as we have hitherto always been esteem'd, resent so gross, so impudent an Indignity? Does

Impe

Imperial Crown of *Great Britain* depend upon the Breath and Plea-  
 re of a King of *France*? Or is it not absolutely independent of all  
 Power under Heaven, but God and the Nation? We know very well;  
 but he desires nothing more than supply us with Roitelets, but he is  
 to learn that we know how to prevent and revenge too the In-  
 fence; we have known the time when our valiant Ancestors have  
 sent Kings to *France*, notwithstanding all the Disparity of Power  
 and Dominions; but we have never heard that we ever received any  
 from her, and by the Grace of the good God never will, as much as  
 our dear High-Church are labouring in concert with him to con-  
 vince it. As our Crown is successive in certain Families under po-  
 sitive Conditions and Limitations, by the original Consent of the  
 People, we are very well contented, and think our selves happy it  
 should continue so, whilst the respective Princes perform the Con-  
 ditions, and answer the honest and glorious Ends of their Institution;  
 what have we to do in this Case with *France*, or *France* with us?  
 If it were of necessity, and she should think fit to refuse to acknow-  
 ledge our Kings thus legally constituted, we know very well how  
 to compel her, or at least we did a little while ago; and if now all  
 a sudden she knows not how to acknowledge our Kings, we may  
 be c're long to have One who will find the Way to make her  
 acknowledge our Kings, which, if I am not mistaken, is a Way something  
 more Honourable and Glorious to assert both our Title, our Power  
 and Independence, than sneakingly cringing and begging in a Preli-  
 minary for a Confirmation of them, from an enfeebled and baffled  
 Tyrant, who at the best has but a very scurvy and crazy One to  
 govern. This is an Insolence that must move and fire the Blood  
 and Resentments of all honest and gallant *Englishmen*, except such  
 sycophants as preach up the hereditary unalienable Right of Succession,  
 preferably to a legal Parliamentary one, founded on the Con-  
 sent of a free and willing People; or who prefer the single Claim of  
 a Pretender in vertue of that hereditary Right, before the Right  
 and Lawful One of our Legislature, added to the hereditary Title  
 of her Majesty; nor is it much to be wonder'd at, if the *French King*,  
 who at this Day has so many good Friends in *England* for another  
 purpose, should be graciously pleas'd to acknowledge her Majesty's  
 Title to her Crown, as a Favour and Concession of his, when we  
 know he hugs in his Bosom a Tool that he believes has a more un-  
 questionable One to it by his Birth, and who he would place upon  
 the Throne to Morrow, notwithstanding all his insidious Acknow-  
 ledgments, if he were able. 'Tis but a very poor and slender Secu-  
 rity the Nation has for its Peace and Tranquility, when it has no  
 other but the present Inability of a faithless Tyrant to disturb them;  
 we have not yet forgot the perjur'd War he play'd us, in Affront to  
 our late glorious King and the Nation upon the like Occasion, when  
 at the Conclusion of the Peace of *Ryswick*, he in the most solemn  
 manner acknowledged him so 'c Rightful and Lawful King of *England*,  
 with the same Breath proclaim'd the Pretender, and acknow-  
 ledged him too as such, through all the Extent of his Dominions;  
 and in Affront we have sufficiently reveng'd, though he still continues  
 to harden'd

hardn'd beyond *Egyptian* Hardness, and so we might had we not been infamously betray'd this latter; and unless good Heaven pleas'd to be kinder to us than we have been to our selves, we have but little left us, but to bewail the Omission of it in Slavery, and just Punishment for our Treachery or Cowardice.

As to the rest, it is evident, that the whole Meaning of them is only general and dubious, they seem purposely to be couch'd in a Strain of Expression only to amuse and deceive; if the *French King* is of Opinion, as he professes in the Second, that the Excess of Power arising from the Union of the two Crowns upon the Head of any one Prince of his Family, would be contrary to the Good and Quiet of *Europe*, who doubts it? All the World is of that Opinion as well as he; for one would be glad to know, whether in case of the Extinction of that Branch of the Family in *France*, the two Crowns will not unavoidably happen to be the Partage of the Survivors of that of *Spain*? I have already said something of the Absurdity and Invalidity of Renunciations, whether made at *Madrid* or the *Pirenees*: The Sword we have put and leave in the Hands of the Grandson, let the Knot be never so strongly ty'd, will at one Stroke easily cut it asunder after the laudable Example of the Grandfather; and if the Contrivers of this execrable Ballance of Power had not thought themselves the only wise Men, and all the rest of the Princes of *Christendom* and their Ministers Fools, they would never have dar'd to have sham'd so gross and shameless a piece of Nonsense upon the World as a Renunciation for the Peace and Liberties of *Europe*. The Provision made for the Duke of *Savoy* Family to succeed in case of failure of the *Anjou* Line, to preserve the Union of the two Crowns upon the Head of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, is equally absurd and ridiculous; that Prince is too Weak and Penetrating to be fool'd with such a lead Piece of Collusion, which very probably has been the Occasion of his taking his present Measures, as judging it better to accept of something, since he has himself cut off from the Expectation of the whole of his Pretensions; for besides, as has been already observ'd, that humanely speaking, there is not the least glimpse of Probability, that either he or any of his Family shall ever succeed from the Prospect of a numerous Issue of the present Usurper, it may be worth while to inquire how, upon a Supposition of the Extinction of that Line, even in a small space of twenty Years, or by what Means or Power he or they can ever expect to be call'd to, or establish'd on that Throne: it is absolutely impossible for him to effect it solely by his own Force, and it is as likely that the *Spanish* Nation, if they are suppos'd to be left to their own Choice, will more incline to the Family of the *Emperor*, if there be One of them alive, who has the immediate Right, than to any of the Family of *Savoy*, who have only a collateral and more distant One: If then the Latter can never pretend to support the Right given him by virtue of this provisional Renunciation, what other Power in *Christendom* will be able if any of them were inclinable to assist him? For I hardly maintain, that in less than ten Years time, the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* continuing in



*Bourbon* Family, they shall be elevated to such an Excess of exorbitant Power, that both the Emperor, the Princes of *Germany*, the *Dutch* and the *English*, shall be so far unequal and unable to assist the Duke of *Savoy's* Pretensions if Occasion should offer, or to prevent the two Crowns from being united upon the one surviving Head of the *Bourbon* Family if that should happen, that it will be impossible for them to defend their own from the Violences of a Family, in whose Power they have put it to destroy themselves; and if they should be able to defend themselves for a while, it will be more owing to the Courage and Bravery of free People struggling for their Liberties, than to the Wisdom and Discretion of their Princes; which if they get, and in time make use of, might enable them to give, and not receive Laws from their common Enemy; but it is a thousand times more probable, may even more certain, that whoever lives the little time I have mention'd, shall see the Emperor, the Princes of *Germany*, the *Dutch* and the *English*, as much the Slaves of that haughty and insolent Family, as the miserable *French* and *Spaniards*. We shall then see and feel, when it is too late, the rare Effects of perjur'd Princes and their Renunciations, and curse the Authors of them, and ourselves for being their Fools and Bubbles: What shall become of all the fair Promises and Assurances of the *French* and *Spanish* Kings? It will be something of the latest to complain, when the Yoke is already about our Necks, or to make fruitless Reproaches to the perjur'd Deceivers, when we are sweating under the Drudgery of Slaves; there will be nothing then left for the free, the valiant, the generous *English* Nation, but to put in practice the laudable divine Doctrine of absolute Passive Obedience to our Tyrannical *French* Masters, when we shall be no longer able to resist their Insolence; yet this is the sole End for which this villainous Doctrine in their unlimited Sense has been calculated, and to industriously propagated amongst us, by these High-Church Betrayers of God and their Country. Tell me Countrymen, tell me honest *Britains*, are there not yet many a hundred thousand gallant Fellows amongst us, who are prefer the Glory of a noble Death, in the Defence of the Religion and Liberty of their dear Country, before the Infamy of a vile and ignominious Slavery, and an idolatrous Superstition? Our noble Confederates but too plainly foresee all this, and therefore long after us kept their Arms in their Hands, to prevent their common ruin in which ours is imply'd; for it is much more easy to foresee and obviate, than remedy or redress a Misfortune when it is happen'd; and since if the two Crowns are ever united, it may be impossible to separate them, or if they continue as they are, as impossible to prevent the Slavery of *Europe*, but by another bloody war, the Success of which may not be only dubious but adverse, the safest questionless, as well as the most Politick, had been resolutely to endeavour to prevent the fatal Mischief, which from the Situation or the other must necessarily follow, and in the End terminate in their general Ruin, which they may never again have it in their Power to prevent.

If it were in earnest the *French* King's Intentions as is profess'd in the Third, that all the respective Parties engag'd in the War should find their reasonable Satisfaction, and that the Nations accustomed to Traffick should be allow'd an equal Liberty and Advantage of Commerce, where is the Security offer'd them, that they shall without Disturbance or Interruption, enjoy either the one or the other longer than he shall think fit to permit them? What the Ministers of *France*, or the present ones of *England*, may in their Opinion think to be just and reasonable Satisfaction, may be thought very wide of the Matter, in the Account of the Princes and Powers concern'd; nor do we very well conceive who made or receiv'd either the one or the other, as Judges and Arbiters of the Interests and Pretensions of sovereign and independent States and Princes they have nothing to do with. This is a consummate Piece of Arrogance that would never have enter'd into the Heads of any, but such as form and carry on private Designs to the Prejudice of the Publick, and who think they have Favour and Power enough in a certain Conjecture to execute them; though all the World was a little while ago convinc'd, that the One had no longer the Means to defend their Master's own Territories, but by the vile Arts of faithless Negotiations; or the other their ill got Power and Establishment, but by the more infamous Ones of betraying their Country. To wiser and abler Heads it will ever seem more rational and expedient to preserve the Means of the Nations Safety in their own Hands, than to trust to the delusory Promises and Assurances of a perjurd Prince, too well known for the perpetual Violation of the most Solemn and Sacred Obligations, whilst their Swords are true to them, it were much easier to reduce the *French* King to their own Terms of Security, than by their Indiscretion to leave him the Power to violate it by the Formality of Engagements he never intended to observe; or to expect their Satisfaction and Commerce, from the servile sycophant Ministers of one Court, or the perfidious Traytors of the other. If that King will exactly maintain the Observation of the Peace, and the *Dutch* shall have such a Barrier given them, as shall secure them against any Enterprize on the part of *France*, as in the Fourth; and if a suitable Barrier shall be form'd for the Empire and the House of *Austria*, as in the Fifth; if the Fortifications of *Dunkirk* were to have been Demolished immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace, provided such an Equivalent were given as may have contented him; and if in the Conferences nothing should be omitted to regulate and terminate all things to the Satisfaction of all the Parties, as in the Last; Why was not all this express'd and promis'd only in such general and equivocate Terms, as import no positive Meaning that can be depended upon? Why if the *French* King were as sincere as he professes, were not the rest of the Places that were to have form'd these Barriers actually put into the Hands of the respective Confederates, as an undeniable Caution for the Performance of Engagements? Must every thing be consented to on their Parts, and they have no real Security, or nothing but fine Promises on his? Had it not been more Honourable even in their present Circumstances to carry on this War

than be under the Necessity of commencing a new One to compel  
 him to keep his Word, or punish him if he break it, and thus gain  
 no more than what they might have had in their Power to prevent  
 or secure? Or why if he had been in a Mind to convince the World  
 that he were in good earnest weary at last of the Effusion of the  
 Christian Blood of his own and other Princes Subjects, were they  
 not propos'd and offer'd at least to have been put into their Hands at  
 the first Overture of the Conferences as a good substantial prelimi-  
 nary Security? Why defer'd to the Conclusion of the Peace, when  
 we knew there wou'd have no body been left with Power enough  
 to compel him to make good what had been so liberally and specifi-  
 cally promis'd on his part? Or why not offer'd till the Moment that  
 his conquering Army, if it had not been basely betray'd, was upon  
 the Point of entering into the very Heart of his Dominions? Strong  
 Places given up, good Garrisons of our own in them, and good Ar-  
 tillery, speak very good Sense and very good Security too; and the  
 Prince who delivers them, and afterwards falsifies the Honour of  
 his Royal Word and Engagements, is considerably in a worse Condi-  
 tion than he was, by the Loss and Forfeiture of such Places; but a  
*French* Marquis, a Marshal of *France*, and a paltry High-Church  
 Abbot, may happen to prove a Parcel of false, and perfidious, and  
 treacherous Knaves, who may think themselves overpaid by the  
 Labour of their Master, what they have lost on the side of Honour or  
 Reputation in his Service. If a Confederacy are to be bubb'd by  
 such a Masterworkman, and such Tools, (the loss of whose Credit  
 to his own may be of little Weight or Consideration with a Prince,  
 for his Perfidy and Double-dealing grown into a Proverb) let them  
 make the blessed Effects of such a *Cajolery* for their pains. The World  
 has been but too long and too often abus'd by the infamous Duplicity  
 of such slavish Ministers, to suffer themselves any further to be im-  
 pudent on and deceiv'd by them; and since the Confederates have had  
 the Misfortune to be further divided and at length dissolv'd, (which  
 is the principal Drift and Masterpiece of the *French* Policy and Dex-  
 terity to effect) they probably have establish'd for ever the Sword in  
 the Hands of their common Enemy, to cut their own Throats and  
 enslave their Posterity, and will have Reason and Leisure enough to  
 repent their Folly when it is too late in their Fetters; but if they  
 had continued in their noble and generous Resolutions to carry on the  
 War, and dy'd in the Defence of their Liberty, and should at length  
 have been oppress'd by a Fatality they could neither foresee or re-  
 medy, they would have done their Duty like gallant Men, and been  
 without Reproach; and it would to their eternal Honour be said of  
 them, that they were a People whose Vertue and Valour were wor-  
 thy at least of a better Destiny. We owe something to the present,  
 we owe more to our Memory, and the Honour of a dearer Po-  
 sterity; and it is a thousand times more preferable in Freemen to dye  
 bravely, than live with Infamy. By the fair Example of our Vertue  
 and Valour, in the Defence of our Religion and Liberties, we leave  
 our Children something of Glorious and Immortal for their Imita-  
 tion, by our Cowardice or Treachery, only Chains and Infamy; yet



this is our Case; if we suffer our selves to be further amus'd and insnar'd by the plausible but deceitful Insinuations of the *French* Abroad, or the Faction at Home, we are Fools, and our Children after us shall be Slaves; but if we bravely and vigorously push our Fortune through a successful War, which cannot but terminate in a Secure, Advantageous and an Honourable Peace, we for ever establish the Traquility, the Protestant Religion, Interest, and the common Liberties of all *Europe* upon so solid a Foundation, that it shall never hereafter be in the Power of *French* and *Spanish* Policy to undermine, or *French* and *Spanish* Armies to subvert, or *English* High-Church Treachery to disturb to the End of time.

These are the haughty and unseasonable Propositions of the *French* King, as the Preliminaries of a general Peace, at a time when he was reduc'd to the very lowest ebb of Fortune; let us now compare them with such of those as he offer'd at *Gertruydenbergh*, 28th May, 1709, when he was in a much better Condition to have supported the War some time longer, as are to our present Purpose, and leave the rest to the Consideration of such Readers as are dispos'd to satisfy their Curiosity, and then proceed further to examine into the Reasons of such a Disparity, where it will appear by the Third.

III. That in Consideration and Consequence of the said good Peace and sincere Union of all the Parties mentioned in the three first Articles, the most Christian King shall from this time acknowledge Publickly and Authentickly, as also afterwards in the Treaties of Peace to be made, King *Charles* the Third, in Quality of King of *Spain*, the *Indies*, *Naples* and *Sicily*, and generally of all the Territories dependent and comprehended under the Name of the Monarchy of *Spain*, in what part of the World soever situated, (except what is to be given to the Crown of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy*, pursuant to the Treaties between the High Allies, and the Barrier in the *Netherlands*, which the said King *Charles* the Third is to put in the Hands of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces agreeably to the Tenor of the Grand Alliance in the Year 1701; except also what shall be hereafter mentioned touching the upper Quarter of *Gelderland*; and also except the Agreements yet to be made with the said King *Charles* the Third, without excepting any thing more) together with the Rights which the late King *Charles* the Second did possess or ought to have possess'd, as well for himself his Heirs and Successors, according to the Will of *Philip* the Fourth and the Compacts establish'd and receiv'd in the most Serene House of *Austria*.

IV. And forasmuch as the Duke of *Anjou* is at present in Possession of a great part of the Kingdom of *Spain*, of the Coast of *Tuscany*, the *Indies*, and part of the *Netherlands*; 'Tis reciprocally agreed, that for the sure Execution of the said Articles, and of the Treaties of Peace to be made, the said Treaties shall be finished within the Term of two Months, to begin from the first Day of the ensuing Month of *June*, if possible; during which time, his most Christian Majesty shall so order it, that the Kingdom of *Sicily* shall be put in to the Possession of his Catholick Majesty *Charles* the Third. And the

Duke of *Anjou* shall depart in full Safety and Freedom out of the Limits of the Kingdom of *Spain* with his Consort, the Princes his Children, their Effects, and generally all Persons who are willing to follow them; and if before the said Term expire, the said Duke of *Anjou* do not consent to the Execution of the present Agreement, the most Christian King and the stipulating Princes and States shall, by concert, take proper Measures that it may have Intire Effect, and that all *Europe* may, by the full Performance of the said Treaties of Peace, speedily enjoy perfect Tranquility.

V. To facilitate the Establishment of that Tranquility, his most Christian Majesty, shall within the Term of the two Months, withdraw the Troops and Officers he now has in *Spain*, as also those he has in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, as well as in the other Countries and Territories depending on the said Monarchy in *Europe*, and from the *Indies* as soon as possible; promising on the Faith and Honour of a King not to send thence forward to the Duke of *Anjou* (if he refuses to acquiesce with this) or to his Adherents any Succour, whether of Troops, Artillery, Ammunition or Money, directly or indirectly.

VI. The Monarchy of *Spain* shall remain intire in the House of *Austria* in the manner above-mention'd; none of its Parts shall ever be dismembred; neither shall the said Monarchy, in whole or in part, be united to that of *France*; nor shall one and the same King, or a Prince of the House of *France* ever become Sovereign thereof in any manner whatsoever, either by Will, Legacy, Succession, Marriage-Compact, Donation, Sale, Contract or any other way whatsoever; no King who shall Reign in *France*, nor any Prince of the House of *France* shall ever Reign in *Spain*, or acquire within the Extent of the said Monarchy any Towns, Forts, Places or Countries in any Part of *Europe*, especially in the *Netherlands*, by Vertue of any Donation, Sale, Exchange, Marriage-Compact, Inheritance, Legacy, Succession by Will, or in default of a Will, in whatever kind or manner soever, either for himself, or the Princes his Sons or Brothers, or their Heirs and Descendants.

VII. Particularly and especially *France* shall never become possessor of the *Spanish Indies*, nor send Ships thither to exercise Commerce under any pretext whatsoever.

IX. His Most Christian Majesty being willing to give sure Proof of the Intention he has to maintain a firm and lasting Peace, and to put an end to all Ombrage of his Designs, consents to deliver up to his Imperial Majesty and the Empire, the City and Citadel of *Strasburg* in the Condition they now are, with the Fort of *Kehl* and its Dependances and Appurtenances situate on either side of the *Rhine*, without any Demand of Cost or Expence under what Pretext soever, with a hundred Pieces of Brass Cannon of different Sizes, the said City of *Strasbourg*, with its Forts, to be deliver'd up and evacuated immediately after the Ratifications of the Emperor and Empire shall be exchang'd at the *Hague*, to any Person authoris'd by a full Power from his Imperial Majesty, and appearing at the Rates in the usual Form to take Possession of them.

X. That the Town of *Brisac*, with its Territories, shall be evacuated by his most Christian Majesty, and by him restor'd to his Imperial Majesty and the House of *Austria*, with all the Cannon, Artillery and Stores of War that shall be found in it, by the end of *July* at farthest, to be henceforward enjoy'd by his Imperial Majesty as his own Property, so as his Imperial Majesty has enjoy'd, and ought to have enjoy'd it, in Execution of the Treaty of Peace concluded at *Ryswick*, with the Cannon, Artillery and Stores in it.

XI. In consequence of the Treaty of *Munster*, his Christian Majesty shall within the time agreed cause to be demolish'd, at his own Expence, the fortify'd Places he has at present upon the *Rhine*, betwixt *Basil* and *Philipsburgh*, namely, *Hunninghen*, *New Brisac*, and *Fort Louis*, with all the Works belonging to the said Fort on each side the *Rhine*, so that they may never be rebuilt hereafter.

XII. That the Town of *Rhynsfelt*, with their Dependencies, shall be possess'd by the *Landgrave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, till it shall be agreed otherwise.

XIV, XV. His most Christian Majesty shall from time to time, and in the Negotiations of the Treaties of Peace to be made, acknowledge the Queen of *Great Britain* in that Quality, and the Succession of the Crown of *Great Britain* in the Protestant Line, as it is settl'd by Act of Parliament.

XVII. His Majesty promises to cause all the Fortifications of the Town of *Dunkirk*, its Harbour and Rysbanks, with what belongs thereto, to be raz'd at his Expence without exception, so that one half of the said Fortifications shall be raz'd, and one half of the Harbour fill'd up within the space of two Months, and the other half of the Fortifications shall be raz'd, as well as the other half of the Harbour fill'd up in the space of two Months more, to the Satisfaction of the Queen of *Great Britain*, and of the Lords the States General of the United Provinces; nor shall it be permitted ever to rebuild the Fortifications, or make the Harbour Navigable again, directly or indirectly.

XVIII. The Person who pretends to be King of *Great Britain* having desir'd to depart the Kingdom of *France*, to prevent the Demand the Queen of *Great Britain* and the *British* Nation have made, he shall retire into such Country, and in such manner as by the ensuing Treaty of a General Peace shall be agreed, as to the Means of his retiring.

XX. His Majesty consents that the King of *Portugal* shall enjoy all the Advantages stipulated in his Favour, by the Treaties made between him and his Allies.

XXI. His Majesty shall acknowledge the King of *Prussia* in the same Quality, and promise not to disturb him in the Possession of the Principality of *Neufchatel* and the Country of *Valingen*.

XXII. His Majesty shall yield and make over to the Lords the States General, in most express Terms that shall be judg'd proper, the Place of *Furnes* with its district, the Place of *Knock* being there included, *Menin* with its Verge, *Ipres* with its Castellany and Dependencies.



encies, which from henceforward shall be *Bailen* or *Belle*, *Warne-*  
*m*, *Commynes*, *Werwicks*, *Poperingen* and what depends on the Pla-  
 ces above mention'd; *Lisle* with its Castellany, *Conde* and *Maubeuge*  
 with all their Dependencies, the whole in such Condition as the said  
 Places are at present, and particularly with the Cannon, Artillery and  
 Stores of War therein, to serve with the rest of the *Spanish Nether-*  
*lands* for the Barrier of the said Lords the States General, &c.

XXIV. His Majesty shall also deliver up all the Towns, Forts and  
 Places which he shall have possess'd himself of in the *Spanish Nether-*  
*lands* in the Condition they now are, with their Cannon, Artillery  
 and warlike Stores, &c.

XXV. His Majesty shall grant to the said Lords the States General,  
 in relation to their Commerce, what is stipulated by the Treaty of  
*Utrecht*, the Tariff or Book of Rates of 1664, the Suppression of  
 the Tariffs made since, the Revocation of the Edicts, Declarations  
 and Arrests posterior to them, contrary to the Tariff of 1664, &c.

XXVI. His Majesty, at the signing the Treaties of Peace, shall ac-  
 knowledge the Ninth Electorate, erected in favour of his Electoral  
 Highness of *Hanover*.

XXVII. The Duke of *Savoy* shall be reinstated in the Possession of  
 the Dutchy of *Savoy*, the County of *Nice*, and all the other Places  
 and Countries hereditary belonging to him, of which his said Majesty  
 shall have possess'd himself by his Arms, during the course of the  
 present War, without any Reservation. Consents likewise that he  
 shall enjoy all the Countries, Territories and Places which have been  
 yielded and made over to him by the Emperor and his Allies.

XXVIII. That the King shall make over to him the Property and  
 Sovereignty of *Exilles*, *Fenestrelles* and *Chautmont*, the Valley of *Pray-*  
*as*, with whatever lies on this side the *Genevre* and other Moun-  
 tains, so that from henceforward the said Mountains may serve for  
 Barrier and Limits between the Kingdom of *France* and the Prin-  
 cipality of *Piedmont*.

XXIX. As to the late Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria*, their De-  
 mands and Pretensions shall be referr'd to the Negotiations of the  
 Treaties of Peace, &c.

XXXV. The most Christian King, to give Proofs of his Desire and  
 Inclinations to put a speedy End to this bloody War, promises imme-  
 diately after the Conclusion and Ratifications of the said Articles, to  
 evacuate as abovesaid in the *Netherlands*, the Towns of *Namur*, *Mons*,  
*Charleroy*, before the 15th of *June* next; *Luxemburgh*, *Conde*, *Tour-*  
*ay* and *Maubeuge* within 15 Days after, and before the 15th of *Ju-*  
*ly* the Towns of *Newport*, *Furnes* with *Fort-Knock* and *Ipres*; and be-  
 fore the expiration of those two Months, to raze and fill up (as is a-  
 bove stipulated) the Fortifications and Harbour of *Dunkirk*.

XXXVII. And in case that the King of *France* executes all that is  
 above-mention'd, and that the whole Monarchy of *Spain* be deliver'd  
 and yielded to King *Charles* the Third, as is stipulated by these  
 Articles within the limited Term, 'tis agreed that the Cessation of  
 Arms between the Parties in War shall Continue till the conclusion  
 and Ratification of the Treaties of Peace to be made, which shall be  
 drawn

drawn up in the most ample Forms that have usually been observ'd in Treaties of Peace, &c.

Now let any honest *Englishman* reflect seriously upon the Difference, both of the Manner and Substance of these two Schemes of Preliminaries for a general Peace, and inform himself if he can what may have been the reason of it, when he has compar'd the Circumstances of the Affairs of the *French King*, in relation to the Times in which they were both offer'd; and if he cannot find out such a one as will satisfy him, I will venture to furnish him with such a plain and undeniable one, as shall sufficiently convince him both of the and how infamously our own Nation has been betray'd. In the latter Preliminaries, here are not only distinct and positive Declarations of the *French King's* Intentions of what was to be done, but unexceptionable Securities of something more Weight than his bare *Royal bona fide* Ones for the Performance of what should be done; so that if he had thought fit to have receded from the Preliminaries of Peace then offer'd, the Loss of so many strong Places would have been the Punishment of his Perfidy; and though it is true that he should have parted with little but what were Usurpations from Spain and the Empire, yet as they might, by a long possession, been said to be his, however unjustly acquir'd, yet he so far by a Rendition of them should have weaken'd his own Frontiers, as would have left him naked, and expos'd to the Efforts of his powerful Enemies. In these we find the true Stile and Language of a Prince, which was a tacite Confession of his Inability to have defended himself much longer; he found his invincible Armies, as he boasted them, everywhere beaten and flying before a conquering Enemy he had long been accustomed to insult and despise; he saw them beaten out of *Germany* and the *Netherlands* by a rapidity of Victories and Successes that made the Man begin to think that he was something less than Immortal; he saw his Towns, esteem'd impregnable, taken in the sight of his Royal Armies, for the most part superior in Number with a Swiftness of good Fortune equal to that of *Cesar's*; to conquer and to see, was in a manner to conquer; he saw his baffled and dispirited Troops every where giving Ground, and showing their Backs to their victorious Enemies; from making Inroads and Conquests upon his feeble Neighbours, he found himself under the necessity of defending his own Frontiers, and utterly unable to do even this from the Fury of a Torrent, that was upon the Point to break upon and overwhelm him; the haughty *Ucalegon* saw his own House next in Danger, and thought it high time to prevent the nearer Approach and Violence of a Flame, that in a very short time must have reduc'd him to Ashes; necessity only open'd the Eyes of a Man whose Ambition and an insupportable Vanity had blinded through the long Course of a prosperous Tyranny, and taught him Wisdom who had never been a Slave to Pride and Vain-glory; what Nature usually teaches every other Man, in him was Fate; and he wisely, if a Man who is compell'd can be said to be wise, consented to lop off the Out-branches of the Tree to preserve the Trunk intire; and though the Places he was to part with were not only considerable in the

elves, but of the last Consequence and Importance for the Security of the Body of his State, yet he found himself under the Necessity of offering them to the Confederates at that time, as such Terms of a general Peace, which were fit for a haughty Prince, mortify'd to his humble Condition to offer, and they in the Prosperity of their Arms might reasonably expect and receive with Honour.

The Motions of Fear are ever accompany'd with Constraint, and the Concessions it makes, as they are always faithless, are seldom of longer Duration than the Passion that excites them lasts. This is evident in the present case; the Apprehension of a present Danger compell'd the French King to make large Proposals, which possibly he never offer'd with any other Design than barely to amuse; and the Prospect of a sudden Alteration in the posture of Affairs, with relation to the Confederacy, from the Power and Intrigues of the *English* Faction, we have found too surely to have suspended the Execution of them: This is what they call, and what he well understands, Duplicity; to gain time in nice and delicate Conjunctions, is to gain a great Point; this is true, we do not pretend to penetrate into the secret Recesses of the Hearts of Princes, but the frivolous Delays and trifling Expedients devis'd to spin out the time of those Negotiations, have convinc'd the World since more than enough, that Proposals so glorious to the Confederates and disadvantageous to *France*, were made rather to gain time and deceive, than out of any real Concern for the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*, or to avoid the further Effusion of Christian Blood. He had his private Views, and a certain immediate Prospect of a Change in the Affairs of *Europe* to his Advantage, and depended for Relief from a Nation, which of all Mankind had the greatest Interest in his Humiliation: He found a General at the head of victorious Troops, to whom he was unequal, and who, without Complement and less Flattery, may truly be said to be invincible while they had the Honour to have him at their Head; but he was but too sensible how far his usual Arts of Bribery and Corruption had advanced towards the Disgrace of a Man fated to his Destruction; he knew the Nation in general was full of Vigour and no less Resolution to carry on the War against him, but he knew too there was a fatal High-Church Faction that was not Proof against Corruption, too powerfully in his and the Interest of their dear Pretender; he saw the Administration of Affairs in the Hands of Men of Wisdom, Capacity and Integrity, equal to the Difficulty of the Times and Circumstances of the War, Men of Honour, and true Lovers of their Country, who knew the Value of Native Liberty, and wanted neither Vertue or Courage to defend it against *French* Popery and Slavery, but he knew too a detestable Faction, which for the Unhappiness of the Nation had the Address to surprize and abuse their Sovereign, in a fair Way to supplant and undermine them; he saw a Parliament of incorruptible *English* Freemen in Being, compos'd of Members of the old rugged *English* Stamp, accusom'd to make *France* tremble, who were neither servile enough to complement their own Ambition with their Liberties, nor base enough to betray them to a foreign one; who as they were truly sensible of the Blessings of their happy



happy Constitution, fram'd and convey'd down to them from the Fore-fathers, were resolv'd to transmit them intire to their Posterity, but he had but too much certainty of their speedy Dissolution, the Ruin of their own Country and Security of his: These were the Reasons, my honest Countrymen, that gave Birth to the Insolence of the Propositions of the present scandalous Peace, which no honest and gallant *Englishman* can reflect on with but with the utmost Marks of Resentment, Contempt and Indignation; and it is by the never-failing Arts of Bribery and Corruption he purchas'd from the Faction, tho' at best but a short Reprieve from Ruin, he never could have been able to have obtain'd by his Arms.

But if we further consider the Substance of these Preliminaries we shall find them as conformable to the Exigencies of the Prince who offer'd them, and humble as his Stile and Language. Here was no chaffering for the Establishment of the Monarchy of *Spain* in any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, but a plain and positive Declaration, that if the Duke of *Anjou* could not be brought by fair means to consent to the Preliminaries within the time prefix'd, that the *France* her self should concert the proper Measures with the rest of the Confederates to force and compel him to it by the Way of Arms, and *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and other Places in the *Mediterranean* to be immediately surrender'd as Caution for the Performance of the rest. No Talk of continuing in the Possession of the *Spanish West Indies* any Part of them; but by the Confession of the *French King* himself the Union of those two Crowns and Powers upon the Head of any one Prince of his House absolutely inconsistent with the Peace and Safety of *Europe*, and in the Opinion of all the Princes and Powers of it besides engag'd in the War, of the same dangerous and pernicious Consequence from the Possession of them by any two distinct Branches of that Family: No huckstring for an Equivalent for the important Fortrefs of *Dunkirk*, such as might content the *French King* who since *England*, as was then pretended, could not furnish the Equivalent, was pleas'd afterwards to notify that he would humbly condescend to accept of *Tournay* and *Lisle*, with their Dependence which had cost us so much Blood and Treasure to reduce them, in lieu of it; time has sufficiently convinc'd us since of the Collusion of the Article as well as all the rest, for *England*, I mean the Faction, has furnish'd that Equivalent in the scandalous Peace they have made and given, which is worth to them more than a hundred of their *Dunkirk*, which every Man of Sense very well understands at this time of Day, (especially since the Lords were told by them, when they desired to know what was the Equivalent that the *French King* insist'd on) that he had it already in his Hands, by which nothing could be understood but their under-hand Peace. No dreaming of putting it into the Hands of the *English* till the Conclusion of a general Peace, that fine Bubble was reserv'd to purchase the Infamy of a separation with his good new High-Church Allies; but in good old *England* *Dunkirk* to be demolish'd without the Banter of any Equivalent, and the whole Fortifications to be raz'd and Harbour fill'd up within a certain prefix'd time, and that solely at the Expences of the *French*

g, and not as was afterwards babbl'd, to be demolish'd at the Char-  
of the *Dutch*.

at if we now turn our Eyes upon their latter Proposals for the  
of a general Peace offer'd on the Part of *France* at *Utrecht*, we  
instead of the former thirty nine positive and ample Articles, only  
a short insolent ones, which if we consider either the Manner or  
stance of them, seem to be of a new and unknown sort of Policy;  
appear at the first View without the trouble of Reflection, to be  
imperious Decisions of a Prince still in a Condition to give Laws  
the rest of Mankind, rather than of one reduc'd to the humble  
ure of receiving such as a conquering Enemy might have thought  
have impos'd on him; at the time he was no longer able to  
and his own Dominions, he insolently demands the Grant of the  
ssions of others, which must again enable him to disturb the  
e of *Europe*, and cause greater Disorders and Confusions in it  
he has ever yet been able to do: We have been now prevail'd  
to take his Royal Word, that the Crowns of *Spain* and *France*  
never be united upon one Head; we are now civilly and hum-  
to be contented that they shall for ever remain in the Possession of  
Princes of the same Family, tho' it has cost *England* near —  
ons, and the rest of the Confederates in proportion, to deprive  
resent Usurper and his Heirs of it for ever; *England* to be lull'd  
o with the dry Conquests she had formerly made in North *Ame-*  
and the rest of the Confederates to be satisfy'd with what they  
atch, by way of Concession and Permission to Trade at the good  
e and Courtesy of their common Enemy; we to be fob'd off  
the Demolition of *Dunkirk* as the Reward and dishonourable Pur-  
e of Treachery, but not a Syllable of Security for the *Dutch*, or  
mperor and the other Princes of *Germany*, but what is slightly  
ed at in such doubtful, ambiguous and general Terms as conclude  
ing. What then could be the reasonable Foundation of such a  
ssence, and the surprizing Difference of these Propositions from  
e of *Gertruydenburg*? All the World knows that he was infinite-  
a worse Condition since, than he was at that time; for even in  
Campaign while that Negotiation was on Foot, our glorious  
eral at the Head of his Invincible Troops, gain'd the memorable  
e of *Blaregnies*, which to consider all the Circumstances of it,  
of more Renown than that ever famous one of *Blenheim*. Ne-  
was there a more noble Instance how far the *English* Courage and  
ery, whilst united to those of their Allies, were capable of ad-  
ing to overcome Difficulties, which it was thought next to im-  
ble for human Force to surmount; the Reduction of the Impor-  
Fortress of *Mons* was an immediate Consequence of that memo-  
Overthrow. In the former and subsequent Campaign, under the  
duct of the same renown'd General, *Ostend*, *Nieuport*, *Tournay*,  
ay, *Lisle*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, *Bethune*, forcing of Lines thought  
e *French* impracticable without the Loss of a Man, which shew'd  
Excellence and Address of the Commander, were the uninter-  
ed Subjects of the Triumphs of the Confederate Valour and good  
une; *Bouchain* taken in the sight of an Army superiour in num-  
bers,

bers, and the great *Eugene*, if he had not been basely betray'd, in fair way, by the Reduction of *Quesnoy* and *Landrecy*, of penetrating into the Heart of *France*. One might reasonably have expected, that a Prince thus over-whelm'd with such a continual Train of Disasters and unable longer to defend himself, should rather have thought buying his Safety by a Peace of larger Concessions than even those *Gertruydenbergh*, than obdurate himself to insist upon more haughty Demands at *Utrecht*, when it is visible to all the World that he was beyond comparison in a worse Condition than he was three Years before; yet by a most rare and admirable Turn of *English* High-Church Policy, we have seen the Man, every where beaten, dispirited and confounded, insisting on Conditions, or rather prescribing Commands more befitting a Conqueror in the height of Triumphs and Prosperity.

This is so wonderful a Stretch of something more than Confidence in a Situation like his, which as it has surpriz'd the present World with Astonishment, will puzzle all future Ages to give it Credit, it can be not taken to transmit the Mystery down to them with the Wonder. The Immortal Man, in the Year 1709, found himself oppressed and sinking, when charitable *English* High-Church held out a successful Hand to save a Friend, on whom alone depended all their Hopes of their belov'd Pretender, and her own Designs of Establishing her Grandeur upon the Ruin and Slavery of her native Country; what he never could have pretended to arrive at by the Efforts of his enserv'd Troops, he found the Means to accomplish by his never-failing Arts of Bribery and Treachery; he knew the fatal Disorders and Disorders that inseparably follow them, which were at that time introduc'd amongst us by his detestable Incendiary *Sachew* and his Fellow-Labourers in the Iniquity, and knew but too well how to improve them to his Advantage; he saw a great and valiant People, who whilst united were his most formidable Enemies, thrown into unnatural Heats and Animosities against each other by those Wretches, whose Interest, Conscience and Profession of all Mankind oblig'd them most to cultivate a peaceable and harmonious Union and Agreement amongst them. The nimble Poison spread till it became too general, and what brought Languishment and Death to us, added to him new Life and Confidence of Hope; time ripen'd the posthume till it broke in Ruin; the Symptoms of the approaching End of what there was remaining of Firm, of Brave, or Vertuous in the Nation was at Hand; he was but too well secur'd of the sudden Disgrace of a renown'd and fortunate General, who had so often made him tremble; of the wisest, ablest and most faithful Minister that ever stood immoveably in the way of all his Designs; of a Parliament, whose Vertue and Love to their Country's Interest and Honour were inviolable. Successful Treachery! What more did he want or could desire to compleat our Slavery, or his own Establishment. A supple modest General to succeed a rugged fighting one; not lead on his valiant *Britains* to Battle, but lose their ancient Honour in Retreat; not to support and strengthen our best and noblest Friends and Allies, but basely to desert them in the Day of Action and Pro-



of Conquest; a Ministry obsequious to his purpose to enslave their  
 Country; and a generous High-Church Majority of a Parliament  
 that outran his eagerest Hopes and Wishes; these were the blessed  
 fruits of our late sanctify'd High-Church Doctrines. Behold the Ex-  
 plication of the Riddle! We have been fighting these twelve Years  
 like Fools or Madmen, to dethrone an Usurper, and establish a  
 Alliance of Power that might for ever have secur'd the Peace of  
 Europe with our own, and a Faction of Knaves have unravel'd as it  
 were in an Instant what had been so long labour'd with the Expence  
 of so much noble Blood and Treasure. Three or four Millions curi-  
 ously employ'd in the way of a certain secret Service, amongst a cer-  
 tain sort of People who may be necessary to carry on the Work of  
 darkness, will do more as it were in the twinkling of an Eye, than  
 Hundred in the boisterous Way of Honour in twelve Campaigns.  
 who four Year ago should have affirmed, that we should have  
 in England in Alliance with *France*, the *English* to have been the  
 of the Confederates that should have treated of and concluded a  
 separate Peace, without the Participation and Consent of their Allies,  
 breach of the publick Faith, or *English* Protestant Troops to have  
 ed with *French* Popish ones (with which the States were menac'd  
 case of their Non-compliance) to fight against the Protestant *Dutch*,  
*Hanover* and *Prussian* Forces, for the Establishment of Popery, Sla-  
 very, and the Subversion of the whole Protestant Religion and Inte-  
 of *Europe* as well as their own, would very likely have been  
 nt to *Bedlam* or a worse Place, and in the Opinion of most ho-  
 nt Men in their Senses, would have been thought to have deserv'd  
 to; yet we have liv'd to see the Time when the most part of this  
 enzy has had its Effect, and to be threatn'd with the rest, and the  
 dable Contrivers of it exalted to the highest and noble Posts of  
 honour and Profit in the Nation; but the times that have chang'd  
 are chang'd, may again be chang'd, for there is nothing certain  
 d permanent in this World; Men at best are but short sighted;  
 no knows what may happen? We live in an Age of Wonders;  
 the wisest Man amongst us cannot tell, but that within less than the  
 ace of twelve Months, from the Day of the Date of this separate  
 ace, he may see the Pope, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the Great  
 gol and the Grand *Signior*, in a merry Fit forget themselves, (I am  
 e if there be any High-Church amongst them it is probable enough)  
 d combine together to establish the Protestant Religion in their  
 pective Dominions, instead of their belov'd Superstitions and *Ma-*  
*netanism*; for I will maintain, that speaking after the manner of  
 n, that is of such as are or ought to be reasonable Creatures,  
 One is full as likely, as probable, and rational as the Other.  
 One may with great Ease read the difference of the Genius and  
 aracters of the Ministers in the difference of the *French* Kings  
 positions, and the Humour and Temper of the People of the pre-  
 t time from what it was a few Years ago. The Qualities of Men  
 best discovered by the Nature of their Principles; such as are  
 nded upon Reason, Equity, Vertue, Honour, and a true Love of  
 Country, ever produce Credit at Home and Reputation Abroad;  
 whatever

whatever can be desir'd of Firmness, Constancy, Tranquility, Union and all the Blessings that naturally attend it, secure Peace, or honourable War, Riches, Plenty, Extent and Inlargement of Commerce, are but the genuine and necessary Results of them; they are as inseparable as Light from the Sun, or Heat from Fire: Whereas Principles founded upon Interest, in the Preference of private Designs and Considerations to the publick Good, as they are erroneous and vicious in the Seed, can never produce but poisonous and pernicious Fruits, and such as are infected and influenc'd by them, are ever lyable to be easily corrupted by the strong Intinuations of Bribery; the Establishment of private Fortune, always carries it before the real and publick Good of the Country; the Temptation which is evil in itself, is too strong for the feeble Vertue of such who only have it in Appearance; Ambition is the Center of all their Actions, and all the Motions of it are irregular and excentrick, because there is no immoveable Principle of real Vertue to order and determine them to the certain Ends of the publick Good of a Nation; 'tis the Passion of the Mind to grow inordinately Great without thinking or examining the Equity and Reasonableness of the Means they choole to carry them to their End; 'tis a Pyramid, as it were revers'd, it centers in the Point of private Interest for the Foundation, and by disorderly and ill concerted Degrees, arises into a monstrous Superstructure, that soon grows too top heavy for the feeble Basis; hence it is, that even a little Accident or Blast of evil Fortune, by reason of its inordinate disproportions and inequality of the Fabrick, is apt first to shake, and soon after tumble into Ruin: From Men therefore actuated by such Principles, nothing can follow in a Common-wealth but Instability and Disorder, Confusion and Irresolution in Counsels, and Want of Vigour in their Execution, Divisions and Jealousies amongst the People, from whence always follow Loss of Honour at Home, and Disgrace and Contempt Abroad, with whatever else is ruinous and dishonourable amongst Men. There was in the late glorious Ministry a solid and inflexible old *English* Vertue, founded upon natural Liberty, which is the very Spirit and Soul of our Constitution, that went strait to the End, that is, the sole Advancement of the publick Good, that would neither bend to court Flattery, nor stoop to the Baseness of foreign Treachery; while such a Spirit congenial to the Nature of the Government held the Reins, and manag'd the Helm of the Ship of State, Heaven smil'd and bless'd their Labour, all things went well, the establish'd Religion in perfect Safety, our precious Liberty in no Danger, the Nation happy and contented, the under the Exigencies of a long and expensive War; the Glory that redounded to her from the Valour and Success of her renowned General and gallant Troops, more than recompenc'd her for the Profusions of her Blood and Treasure, belov'd, admir'd and courted by her Friends and Confederates, and terrible to her Enemies; these uncouth unfashionable Heroes, as it were of another Age and World seem'd in no manner fit for the supple villainous Baseness of this; was high time to lay them aside, to make way for a nimble complying fawning Faction, that like a Spaniel would leap over a Stick for

*French* King, or else be thrown out of Pension, or be drub'd with it  
 at him ; Men of new Principles and new Maxims, unknown to  
 the honest valiant Sots our Ancestors of former Ages ; such as were  
 maliciously dispos'd to exchange the old *English* Sincerity and *English*  
 Liberty, for new *French* Policy and *French* Slavery ; who will cock  
 their Hats, and bluster, and swear, and quarrel with the Nation's  
 Friends, in the Defence and Support of the Nation's worst Ene-  
 mies ; who out of a most tender and conscientious Regard for the  
 bluish'd Church of God, founded with us upon Protestantism, will  
 squander away their Country's Blood and Treasure, to introduce and  
 establish Popery, erected upon the most abominable of all Superstiti-  
 ons ; who are such noble Patriots and true Lovers of their Country,  
 to prefer the Hereditary unalienable Right of an abjur'd Pretender,  
 created in *French* Religion and Maxims, to the frivolous and insigni-  
 ficant Pretensions of a Protestant Prince and Family, that has no  
 right but the feeble and impertinent Right of the Sanction only of a  
 Legislature ; who are much more in Love with the invaluable Bless-  
 ings of arbitrary and tyrannical Power, and the most divine Do-  
 ctine of unlimited Passive Obedience, than with the despicable Ones  
 of a just and legal Subjection to a mix'd and limited Monarchy.  
 These are the sort of Men that the humbl'd *French* in their miserable  
 circumstances wanted, and we in our happy ones did not : They  
 could no more have dar'd to offer'd their haughty insolent *Utrecht*  
 propositions to the former Ministry and General, than have dar'd to  
 have fought our Troops again in the same Hands, or than these late  
 would have had the Honesty or Courage to have insisted upon those  
 same and glorious Ones of *Gertruydenbergh*. Those were for push-  
 ing on the Successes of a happy and fortunate War, till they had ob-  
 tain'd the End of a lasting advantageous general Peace, that might  
 possibly for ever have secur'd the Peace and Tranquility of all *Europe*,  
 rather with their own ; these have prefer'd the Infamy of a scan-  
 dalous separate One, for their own private Interest, and that of their  
 Pretender, by giving their new Friend and Confederate of *France*  
 Opportunity of recruiting himself into an Ability of once more  
 springing, and much more likelihood of succeeding in the Slavery  
 of *Christendom*, and in the End themselves. The former im-  
 proved the Force and Riches of the Nation, to reduce the exorbitant  
 Power of *France*, by dispossessing her of her unjust Usurpations upon  
 her neighbouring Princes, and confining her within the compass of  
 her proper Dominions ; these to augment and aggrandise her, by the  
 addition of an inexhaustible Treasure of *Spain* and the *Indies*, to which  
 she has no other but a High-Church Title of Usurpation, founded  
 upon Fraud and Perjury. Those, in their Wisdom and Integrity,  
 sought the best way to form and preserve a Ballance of Power, was  
 to establish those vast Dominions in the Hands of the rightful and  
 legal Heirs of the House of *Austria*, from whence no dangerous  
 Consequences could rationally have been fear'd ; these in their insig-  
 nificant Prudence and Discretion, and by a new Kind of an unheard of  
 Policy of humbling a Prince by making him greater, throw the Weight  
 into



into the Scale that will for ever incline and confirm them to the House of *Bourbon*, which will as infallibly imploy them to the Confusion and Disturbance of all the World.

'Tis certainly the most surprizing thing in Nature, to see the Heads of this notable Faction presuming to banter all *Europe* and their own Nation, with the ridiculous Expedient of preserving Ballance of Power, and providing for the general Security in the present Scituation of Affairs, by the insupportable Absurdity of *French* or *Spanish* Renunciation. We have seen all *Europe* twice sedulously impos'd on and deceiv'd by that shameless Artifice, and the same perjur'd Prince, the first time I mean at the Treaty of *Pirenees*, and the second in that of the Partition; and yet our wondrous wise and honest Directors would prevail upon them to be the same Fools and Sots for the third time. Was there ever since the beginning of Nations, or was it possible for humane Wisdom to give a more solemn and binding Obligation, than that the present *French* King laid himself under, upon his Marriage with the Daughter of *Spain*, in the former of these? Was ever Renunciation conceived or finish'd with greater Precautions, or more solemn Pomp of most sacred Oaths for the Performance, than that he made upon holy Evangelists, to the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, for himself, every succeeding Branch of his Family for ever? Yet we have seen of what little Force those thin spun Cobwebs were to restrain the perial Horner, as soon as the Opportunity offer'd, and he saw it to be the Interest of his Family to break through them. How comes it to pass, that he and his Ministers are become so much wiser now than they were at the time of that famous Treaty? 'Tis true, that Accidents and Circumstances may vary and change, but the Nature and Essence of Things never can, but by a Power altogether infinite. There was no Notion then of a Dispute whether a Prince who had solemnly renounc'd all his own Right and Title for himself, which never was any other than what was founded upon that Marriage, was not in an Ability to renounce for the Princelings, his Descendants yet in his Loyns; none of which have since ever had a better, satisfying that Renunciation to have been valid, than that of a supposititious Will, which, according to the Constitution of that or any other free Kingdom, without the Consent of their *Cortex*, even if it were genuine, could confer no more Right than the Story of *Bell and the Dragon*: There was no Fear or Apprehension then of an infinite Distinction betwixt the Spirit and Letter of a Treaty; Hell had then been rak'd so deep for so detestable a Piece of Sophistry, to cover over Perjury and Prevarication; that was a refin'd Piece of Wickedness, reserv'd for the Discovery of the incomparable High-Church Casuists of these more enlightned times. The honest *Spaniards* were then in their Integrity, though in their Declension: They knew the Genius of a captious Family, that would not fail to catch at any opportunity to establish their Grandeur upon the Ruins of theirs, of an ambitious One, that would boggle at no Means to accomplish both the one and the other: They were then true Lovers of their Country, jealous of the Honour of their Monarchy, and believ'd

had sufficiently provided and secur'd the Succession of their Crown to their beloved House of *Austria*, by a Treaty of Renunciation sworn to and ratified by all the most solemn Obligations that are esteem'd sacred and binding amongst Men: They very well foresaw the Ruin of their own Monarchy, and the Slavery of all the rest of *Europe*, inseparable from the Possession of their Crown by a Prince of the House of *Bourbon*; and they therefore thought they had taken all the Precautions that could fall within the compass of humane Reason, strengthened by the Authority of a sacred Sanction to prevent it. The Christian Religion, of all the Morals made known to Men, does by the Purity of its Doctrines, and the Simplicity and Integrity of its Divine Precepts, best provide for the Security and Happiness of Mankind, both in this World and the next; yet as the best Things are liable to the most dangerous Corruptions, the greatest and most terrible Mischiefs that have in all Ages afflicted the World since it has been known in it have been brought about by the Artifices of wicked Men, who have dar'd to abuse and prophane the Divinity of God, as a Pretext to the most base and execrable Purposes; yet the Ambition of Preferment, a servile Casuist of the *Sorbonne*, Slave to the Court, and a nimble *Jesuit* the Pillar of Popery, who have the Honours of making the God they swear by, can with the same spirituallegerdemain dissolve all the Obligations of his most holy Laws, to acquit of the Perjury.

The other famous Instance of the Blessing and inviolable Security of this precious Cant of State-Renunciations, is of a later Date, and still fresh in our Memories, I mean that in the Treaty of Partition, wherein it was expressly stipulated, that the whole Monarchy of *Spain* (those Out-branches of it granted to *France* by that Treaty already mentioned excepted) should be for ever left in the Possession, and confirm'd to the House of *Austria*; which though it was made with the same Pomp and Solemnity as the former, was with the same incredulousness on the Part of *France*, as easily violated; for King *Charles* was no sooner in his Grave, but we saw a Grandson of the *French* King, only with the ridiculous Title of a forg'd Will, foisted upon the Throne; by which we are taught, how feeble is the Influence even of the true Religion in the Hearts of Princes, when they are not touch'd with a veritable Sense of it, if put in the Scale against the violent Impulses of an immeasurable Ambition. Every voluntary Violation of a sacred Oath is a Perjury; yet there are certain Circumstances which may in some Cases extenuate, and in others aggravate the Guilt; and there is one of such a Nature in the Breach of this latter, which, if possible, renders it infinitely more odious and famous than the former, because it is evident from the Event, that it was design'd it should be broke the very moment it was making; which, if I mistake not, is a sort of damning a Man's self in cold blood, and with the terrible formality of Reflection; which Circumstance, however considerable in it self, had been observ'd and known by few, and would have still been industriously conceal'd, if this ridiculous Expedient of another Renunciation had not discover'd it; and that is the Declaration already mentioned; wherein, not

withstanding the formal Renunciation of the *French* King and his Family of the Monarchy of *Spain*, in Justice to the rightful Heir of the House of *Austria*, it is yet expressly provided (when in Breach of his former Oath he had plac'd a Grandson upon that Throne) that the said Duke of *Anjou* his Grandson should by no Means forfeit or lose his Right to the Crown of *France*, in case he should happen to be the sole Survivor of his Family. This, I think, is a palpable Demonstration of the Duplicity and Prevarication of the Man; he of set and study'd Purpose fool'd all *Europe* with the specious Formality of a Renunciation to the *Spanish* Monarchy, for himself and his Descendants for ever, yet as soon as the Occasion offer'd, not only places his Grandson on that Throne, but at the same time enregisters in the Parliament of *Paris* as formal a Declaration, that the said Grandson, in the Case above mention'd, shall by no means forfeit his Right and Title to the Kingdom of *France*; and yet now the World is to be bubbld again with the Renunciation of this Grandson to his paternal Inheritance, as a sufficient Security for the Peace and Tranquility of *Europe*. This Declaration then is as solemn an Intail in such a Circumstance as could be made, of one of the noblest Kingdoms in the Universe; and yet if the Duke of *Anjou* can by one Dash of a Pen dissolve and invalidate so formal an Act of Settlement by a Renunciation as he has pretended to do, one would be glad to know from any modern High-Church Conjuror, what there shall be to hinder the same Duke of *Anjou* from cutting that Renunciation to pieces with the very Sword they have put into his Hands, as soon as the Occasion of doing so shall offer? It has been prov'd already that it will not be in the Power of all the Princes in *Christendom* to prevent him; and for those that are Protestant of them, 'twill be a notable Security, when they shall have nothing but the Conscience of a Popish Prince of the House of *Bourbon*, so famously distinguished for their Integrity, and which hangs at the Girdle of a Pope and every Rascally *Jesuit* to absolve, to depend on. This is the last memorable Instance, and I hope will be so, of *French* Faith, and *French* Sincerity. In the Year 1659, here is a formal Renunciation for ever of the House of *France*, to all Pretensions to the Crown of *Spain*; and in the Year 1700, we see nevertheless a Grandson of *France* upon the Throne of *Spain*, in open Breach and Contempt of all Laws, Divine and Humane, without any Title but that of Forgery supported by the long Sword. In one Year it is formally provided, that no Son of *France* shall ever inherit the Crown of *Spain*. Why? Because by the *French* King's own Confession, the Junction of that Crown to his Family would render it too exorbitant to preserve a just Ballance of Power; in the very next succeeding, there is not only a Prince of *France* upon that Throne, but it is expressly provided, that in the Case already mentioned, that is of sole Survivorship, he shall by no Means whatever forfeit his Right to his paternal Inheritance; but enjoy them both. Why? Even to preserve the very same Ballance of Power. Detestable! This we think is blowing hot and cold, renouncing and unrenouncing with the same Breath with a Witness; a Riddle of new High-Church Divinity, unknown



all the blockhead Politicians of this and all former Ages, which mortal Brain but their own would have dreamt of, or pretend to travel. The Emperor, who has a legal and natural Right, must be debar'd of it, though it has been demonstrated he can do no Harm with it, for fear of growing too exorbitantly great, thereby forsooth provide for the Security of the rest of *Europe*, by a just Ballance of Power; and yet a Grandson of *France*, who has no more Right to than my Lord *Oxford*, who knows all things but himself and Country's Honour and Interest, must be plac'd in the peaceable Possession of the whole Monarchy of *Spain*, from whence in a short time the Slavery of all *Europe* shall inevitably follow, and this with the impudent Pretence of securing the same Ballance of Power. This is such a way of forming and preserving it, as nothing but the Devil or *Devils* could have invented, and sanctify'd High Church ratify and confirm. Good God! What will these abandon'd Wretches have the impudence to prescribe to us to believe at last?

If the Emperor, by the Possession of the Crown of *Spain*, will become too dangerously great, he and his Imperial Consort are both young, and possibly may have Children; suppose he has a Son, what must be done in that Case? At least the *French* could not tell, when they offer'd him the Injustice, whether he might have any or no; shall that Son be debar'd of his natural Right to the Succession of that Monarchy? Shall the Will of a feeble crazy Prince as *Charles* the Second, supposing it to have been genuine, (much less the forged one of a rascally Priest and a few Traytors) be pleaded in Bar of a Right establish'd by the Consent and Laws of Nations? In that Case a Son to the present Emperor, the great Question, Who ought to succeed to that Monarchy, had been decided; the Laws of Nations, and the Voice of Mankind are in favour of the lawful Heir; for in the most violent of our Adversaries allow, that if the late Emperor had liv'd, and his Brother King *Charles* the Third continu'd on the Throne of *Spain*, the War that we and the Confederates were engag'd in to dispossess the Usurper, Duke of *Anjou*, was both just and necessary to establish and confirm him in it; if then the Death of the Emperor unexpectedly intervening, King *Charles* the Third King of *Spain*, was call'd to the Succession of the Empire, by what Reason or Policy is he to loose the Right of his Family to the Succession of that Monarchy, in Case he have a Son to whom it might be assign'd for the Security and Satisfaction of the Princes and Powers of *Europe*; especially if it should be esteem'd unreasonable or dangerous to leave it in the Hands of One who may be at the same time in the Possession of the Imperial One? For we have been told by his excellency, that no Man in his Senses could doubt, but that the Monarchy of *Spain* was the indubitable Right of the House of *Austria*, whilst it was a Branch of it distinct from an Emperor to enjoy it. Was then the Right of King *Charles* the Third, when he was but Brother to an Emperor, and shall it not be as unquestionably the Right of the Son of King *Charles* the Third, if he should happen to have now he is Emperor? But supposing he never shall have a Son, though Females are not excluded the Succession of that Monarchy;

why, as has been mention'd, was not the Duke of *Savoy*, as new Heir, call'd to the Possession of it? Why was not that great Nation left, with the Consent of their *Cortez*, to proceed freely to a new Disposition of their Crown, who have the only Right under Heaven, in case of Extinction of the Line in possession, to do it? Why might it not have been put under the Administration of a Regent or Viceroy, with their Consent, as has frequently been done by other Nations upon the like Occasions, till it should have been known whether the Emperor should have had any Children or no? Nay indeed why not any thing rather than leave it in the Possession of a Prince of the House of *France* who has no Right at all? For the most audacious of his Partisans of the High-Church Strain, since *Filmer*, has not dar'd to affirm, that Fraud, or Violence, or Usurpation, confer any Right; and all the World are very sure that the Duke of *Anjou* has no other; and either we have not been all this while in our Senses, or a Confederate War has been carried on these twelve Years past principally to tear this Usurpation from the *French*, and to establish the Rights of the House of *Austria*. All and every of the Schemes I have but just mention'd are founded upon Reason and Nature, and were each of them an infallible Expedient to have procur'd and preserv'd that Ballance of Power, which all sober thinking Men intended and heartily wish'd for, and which our hot-headed brainless Enthusiasts of High-Church can never be able to convince the World shall ever be procur'd by theirs; and therefore let the wisest of them if he can assign any tollerable Reason, why after such an Expence and Effusion of Blood and Treasure, it should all of a sudden be thought requisite to leave the Duke of *Anjou* peaceably in Possession of it, except the Interest of themselves and their Pretensions which we can by no Means accept for sterling; for I believe there can be no *Englishman* such a Sot, as not to see that in the End he shall from free be made a Slave, though he may have the great Consolation of being the last made so. But supposing for once a notable Renunciation to be good and valid to all Intents and Purposes in relation to himself, and that the Duke of *Anjou* should be himself bound and oblig'd by the Religion of his Oath, which we are sure his Grandfather never did, what Security have we that his Descendants shall always continue in the same Honesty of Sentiments? What, that even his next immediate Successor, shall banter the World again after the fair Example of his Family, though his Father might renounce his own Pretensions to the Crown of *France*, yet that it was not in his Power to do the same in prejudice of the Right of his Heirs? What then is to be done in case of a single Survivor of that Family, who shall necessarily be in Possession of both Crowns together? For it has been prov'd that there is no Power, nor all the Powers of *Europe* combin'd together, can be able to compel him to quit either the one or the other. It is demonstrable therefore, that this High Church Scheme, to preserve Ballance of Power, erected only on the sandy Foundation of a ridiculous Renunciation, can in the End terminate in nothing but the Establishment of the Monarchy of all *Europe* in the House of *France*.

and consequently of the utter Extirpation of the whole Protestant Religion, Liberties and Interest of it: But if the Emperor, or a Son, if he has any, or any Branch of his House, or the Duke of *Savoy* were call'd to the rightful Possession of that Crown, as it is impossible any of them could arrive at it otherwise than by the Assistance of a powerful Confederacy, (except by the legal Way, that is, by the Consent and Choice of the *Spanish* Nation, which have put it out of their Power to do it now) in such case we should be secure to have all the Princes of *Germany*, the *English*, the *Dutch*, the *Dane*, and even the Emperor himself if he were desired, to be the Guarantees of what Treaties should be stipulated between them for the Preservation of a just Balance of Power; whereas if the Crown of *Spain* is suffer'd to continue in the Possession of the Duke of *Anjou* and his Descendants, whether singly, or in Conjunction with that of *France*, who shall be the Guarantees for the Performance and Observation either of this Treaty of Renunciation, or any other Treaty that shall be made whatsoever? All the Powers of any Consideration in *Europe*, except *Sweden*, have been long actually at War against *France*, and to dethrone the Usurper of *Spain*, and therefore cannot be suppos'd to become Guarantees for the Faith of either of them, or if they were proper and willing, it has been demonstrated that they can never be able to discharge that Office: In such case then, I see none left, nor I believe any body else who has better Eyes, but the Pope, *French* and *Spanish* Honour and High-Church Probity, which no body, who is not palpably bewitch'd, can deny to be unexceptionable Guarantees for the Security of the Protestant Religion and Interest of *Europe*, and in a most particular manner of the Establish'd Church of *England*; all which, out of a most tender and conscientious Regard doubtless for the Glory of God and the Honour of the Nations, these Wretches have betray'd, by their infamous Renunciation Projects into Popery and Slavery.

A Wickedness conceiv'd in Fraud, and nourish'd by Treachery, can never be supported but by the Arts of Falshood and Insincerity. I believe there is no honest *Englishman* can fail to be surpriz'd to see this formal Decree of Renunciation usher'd into the World with the most impudent Lye that Hell or High-Church cou'd invent. One wou'd be glad to know, supposing that the Duke of *Anjou's* Usurpation confer'd a Right to the *Spanish* Monarchy, with what Front he pretends to the Titles inseparable from the House of *Austria*, whilst there is a Branch of that Family to wear 'em? By what Right he assumes the Titles of Archduke of *Austria*, of Duke of *Burgundy*, *Sabaud* and *Milan*, of Count of *Hapsburgh*, the Source of the present Imperial Family, of *Flanders* and *Tirol*, &c. These, all the World knows are the Peculiarities of the Imperial Crown, and can no more in Justice be pretended to by the Duke of *Anjou* as King of *Spain*, than the Possession of the *Grand Signior*, or the Great *Mogol*; yet it may be allow'd that he who against all the Rules of Reason and Equity has usurp'd the Substance, may in like manner usurp too the Shadow of Titles. But there is a further View in this piece of Arrogance and Insolence; 'tis good to accustom ones self to Titles when we have 'em



not, that they may sit about us with a better Grace when we have for I believe there's no Man in *Europe*, who is acquainted with the Affairs of it, and the constant Designs of the *French* for more than an Age past, who does not believe that in case of the Death of the present Emperor without Issue Male; the *French*, however in this Conjunction they may fool the Duke of *Bavaria* with the prospect of the Imperial Crown, design nothing more certainly than to employ all their Power and Artifice to cram a Prince of their own Blood upon that Throne, with as much Justice and Right as they have another upon that of *Spain*, and are about to lay the same Obligation upon us by placing their Pretender upon this of *Great Britain*, which will within a very short time be the necessary consequence of this *European* Peace. But an Evil is better and more easily prevented, than remedy'd when befall us, and God be thanked that we are neither destitute of the Means, nor want Vertue and Courage to employ 'em when we are reduc'd to the necessity by these Traytors to make use of 'em. We are then formally told in the Preamble of this notable Renunciation, That whereas one of the chief Intentions of the Treaties of Peace now depending between the Crowns of *France*, *Spain* and *England*, is the Preservation of the Ballance of Powers in *Europe*, in such manner that too many being united together, the desir'd Ballance and Equality may not be lost, to the Advantage of one of 'em, and to the Peril and indangering of the rest; and for the facilitating of a General Peace which may be firm and durable, was propos'd and insisted on by *England*, and agreed to on my part and that of the King my Grandfather, that to avoid in all future times the Union of this Monarchy with that of *France*, and that may not happen in any case, reciprocal Renunciations shou'd be made on my part, and that of my Posterity, to any possibility of succeeding to the Monarchy of *France*, and on the part of those Princes and their Descendants, present and to come, to any possession to this Monarchy, &c. — But at the same time, that for the above mentioned reason Care is taken that the Monarchy of *France* is never to be join'd to that of *Spain*, we must steadily pursue the fundamental and constant Maxim from which we are not in any case to depart, viz. the Preservation of the Ballance of Power; therefore the Inconveniences are likewise to be avoided that wou'd arise, if upon failure of my Issue this Monarchy shou'd again devolve to the House of *Austria*, which by the Addition of so considerable a Dominion to that of the Empire and Hereditary Countries, wou'd become very formidable; which Consideration was thought sufficient in former time for dismembring the Hereditary Dominions of the House of *Austria* from the Body of the *Spanish* Monarchy: It being for this Purpose stipulated and agreed by *England* with me and the King my Grandfather, that upon failure of me and my Issue, this Monarchy shall devolve to the House of *Savoy*, which being descended from the *Infanta Isabella Catharina*, Daughter to King *Philip* the Second, and having never departed from that Claim, has an evident and known Right, &c.

From what has already been said upon the Subject of the Duke of  
*Orléans*'s Pretensions to the Monarchy of *Spain*, and the Nonsense and  
 Invalidity of Renunciations for the general Security of *Europe*, or  
 the particular Safety of *Great Britain*, it appears to a Demonstration,  
 that neither any Ballance of Power, nor any lasting, honourable  
 and advantageous Peace, general or particular, can ever be establish'd  
 or depended on, whilst the Monarchy of *Spain* continues in the Pos-  
 session of any Prince of the House of *Bourbon*. It might indeed be  
 allow'd, as mention'd in this noble Preamble, to have been one of the  
 chief Intentions of the Treaties of Peace then depending between the  
 Crowns of *France*, *Spain* and *England*, by this means to pretend to  
 secure a Ballance of Power; but we are as sure that it was never in  
 the Intentions of all the other great and formidable Powers of *Eu-  
 rope* engag'd in the War, and without whom it ought never to have  
 been thought on, since they were all equally concern'd as much to  
 have prevented such a Diabolical Ballance of Power, as it might  
 have been the Interest of *France*, *Spain*, and the Faction in *England*  
 to have it effected. We readily allow that one of the chief Intenti-  
 ons of renewing the War was to procure this Ballance and Equality  
 of Powers; but we utterly deny that it was ever propos'd by the  
 Princes engag'd in it to be obtain'd by adding the Monarchy of *Spain*  
 to that of *France*, but diametrically the contrary, by depriving the  
 House of *Bourbon* of it, to restore it to the rightful Heirs of the  
 House of *Austria*. I shall therefore only take notice of one or two  
 things mention'd in this Preamble, which have not as yet or but  
 slightly been touch'd upon, and conclude this Head. We are told  
 in it that this profound Expedient of Reciprocal Renunciations  
 to prevent the too exorbitant Greatness of any one Family, to the  
 Peril and Prejudice of the rest, and for the facilitating a General Peace  
 which may be firm and durable, was propos'd and insisted on by *En-  
 gland*. Unhappy *England*! if that were not as impudently false as  
 all the rest; because if true, it would reflect the Scandal of an inde-  
 bable Infamy upon a noble Nation, in all Ages famous for the honest  
 Plainness and Simplicity of her Manners; whereas nothing of that  
 kind, had not her Integrity been basely prostituted by a prevailing  
 Faction, ought to have been offer'd, much less concluded, but in the  
 General Assemblies of the Congress at *Utrecht*, with the Unanimous  
 Consent and Approbation of the Plenipotentiaries of the respective  
 Princes and Powers concern'd in the War: Yet even this is not to be  
 understood but after a certain manner; for if by *England* they mean  
 her Majesty, whom a miserable and perfidious Faction have had the  
 fatal Power to abuse and impose on to depart from her own and  
 Kingdom's true Interest, I leave it to her High-Church Friends to  
 maintain and prove the Truth of it; or to free her by some quaint  
 Distinction of their new Chimerical Divinity, from the Dishonour they  
 have basely involv'd her in, of the Breach of her Royal Word and  
 the Publick Faith; for we very well remember the time, and that  
 but very lately too, when *England* in this sense was of quite diffe-  
 rent, nay of Sentiments directly contrary: But if by *England* is to be  
 understood the general Power and Consent of the Nation in the whole

Legi-

Legislature, as always it is in all publick Negotiations, we do maintain and will die maintaining that it is absolutely false, and the World we hope will always do a great, valiant and honest People the justice to distinguish between the Act of the whole Nation, and the wicked Intrigues of a wretched Faction in it, and not impute to the one what is purely the result of the Treachery of the other; for no body either heard or dream'd of any such thing till about two Year ago, as of suffering the Crown of *Spain* to continue on the Head of a Prince of the House of *Bourbon* to preserve a Ballance of Power, and in that the Security and Tranquility of *Europe*. But we have something of better Weight and Authority than the Word of a Duke of *Anjou*, on the Declaration of an *English* Ministry, to assure us that the principal Motive of commencing the last War, was not only to deprive the present Usurper of the Crown of *Spain*, but to prevent for the future that it shou'd ever fall into the possession of any Branch of that Family, as wou'd early or late unavoidably terminate in the Ruin and Slavery of *Europe*, I mean the famous Treaty of the last Grand Alliance, which in exprefs Terms assures us, That the Usurpation of the *Spanish* Monarchy by the *French* King for the Duke of *Anjou*, was the principal Cause and Reason of Recommencing the War, it being manifest past dispute, that as the *French* have made their utmost Effort ever since the *Pirenean* Treaty, notwithstanding their King's solemn Renunciation, to unite the Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, so we cannot but look upon that Union as the principal Cement of their joint Interest and Ambition, as the only infallible Means of accomplishing the Slavery of *Europe* in the Establishment of the Universal Monarchy in the House of *Bourbon*, notwithstanding the same frivolous Artifice of the Renunciation of the Grandson.

This has been the Voice of the Nation for above these ten Year past, and the constant Language from the Throne, at the Meeting of every Parliament since that time, to the opening of the very last Session of the last; if it has been concerted between the Ministers of *France* and *England*, that a Renunciation shou'd pass as an Expedient sufficient for the Conclusion of a separate Peace, and the Foundation of a Ballance of Power, it is a Peace of the Ministry, to whom we very well know it was absolutely necessary, but not of the Nation, which we are as certain it is in the last degree infamous and dishonourable; and as it is without any Security for the Observation of but *French* Probity, is utterly destructive of the publick Faith, which the Nation whilst it was in Reputation of Integrity gave the Allies that there shou'd never be an end put to the War, but by the Expulsion of the Usurper and the *French* for ever from the Monarchy of *Spain*, and the Re-establishment of it in the rightful Heirs of the House of *Austria*; that no private Negotiations shou'd be carry'd on much less separate Peace concluded, without the Consent and Participation of the whole Confederacy; but the War to be maintain'd and supported by their joint Force and Concurrence, till they shou'd obtain from the Enemy a general, safe, lasting, and honourable Peace in which all the Princes and Powers concern'd might find their just and reasonable Satisfaction and Security, under the Protection of a mu-



al and general Guaranty of the whole Confederacy. Agreeable to  
 his her Majesty, through the whole course of the War, has given re-  
 peated Assurances of transacting all things with the Consent and  
 Knowledge of the Allies; yet we have seen an excellent Princess pre-  
 ail'd upon by a treacherous Faction, to go into the Measures of a  
 Peace with *France* and *Spain*, the most mortal Enemies both of her  
 and the Kingdom; nor can this separate Treaty and Peace, upon the  
 spot of a ridiculous Renunciation carry'd on by the Ministry, be  
 look'd upon otherwise than as directly contrary to the Orders (her  
 Majesty declar'd to the House of Lords in answer to their Address)  
 which she had given to her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, to concert  
 all things in Conjunction with her Allies; as likewise contrary to the  
 Eighth Article of the Grand Alliance, which expressly obliges all the  
 Confederates not to treat unless jointly, and with the common Con-  
 sent and Advice of all the Parties concern'd; her Majesty having in  
 her Speech the very last Session of the last Parliament declar'd,  
 That she wou'd enter with them into the strictest Engagements for  
 continuing the Alliance, in order to obtain a General Peace that shou'd  
 be secure and lasting. So by her Message to the Lords, *June 17.*  
*1711.* she propos'd to joyn with 'em in the obtaining such a Peace,  
 and to guaranty and support the same. If then her Majesty de-  
 clar'd her Dislike of a separate Peace, and which was acknowledg'd  
 by that House of Lords to be both foolish and knavish, as what  
 would be of the last ill Consequence to this Kingdom, by preventing  
 the Guaranty of the Allies, so absolutely necessary for their mutual  
 security, and wou'd leave both them and us expos'd to the Power  
 of *France*; if the House of Lords at that time, to use their own  
 Words in their famous Protest, unanimously concur'd in expressing  
 their utmost Resentments at the Terms offer'd to her and her Allies  
 by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and her Majesty graciously ac-  
 cepted that Address, and rewarded the Zeal and Duty of it by the  
 return of her hearty Thanks, how came it to pass that the very  
 same shou'd be immediately after thought good for us or the Al-  
 lies, which were then receiv'd by their House and all the Allies,  
 with all the Marks of Scorn and Contempt, since there had been  
 nothing superadded to 'em but the trivial Expedient of a precarious  
 Renunciation, which leaves things in the same, or rather manifestly  
 in a worse condition than they were before, and which at best was  
 but the result of a private Negotiation of the Ministers of *England*  
 and *France*, in open Violation of publick Engagements on the side  
 of the former. This merry High Church Conceit of general Security  
 on the laudable Expedient of a Renunciation without a sufficient Gua-  
 ranty, which has been prov'd is impossible to find for it, is so evidently  
 an Amusement only of the Ministry to carry on their secret designs,  
 and so diametrically oppositoe to the publick Interest and Honour of  
 the Nation, that no *Englishman* who is not in the Secret of the Tre-  
 achery can be ignorant of, or give his Approbation of it, who has not  
 first resolv'd to renounce his Reason, his Religion, the Interest  
 and Liberties of his Country. I shall conclude this notable Topick  
 of *French* Renunciations with this one Remark, which I leave to the  
 Reflection

Reflection of my honest Protestant Countrymen. The Duke of Anjou swears to the Observation and Performance of it, by the Gospels contain'd in the *Roman Missal*, with his Right Hand upon it; now if that Religious Prince had sworn upon the holy Evangelists, separate from the Trumpery of the *Missal*, as his Grandfather did to the *Pirenees*, it would at least have had the appearance of a more solemn Obligation, and of greater Sincerity; for they who are acquainted with the scandalous Equivocations of the Church of Rome, will easily be satisfied, that a supple knavish Casuist of the Society of Jesus, has only to tell him, that he swore by the *Missal*, and not by the Gospels contain'd in it, and the Work of Conscience is over; for to swear upon the *Roman Missal*, is just of the same force, and full as binding, as to swear upon the renown'd and divine History of *Tom Thumb*.

When the Nation has recover'd out of the Frenzy with which they have so long been infatuated, and shook off the stupid Illusions of this fatal High-Church Lethargy, what shall be the Confusion of these Men, for having so basely contributed to the Dishonour of their Country? Or what shall be the Reward of such Traytors, who for the Ends of their private Ambition and Fortunes have in so great Measure renvers'd the goodly Fabrick reestablish'd by the late glorious Ministry, upon the solid Foundations of its ancient and natural Principles of Government, and supported by them by a scrupulous Maintenance of the publick Faith and Honour of the Nation? Disastrous Change! We have seen with our own Eyes the miraculous Deliverance of our Selves and Country from Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power, by the Blessing of God upon the Vertue and Valour of our glorious and immortal Deliverer, King William: We have seen a great and valiant Nation, cheerfully expending their Blood and Treasure, to carry on a War, through the whole Course of his Reign, against the common Enemy of the Protestant Religion, Interest and Liberty of all Europe and the first Steps made by it towards reducing an exorbitant Power that must have been in a short time too formidable to have been resisted: We have seen ourselves forc'd to commence a second War, by the perfidious Violation of the most solemn Engagements, by a Tyrant whom no Obligations, Divine or Humane, are of force to restrain; we have seen us push'd on with a Vigour and Courage, under the Conduct of the renown'd Duke of Marlborough, and blest with such a wonderful Train of surprising Successes, as will hardly find Belief with future Ages: we have seen the civil Affairs and Interests of the State, by the rare Wisdom and Abilities of the late faithful Ministry, in such a noble and flourishing Scituation, as render'd us both the Envy and Admiration of all the neighbouring Nations that were our Friends, and the Terror of such as were our Enemies; we have seen the Majesty of England in the Person of an excellent and religious Queen, lov'd and even ador'd, by her happy grateful Subjects, courted as the Delight and Soul of the Confederates, and dreaded by the common Disturber of Europe's Peace and Happiness; we have seen the Honour of the English Arms carried to a higher Pitch of Reputation, than in

the former Ages of Renown : We have seen the most pure esta-  
 blish'd reform'd Religion, under the Protection of our Laws, in  
 perfect Peace and Security, from all the Attempts of Popish Super-  
 stition; the Nation in general flourishing in Trade and Commerce,  
 contented and happy as a Nation could be, under the Pressures of a  
 long and expensive War ; and oh ! that I must only say, that we have  
 never in this glorious happy Condition, the miserable Consolation  
 of a decay'd and perish'd Beauty ! For by a terrible Fatality in humane  
 Affairs, we have liv'd to see that miraculous Revolution, to which we  
 owe all the Blessings we enjoy, branded with the odious Characters  
 of Sedition and Rebellion, and the precious Memory of the glorious  
 Memory of it, under God, traduc'd, and even had in Execration by  
 the ingrateful Wretches, who without it would at this Day been  
 languishing under the heavy Bondage of Popery and Slavery : We have  
 liv'd to see an End put to a War, commenc'd for the glorious Cause  
 of Liberty, under the Conduct and Administration of our late for-  
 mer and faithful General and Ministry, by the infamous Methods  
 of Perjury and Desertion of the present Ones : We have liv'd to see  
 our illustrious Queen defeated and rob'd of all the blooming Glories  
 of an auspicious and happy Reign by Traytors, who prostitute the  
 Honour of *England* in the Person of their Sovereign to their Ambi-  
 tion and the imperial Majesty of their Queen to the Elevation of  
 their private Fortunes : We have liv'd to see the Civil State involv'd  
 in such disastrous Confusions, by Men of Principles and Maxims ab-  
 solutely destructive of our Constitution, as have render'd us both the  
 Spoil of our Friends and Triumph of our Enemies : We have  
 liv'd to see the *English* Valour, all famous and admir'd as it has been,  
 become the Scorn and By-word among the Nations : We have liv'd  
 to see the establish'd Word of God expos'd to all the Ravages and  
 profane Violences of a High-Church Bigotry, and in a fair way  
 being once again over-run and lost in Popish Superstition ; our  
 Trade and foreign Commerce depending on the Courtesy of our  
 mortal Enemies, and our Credit and Reputation sunk to the lowest  
 Degree of Contempt : Confusions in Councils and publick Affairs,  
 Factions, and Jealousies, and Fears amongst the People ; Discontents,  
 Rancours, Animosities, and Want of common Charity amongst the  
 best Friends and Relations, are the blessed Fruits and Producti-  
 ons of the present Times and Change of Principles ; instead of Or-  
 der, Stability and Firmness, Love, Charity, Union Honour and Re-  
 spectation abroad, which were the palpable Blessings naturally flow-  
 ing from the Wisdom, Vertue and Principles of the former, (for  
 as the Principles are, such will the Men be who are influenc'd  
 by them, and such the Effects that naturally flow from them.) They  
 will act upon the noble ample Principles of native Liberty, and Love  
 to their Country, will always give Proofs to the World, that in all  
 Instances of Life they ever prefer the publick to their private  
 Interest ; and from hence all that is Great, Commendable and Honour-  
 able amongst Men, will ever redound to the Happiness, the Glory,  
 and Advantage of the Common-wealth ; whereas, they who act  
 from the sordid narrow Principles of Self-love and private Interest,  
 sacrifice



sacrifice all to their Ambition; and so they gain their Ends, matter not though it be upon the certain Ruin and Destruction of the Religion, Liberty and Honour of their Prince and Country.

Thus far these Men have succeeded in the Contrivance and Progress of a fortunate Wickedness; how far much farther they may yet be permitted to push it on, is only in the Hands of an inscrutable Providence. All Changes in a State, I mean such as are attempted by private Persons, and yet strike at the Foundation in the Subversion of the fundamental Laws of an ancient Government, have generally two Fountains from which they derive, Ambition and Discontent; for either they take their Rise from the former in Men who aspiring to the principal Posts of Honour and Profit, they may think due to their Merit, leave no Means unattempted which they think will carry them to their End, and seldom fail to arrive at them when they have Credit and Address enough to surmount and impose upon the Weakness and Credulity of the Prince. Among many others, 'tis but to flatter him upon the Point of Prerogative, and slyly to insinuate, that the People inroach upon it, and ask more Liberty to themselves than the Laws allow, and their Work is half done. There are doubtless Charms in Ambition, which Men have Vertue enough to resist; and in Princes, at the Head of Government constituted as ours, a Jealousy of their legal Power on one Hand, and the Desire of augmenting it on the other, often lead them upon Measures of securing it, and the People to oppose them in the Defence of their Liberties; and this Contest is generally more fatal to the Prince, than the People; for Numbers supported by the favour and countenance of the Laws, will ever prevail against a single Person with his feeble Train of Sicophants and Flatterers; and we have Instances enough of our own, that whilst the Dispute lasts, the Prince can never be said to be truly safe, or the People truly happy. This dangerous stretching of the Prerogative is but too often attended with a Persuasion in the Prince, that he has something above the People and the Laws, than which there can be no one thing more fatally dangerous to both; for from hence, in a Constitution like ours, founded upon Liberty and Prerogative, unavoidably follow Divisions, Heats and Animosities, which always center in the Mistrust of the Publick, frequently in the Ruin of the Prince, and in many ways in the Destruction of evil Counsellors. Or, Secondly, they proceed from the Intrigues and Artifices of a discontented Party acting against the Tenour of the Laws, which is properly called Faction, and which when they have Credit and Power enough amongst the People to gain sufficient Numbers, are frequently attended with the lawful Tumults, Seditions, and if not timely prevented, finish in Rebellion, and but rarely fail to terminate in the Punishment and Death of the Conspirators; for when the first Heats and Frenzy of the People are evaporated, which for the most part happens upon the first Check they meet with, their Suppression soon and easily follows; the Vigour of the ancient Constitution returns and exerts it self by the natural Spirit of its first Principles, and the deluded People as easily and naturally return to the Respect and Obedience indispensably

to the Laws; for however their Minds and Imaginations may be sometimes overheated and debauch'd from their Duty or true Interest, by the artful Insinuations of cunning and designing Knaves, under the affected Cover of Religion and the publick Good, yet in their cooler Sense and Intervals of their Frenzy, they never loose the Reverence due to their native Country, and the venerable Authority of the legal Magistrate; and the Majesty and Equity of the Laws, which constitute the Happiness of a free People, will in the end obtain the Ascendant and Superiority over the illegal Violences and Rage of the Faction, unless it happen to be fomented and supported by a foreign Power too formidable to resist; for in that Case, there is nothing to be expected, without something very like Miracle, but the utter Change and Subversion of the State: And as all Attempts of this Nature by a Faction, are against the known fundamental Laws, so are they always in the highest degree criminal, and point directly to the greatest of all Evils that can happen in a State, Rebellion; nor is it possible long to support them otherwise, than by the Means suitable to their Commencements, that is, by Violence and the long Sword. Now when this Evil happens in a Nation from either of these two Causes, the principal Remedy, next under the good Providence of God, is solely in the Hands and Vertue of the remainder of the People, who are yet uncorrupt and in their Integrity; and though the Prince should be at the Head, and promote and encourage the Designs of the Faction, which has not seldom been known to happen, the general Revolt of the greatest and honestest Part of a Nation, in Defence of their Religion and Liberties, is so far from deserving to be call'd Rebellion, that it is Duty, and includes all that is great, noble and commendable amongst Men; for the Blessings of the true Religion, and the native Liberties of a free People, are of a value so infinitely above all other Considerations of civil Life whatever, that the necessity of defending and preserving them, either from the Incroachments of a tyrannical Prince, or the Efforts of an execrable Faction, both acting against the fundamental Laws, not only carries an Excuse more than sufficient to justify the Practice, but stamps the indelible Character of Honour and Immorality upon those, who dare to hazard their Blood and Fortunes in the Pursuit and service of so glorious a Cause: The former, I mean the Exercise of tyrannical Power in Attempts upon our Religion and Liberty, has often, and even in our own Memory, been the Fate and Case both of the Prince and Kingdom; the latter, that is the wicked Designs of a Faction to subvert the same Religion, Laws, Liberties and Government, by the assistance of a foreign Power, in favour of an excluded and abjur'd Pretender, (suckl'd with Maxims of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, and bred up in Popish Superstition) is the Case at present before us; and which all good and honest *Englishmen* hope and will contribute to have attended with the common Fate of such detestable Wickedness. Mischiefs of this kind often happen in a State from the Quarter from whence they are or ought least to be expected. One would wonder, that in any Profession there should be found *Englishmen* who have any Sense or Knowledge of the inestimable Blessings

sings of a Constitution, that distinguishes them from all the rest of Mankind, or any Gratitude for the glorious Author of a Revolution that has settl'd and confirm'd them to us, who should take pains to betray the Religion and Liberty of their Country into the Hands of a Popish Tyrant, their most implacable Enemy, and those of a Popish abjur'd Pretender, if I may speak so, their most implacable Friend, but one must rise to something above Wonder when we are convinc'd that all the Disorders and Confusions that at present perplex and afflict our unhappy Country, are principally attributable to the Wickedness and Villany of a corrupt and mercenary High-Church Priesthood, who of all Mankind are oblig'd by the strictest and most binding Obligations of Profession, Honour, Conscience, nay, and even of their Idol Interest, to be the most strenuous and vigorous Asserters and Defenders of them both; yet I am sorry to say, but must maintain it, that this is a melancholy Truth, so incontestably evident in Fact, that there is not any room for any honest Man in his Sense to make the least Doubt of it; for tho' they may not have been the first Projectors in this Work of Iniquity, they have been made the wretched Tools to carry on and accomplish it, and as in Wickedness as in Treason there are no Accessaries, they are equally guilty of the Infamy, and equally deserve the Punishment due to it.

There is no one thing in Nature that makes deeper Impressions on the Minds of Men, than what we call Religion, whether it be true or false; infinite are the Instances of this Truth in respect of the latter in all the History of Paganism, which is not of this place to enquire. And we are more fully convinc'd of the irresistible Force and Influence of the Christian, which is the only true and most pure of all Religions; there is a certain visible Divinity in it that inspires an awful Veneration and Reverence into the Hearts of the most stupid and brutal; and whatever Marks of Indifference or Disrespect may appear in the Conduct and Behaviour of some sort of Men, I constantly maintain it to be rather a ridiculous Affectation or a certain Vanity proceeding from Self-love, and a Singularity of Opinion, than of any real and well-grounded Persuasion. 'Tis true indeed, that there are many things contain'd in it of too sublime a nature for humane Reason to dive into in this World, and are doubtless reserv'd to be the Entertainment of our refin'd and glorify'd Capacities in the next, and it is for the Honour of the Christian Religion it shou'd be so; for otherwise it might, like all others, be thought to be the pure Invention of humane Craft and Contrivance. It must too be acknowledged that as in those Parts of it which are attainable by Study and Meditation, few men give themselves the Trouble of a serious and delicate Application, necessary for the Discovery and Knowledge of their Truths; there are yet fewer who in their Practice come up to the Excellency of the Precepts that are intelligible to the meanest Understanding. The Reason of which in both seems to proceed from the general Corruption of humane Nature which evidently inclines Men rather to what is evil than what is good, and they are difficultly brought to a toilsome Search after such rigid Truths, (though it leads 'em directly to the only one real and essential



ential Good) as imply and command an Austerity of Manners in-  
 compatible with the agreeable Violence and Imperuosity of their Pas-  
 sions and Appetites, which naturally hurry 'em to the Pursuit of  
 asures under the Cover of what is but a false, or at best but an  
 parent Good; yet though but few Men truly understand the Bless-  
 and intrinick Merit of true Religion; and fewer practise as they  
 ht the most divine and admirable Precepts of it, either as I have  
 out of a supine Negligence in the Research, or Want of that Pu-  
 of Heart which is suitable to its Nature; all Men secretly admire  
 adore the Divinity of it in their Hearts, tho' they may want Ca-  
 pacity to understand, or Probity to reduce it into Practice. A Dis-  
 sation of this refin'd Nature and Excellence is equally adapted  
 capable of producing the greatest Good and the greatest Evil to  
 kind, with this Difference, that the Good which derives from  
 gion flows from its native genuine Purity as an Effect from its  
 ate, but the Evil only by Accident and Abuse; for the natural and  
 parable Results of it, when rightly understood and practis'd, are  
 ce of Mind, Tranquility of Conscience, Union, Concord, For-  
 rance, Brotherly Love, and Universal Charity; when ill, and per-  
 ed to wicked Purposes, for which God never intended it; and  
 ked Men too commonly prostitute it, Fears and Terrors both of  
 and Conscience, Divisions, Discord, Hatred, Animolities, Ma-  
 Revenge, with a brutal savage Spirit of Persecution. Thus in  
 Hands and Management of a truly pious and religious Person,  
 ose Proteffion calls him to the Administration of its sacred Myste-  
 it is always a healing Balsam of wondrous Efficacy, that equally  
 rides for the particular internal Peace of the Christian, and the  
 ick Happiness and Tranquility of the Subject; but in the Hands  
 corrupt and mercenary one, who is wicked enough to prophane  
 Purity of it, to cover the criminal Designs of private Interest and  
 bition, it is infinitely more dangerous than a Sword in the Hands  
 a Fool or Madman, who at worst can only affect the Body with  
 rtuitous Mischief, but the other may carry a more certain Evil to  
 Soul, both in respect to their private and publick Capacities, as  
 bers either of the Church or State, by exposing them to all the  
 Consequences of wild and ungovernable Passions, which nat-  
 ally produce Disorders and Confusions both in the one and the o-  
 'Tis to these latter sort, who are pleas'd to distinguish them-  
 by the glorious Character of the Priesthood, of Church-men  
 of Clergy-men, are owing all the cruel Misfortunes and Cala-  
 es that at present turmoil and confound these once and lately hap-  
 Nations. Whatever there is of Malice, of Hatred, of Revenge,  
 Persecution, and whatever else ought to be had in Execration a-  
 gst Christians, to the Dishonour of the establish'd Church; what-  
 there is of Fears, of Jealousies, Disgusts, Animolities, and what-  
 else there is of fatal and dangerous amongst Fellow-subjects to  
 Detriment of the Common-wealth, are purely the Result of the  
 ked Artifices and shameless Hypocrisy of those, whose Interest  
 Duty of all Men living oblige them most to cultivate and main-  
 Unity, Peace, Love and Charity amongst both. What terrible

Account these Men shall one Day give, and who know they must who wrest and pervert the simple genuine Precepts of their Religion, whose Ends are Peace and Purity, to foment and countenance Doctrines, which can have no other View or Intent than to create eternal Discord and Confusions in a Nation; and what punishment for disturbing the publick Tranquility and Happiness of their Country, by filling it by their impious Glosses and Prevailings with Tumults, Divisions, and such terrible Convulsions, as nothing but the Skill of a Physician infinitely wise, and the Hand of a Being infinitely powerful, can calm and resettle, I leave to themselves, before it be too late, seriously to reflect.

If the Dignity of the Object about which they are conversant, the End to which they tend, are what distinguish and give the pre-eminence to all Arts and Sciences; 'tis without doubt, that the Profession of the Christian Religion, whose Object is the only infinite supream Being, and the End the eternal Good and Happiness of Mankind, is of all others the most glorious and most honourable when executed with that Purity of Intentions and Integrity of Manners that are suitable to the Excellency of its Nature and Tendency, and there is as little doubt to be made, that those Persons who have a peculiar Distinction are set apart and destin'd to the Administration of the adorable Mysteries, and the Dispensation of the admirable Ordinances of the Christian Religion, who fill and come up to the Eminency of their Character, in all the laudable Instances of Piety, Learning, fair Example, good Nature, good Manners, Humility, Modesty, Brotherly Love, and what is the Complement and Perfection of them all, universal Charity, shall never fail to obtain, and deserve too, the Respect, the Love and Admiration of all the honest and virtuous part of Mankind; whatever there may be of Praise, of Honour, of Reputation, of Honour, is but a sort of Tribute due to their Virtue and Merit; nay, even the Vicious and Profligate, at least in their idle Intervals, are by the secret irresistible Power of Truth compelled to admire and venerate in them those Excellencies they want the Power to imitate. All Men are naturally made of the same Mold, yet Men are not equally corrupt; in some, Temperament and Corruption; in some, natural Knowledge; in others, Reason improved by Philosophy; and in Christianity, a peculiar and internal Grace above, instruct them to restrain, and in a great Measure to conquer the Violence and Impetuosity of their Passions, and thereby prevent them from falling into those grosser and more enormous Crimes which are the Reproach of humane Nature, and the Scandal of the Christian Religion: For the best of Men are subject, and in a great Degree too, to the Tyranny of an imperious and irresistible Corruption. It is the Merit of the Character of a good Clergyman, at all incompatible with the Frailties and Imperfections of Humane Nature, that he employs all the Powers of his Heart and Mind seriously to combat and overcome them; for there never was nor ever shall be a Man, who can or shall boast himself to be intirely exempt from Corruption, to pretend otherwise, 'tis but to add the Guilt of a scandalous Hypocrisy to that of the natural Corruption of a Man's Inclinations.

One may indeed pretend to the Appearance or Affectation of more Sanctity than the rest of his Neighbours, but is in effect no more than in an eminent Degree a more sanctified hypocritical Knave than the rest of his Neighbours : Nor is it at all to the lessening or Discredit of the Reputation of an Honest, Vertuous, and sincerely Religious Clergyman, to acknowledge that he is no more than a Man, that is, lyable to the Weaknesses and Infirmities, inseparable from the Condition of Humanity, since the first Professors of Christianity in the earliest Times of its Purity and Innocence, even the Holy Apostles themselves, who we are sure were influenc'd by the immediate Grace and Power of the Holy Spirit in a more peculiar Manner than any Man alive at this Day dare presume to pretend to, were not ashamed to acknowledge that they found a continual War in their Members that ever oppos'd the Motions of the blessed Spirit ; nor is it therefore necessary for a good and excellent Christian, or a good and excellent Clergyman, to pretend to divest himself of the Sentiments of his Humanity, because 'tis absolutely impossible he should do so on this side the Grave, for it is utterly out of the reach and power of Humane Nature, nay, even assisted by a supernatural Grace, (for ought any Man alive knows) to attain to a perfect and incorruptible State of Purity in this World ; and God is too good and too just to require Impossibilities from any sort of Men, and too merciful to punish them for not performing what he has not furnish'd them with Power and Abilities to perform : And it is sufficient for the best of Men, and the best of Clergymen, if they seriously, and with Humility, make all the Application, and employ all the Powers of the Soul to practise and recommend those admirable Precepts of their divine Religion, in the best Manner that is consistent with the deplorable Condition of humane Nature ; if they endeavour to conquer their unruly Passions and Appetites ; if they endeavour faithfully to avoid all Occasions of Temptation, and vigorously combat it when they may happen to be surpriz'd by it ; if they extend their utmost Care and Vigilance to watch over the Flocks committed to their Charge ; if they set before them the shining Example of a pious, Godly, and Religious Life ; if they labour to preserve themselves in the Fear of God, and in a just Submission to the legal Magistrate, and instruct them in their Duties, both as good Christians and good Subjects, without Pride, without Vanity, without Hypocrisy, without Affectation, in the only one View of doing Good to Mankind ; if they have done what becomes them, and all that shall be required of them, and may leave the rest that regards the common Failings and unavoidable Frailties of humane Nature, in the Hands of a God whose Mercy is over all his Works : Such a Conscientious, Sincere and Religious Discharge of his Duty in an honest well meaning Clergyman, shall ever acquire him the Esteem, the Commendation and Encouragement from all good Men, that are with Justice due to an excellent a Character in this World, and carry his Excuse with him for his Frailties into the next, where he shall meet with more glorious and suitable Rewards of his honest and pious Labours from a Judge, who as he alone can discern the Intentions of the Heart which prefers to Sacrifice, will distinguish the Efforts of a veritable un-



affected Piety, though but imperfect, from the Illusions of an ungodly Hypocrisy, that sets up for an impracticable Perfection that is not attainable in this World; for he has already in those comfortable Words of *Come ye Blessed*, to the One; and those terrible ones of *Go ye Cursed*, to the Other, by way of Anticipation, pass'd a definitive and irrevocable Sentence upon them both.

On the other Hand, the Clergyman who forgets the Importance of his Character, and the Purity of his holy Profession; if he abandons himself, like the generality of common Men, to the Brutality of his Passions; if his Heart is not really touch'd with the veritable Influence of his divine Religion; if he does not act upon Principles of Conscience; if he is wanting in a true Love of the Honour and Interest of his Country; if he be corrupt and mercenary, and, in views of Preferment, advances the Designs and Intrigues of private Persons, preferably to the publick Good of his Fellow-Subjects, or the general one of Mankind; if he is without Conscience, without Piety, unlearn'd, or of evil Example; if he is morose, ill-natur'd, void of Humility, Meekness, Brotherly Love and common Charity, which are the glorious distinguishing Characters of his Religion, and ought to be of his Profession; if instead of being the Messenger of Peace, he is a Disturber of the publick Tranquility; if instead of Order and good Agreement, he is a Sower of Sedition, of Divisions, and the Confusions that always attend them, and are directly opposite to the Design, and expressly forbidden by the whole Tenor of his Religion; 'tis manifest, that either he has none at all, or what is worse, that he is impious enough to abuse it in a scandalous Prophanation of it to the wicked Purposes it never was intended. If the Tree be known by its Fruit, and we are taught that his Servants we are whose Works we do, we need not be puzzl'd to determine whose Servants such Men are, nor to conclude that as they are the most wicked, so are they questionless the most despicable and contemptible of all Mankind. All Men naturally hate and despise an abandon'd and profligate Person of any Profession, when he appears so in the naked Colours of a leud and unrestrain'd Licentiousness; nor is the Varnish of an affected or hypocritical Sanctity (when out of a sense of Shame or Modesty, or point of Interest, he is willing to hide or disguise the Detormity of it) sufficient to skreen him from the Penetration of the more Discerning. But in the Men of Profession, who out of Principles of Conscience more than to save Appearances, are oblig'd by all the Cautions of Sincerity and Circumspection to avoid the Scandal; the Character is infinitely more odious and contemptible than amongst any other Sort of Profession of Men; for in them, as Blots are more conspicuous and remarkable, they are more easily and readily exposed, and such a scandalous Prostitution exasperates other Men to publish those Miscarriages and Failings, which good Nature and Discretion might have been apt to pardon in a more prudent and regular Conduct; for 'tis a leud Imposition on Mankind; and as in all Men there is a certain Delicacy of Honour in Judgment that hates to be deceiv'd or impos'd on, they catch at every Opportunity to expose and be reveng'd on the Impostor: Hypocrisy is detestable in

Men, but in none so much as in Clergymen ; and when in them a mysterious sort of Gravity and Austerity of Manners, and a ridiculous affected Grimace of outward Sanctity, usurp the Place of real Piety and Devotion, the World is not only easily provok'd to pass the severest Censure upon all the Actions of their Lives, but it is with a secret Pleasure and Satisfaction that they find it in their Power to expose the Scandal of them. The Church of God has in all Ages, and every honest Man hopes ever will, be bless'd with an Increase of truly Pious, Learned and Religious Pastors ; but it is evident past doubt, that ever since the first innocent Ages of Christianity, the Number of the Illiterate, Ungodly, and Irreligious, has by far exceeded that of the former ; and I am sorry that we have a melancholy Instance of this Truth too evidently manifest in our own unhappy Time and Country. There have been from the Beginning of Christianity, and ever will be to the End of it, great numbers of Professors who content themselves with a certain Form of Godliness, but who seem to deny the Power of it ; and we are told by an Authority it is not lawful for us to dispute, that in the latter Ages the Church shall abound with false Prophets and false Teachers, who by their Doctrines shall abuse and mislead the People into Error : If the Verity of Predictions, especially those of the Evangelical Dispensation, be best justify'd by the Event and Accomplishment of them, we may venture rationally to conclude that the End of Things is not far off ; for never any Age abounded with such numbers of false Teachers and false Doctrines as this disastrous one in which we live ; and it is solely to Men of this Character and Profession, are owing all the Confusions that at present harass our own unhappy Country, and perplex and embarrass the Affairs of all the rest of *Europe* ; 'tis by wickedly abusing the Power their Profession gives them over the Minds of the Weak and Credulous, which ever implies the Gross of the People, and basely prostituting the adorable Truths of the most pure Religion to Purposes they were never design'd, that they teach and propagate such Doctrines and Principles for Truths warranted upon the sacred Authority of the Holy Scriptures, which in Effect have no more Sanction or Foundation on them than the *Alcoran*. The People, I mean the weaker and more Credulous, are apt to swallow and take every thing for Oracle that is deliver'd to them from an Authority they have been taught from their Infancy to venerate, without any better reason than that of the Power and Influence of Education ; and as they are generally incapable of examining into the Reason and Nature of Things, the Authority of the Men of the Profession is with them in place of Conviction. To bring the People into this blind opinion of a Power inseparably attach'd by a divine Commission to their Character, and in consequence of their Belief, to a servile Obedience to all their Dictates and Prescriptions, was one of the earliest, boldest, and subtlest Strokes of the Priesthood ; nor was there ever broach'd in the Church, a Doctrine of so dangerous and universal Mischief to the temporal and eternal Happiness of Mankind as that of implicit Faith, the fertile Mother of all the pernicious sub-

sequent Ones they have since invented to inflave the Souls and Bodies of Men; for when Men are so far intuated to believe every thing under pain of Damnation that their Priests shall think fit to tell them, there is nothing so wicked, so absurd, so irrational, so contrary to Sense, Reason, or even the holy Scriptures, that they will not digest and maintain at the Hazard of ten thousand Lives the Terror of the Punishment with which they are threatned for their Disobedience ever prevailing above the Influence of a Reason that should pretend to open their Eyes, or offer to disengage them from the Delusions of so tyrannical a Bondage.

This then is the Source of most of the Calamities that have in all Ages afflicted the Christian World, and which at present is the unhappy Occasion of our own. The Ambition of a few Men for their private Interests and Designs light the Fire, and a corrupt and mercenary Priesthood are the Bellows that blow it into a Flame to devour the Nation. It has ever been the Craft of such as design any notable Change in an establish'd Government, to cajole and gain the Clergy into their Interests, with the specious Hopes and Promises of augmenting the Power, the Privileges, the Glory and Dignity of their Church; though in the End they generally serve them as Princes do Traytors, abandon or oppress them when they have reap'd the Benefit of their Treason. One would have imagin'd, that the Behaviour and Practice of the late King *James*, who they are sensible, notwithstanding all his fair Declarations in their Favour, design'd nothing so much as their Ruin and the final Extirpation of their Religion, might have taught this sort of Men a little more Wisdom; yet we find them so far from profiting of the Evil they were so near suffering from the Father, that we have seen them ever since employing all the same cursed Arts and Doctrines to establish the Son of the same Religion, and if possible of worse Maxims; so far with a false and hypocritical Zeal for a Church, supported by the Hope and Prospect of an augmentation of Power with such Men, prevail and carry it over the Interest of true Religion, or the publick Good and Happiness of their Country. This Influence they have over the People, renders them of all Men the most proper Tools of Traytors who meditate a Revolution; for when the People who are seldom capable of judging of things otherwise than by their Senses are catch'd by the Ears, and taught by them to believe as Gospel what ever Doctrines and Opinions are necessary for their purpose, (though never so contrary to Reason or Scripture) the Work is half done, and in a fair Way of being brought to their End, especially when there is a proportionable Force, whether Foreign or Domestick, to abet and sustain the Design; for without that, the Subversion of an ancient establish'd Government, as has been observ'd, is attended with Difficulties next to impossible to overcome; because, when the People have once time to cool and return from the present Fever of the natural Love and Desire of their ancient Liberty, and the original Principles of the Constitution, will ever carry it from the ill concerted Counsels and Measures of the Conspirators, though never so much encouraged by the treacherous Efforts of their Clergy. This



Power therefore of the Priesthood is so absolutely necessary to those who attempt any notable Change in a Government, that it will be difficult to prove, that in any famous Enterprize of that kind in *Christianity*, or in the Times and Regions of Paganism, that more of the Success has not been owing to the Craft and Cunning of the Priest, than to the Arms of the Soldier; of which the Instances are so numerous and fresh in all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, and particularly our own, as to need no further Proof. Whoever is but moderately acquainted with the Ecclesiastical History, will easily be convinc'd that in the early Ages of Christianity, their famous *Constantine* made those prodigious Profusions that enrich'd the Church, not so much out of Zeal for Religion, as to corrupt the Clergy, and by those Means to enslave them into his Interests. I remember to have read somewhere, if I mistake not, in the Legend of *St. Sylvester* quoted by *du Plessis Mornay*, that at the time of those unhappy Donatians which first broke in upon and corrupted the Integrity of the Christian Profession, there was a Voice heard from Heaven, *This Day deadly Poison is infus'd into the Church*. The Event has but too fully prov'd the Truth of the Prediction; for every Body knows by what Degrees afterwards the Bishops of *Rome* arriv'd to an Exorbitancy of Power, which in all succeeding Generations they insolently abus'd to insult those Emperors, who out of a foolish and mistaken Zeal had enabled the Mitre to trample under Foot the imperial Diadem; and to be the principal and indeed only Occasion of all the Blood and Confusions that have confounded the whole Christian World ever since. There is a wonderful Vertue, if I may call it so, and Efficacy in Riches, that not only dazzle, but blind the Eyes of such as prefer them before the Peace of Conscience, or the Interests of the true Religion: They cannot see the Faults, much less acknowledge any, though of the most enormous and scandalous Complexion in their Benefactor; and that sort of Men, who have ever since sanctified a Devil into a Saint who has contributed at any time to augment the Riches, Authority and Power of their Church, and damn'd all honest Men, who were not such Fools, into Angels of Darkness, and represented them in the most dismal and hideous Colours if they dar'd but to touch or dispute them, extoll'd the Zeal, the Piety, the Religion of their admir'd *Constantine*, tho' at the same time they knew he was not so much as a Christian, (having been Baptiz'd but the Day of or before his Death, at *Nicomedia*, by *Eusebius* Bishop of that Place) and though they knew he liv'd in Murder, and dy'd polluted with the Blood of his own Son, his Wife, and others of his best and nearest Friends and Relations. This is a sufficient Instance, amongst ten thousand others, of what such Men are capable of, when forgetting the Purity of the most excellent of all Morals and Religion, they abandon themselves to the Lusts, the Violence and Impetuosity of their Passions and private Interests.

We are but too well instructed how exactly and admirably well their Successors, as they call themselves, in all Ages of Christianity ever since, have copy'd after so divine an Original. I have not under-

taken here the History of the Confusions wrought by the Clergy in all Kingdoms, contending for a Power that in no wise belongs to them; the cruel Calamities upon our own unhappy Nation by our own, afford abundant Matter for the Speculations and Exercise of all honest Lovers of their Country. There is certainly no one sort of Men upon the Earth, to whom such a Degree of Power so utterly inconsistent with their Character and Profession so little belongs, as to Clergymen; yet the Itch of Dominion and Superiority, by which they may be enabled once again to enslave the Minds and Consciences of Men, is but too manifestly their Darling Passion. The Propagation of the most pure Religion, and the Improvement of the Morals of Men, seem to have the least Share in their Concern and Application. Interest, Riches, Splendour, Magnificence and Authority are visibly the principal End of all their Views and Actions and Modern Doctrines. They forget the divine Command of our blessed Saviour who expressly tells his holy Apostles, *That he that was greatest among them should be the least, and he that exalted himself should be brought low*; or think themselves exempted, and the Rule not made for them but the rest of Mankind, who they would reduce again under the Yoke of their spiritual Slavery. They forget that the whole Design and Tendency of the Christian Religion is not to make Men great but good; and that the most admirable Moral, that in order to make and preserve them so continually, preaches up an Abstraction and Renunciation of all the foolish Vanities of this World, is absolutely incompatible at least in the Men of Profession with the Pomp and Grandeur, the Dominion and Magnificences of it: That Excess of Power they so eagerly contend for, as it is intirely foreign to the Business of Religion, sits awkwardly about them, and as often as they possess it, have never fail'd insolently to abuse it in a vile Application of it, to constrain their Fellow-subjects and Fellow-christians into slavish, blind Obedience to their imperious Dictates and Commands. 'Tis as ridiculous to see a Clergyman, whose Business it is to preach Humility, Meekness, and forgiving of Injuries, to aspire by unwarrantable Acts to arrive at a pompous Condition of Life, to which all those amiable Vertues are generally Strangers, as it is to see others whose Duty it is constantly to recommend Peace, Love, Unity and Concord amongst Men, incessantly to preach and propagate Doctrines and Principles, that by their very Nature can have no other Tendency than to create and foment Divisions, Fears, Jealousies and Animosities, which for the most part end in the last Confusions, and very often in the final Subversion of a State; This is to the last Degree of Impiety, to prophane the Character of a Profession, in it self holy and venerable; and instead of being Messengers of Peace, to which there are eternal Blessings annex'd, to become Trumpeters of what the holy Scriptures brand with the odious Title of something worse than Witchcraft, Rebellion.

'Tis not that when a Church is establish'd in a Nation under certain Forms and Regulations, that there ought not to be annex'd to it a Degree of Power, necessary and sufficient to support and maintain the Discipline and Oeconomy of it, with Respect, and in Subordination

nation to the supream Power which establishes it; for 'tis thus we  
 speak and understand of the Church as by Law establish'd, for no  
 community can subsist without it; so much no honest Man who loves  
 his Religion and Country will ever grudge them, because such a De-  
 gree of Power is consistent with the Good and Tranquility of the  
 common-wealth; but if they grasp at more than the Laws have thought  
 fit to allow them, or abuse that which they do, to the wicked Pur-  
 poses of creating Confusions and Disorders in it; those Gentlemen  
 may be pleas'd to remember and consider too, that it is solely in the  
 Power of the Legislature to abridge and restrain it, when and after  
 that manner they shall think fit; and they may do well to reflect,  
 whether the insupportable Abuse both of their Power and Character  
 at all Times, and more especially during the last and present Reign,  
 which they have so miserably disturb'd, may not in due time put the  
 Wisdom of the Nation upon taking proper Measures to restrain and  
 diminish the Insolence of their Practice of the present, and prevent the  
 same in all Times to come. If such a thing, which they will not fail  
 to roar at as the most terrible and sacrilegious of all Persecutions,  
 should happen, let them thank their own licentious and unseasonable  
 Violence for it; yet every honest Man in the Kingdom, whatever the  
 Party corrupt and interested may babble of their Church's Danger,  
 will be satisfy'd, that both the Honour and Security of the establish'd  
 Religion, and the Peace and Happiness of their Country will be in-  
 finitely better provided for by so seasonable and necessary a Refor-  
 mation: For tho' no Power under Heaven can dispence with, or add  
 or diminish the least Tittle of any fundamental Article of the Christian  
 Religion necessary to Salvation, and we are very well satisfy'd ours-  
 elves will never attempt it; yet the Modes and Forms of Worship and Rules  
 of Discipline are intirely in the Discretion and Disposition of the su-  
 pream Power of the Nation to constitute, to correct, to alter and  
 change, as the Necessity of Times, the Circumstances of Affairs, and  
 the Peace and Happiness of the State may require. The reform'd  
 Protestant Religion, as it stands refin'd from the Errors and abomi-  
 nable Idolatry and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, that is, the  
 true Christian Religion in its Purity and Innocence, which the  
 heavenly Author of it, (tho' there were no human Laws to support  
 it) has promis'd to stand by and maintain to the Ends of the World)  
 is the Religion of God, and above the Reach and Influence of all hu-  
 man Laws and Authority; but that Branch of the reform'd Religi-  
 on, as constituted under certain distinct Regulations, the national  
 Church, is the Religion of the People of *England*; the Christian Re-  
 ligion is the Creature of Jesus Christ, but the national Church of  
*England* under such or such a Model of Worship and Discipline, is  
 intirely the Creature of the Legislature; and as that Power that can  
 create the *Esse*, can certainly give the *Modus essendi*, the Legislative  
 Power which first constituted what we call the national Church of  
*England*, under those certain Rules and Conditions of external Wor-  
 ship and Discipline, can upon occasion new model and rectify it as  
 they please, save always the fundamental Articles of the Christian  
 Religion, which no Power under Heaven can dispence with, inno-  
 vate



vate or alter. If we ask these Gentlemen, who are so full of their divine Commission and so empty of the Effects and Influence of it By what Means or from what Authority the Church of *England* derives either the Form or Power which she at present injoys? they will I believe be puzzl'd to find out any other rational and satisfactory Answer, than because she is so constituted and establish'd by the Law of the Land: This the very Expression so common in their Mouth of the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd eternally imported Jesus Christ left her the Religion, but the Dignities, the Temporalities, the Power, the Privileges, the Immunities, the Manner of Discipline and Worship, by which we well know they always mean their Church, are purely the Concessions of the Legislature.

Men as wise, much honefter and more religious than themselves will therefore make a great Distinction, and that without offending their Consciences too, between the Christian Religion as deliver'd to the World by Jesus Christ, the only Fountain of all Purity and Perfection, and his holy Apostles and Disciples, as Men subject to the Weakness of human Nature, tho' influenced in a peculiar manner by the holy Spirit; and the national Church of *England* as by Law establish'd, that derives only from the human Institution of the first Reformers, and receiv'd its Establishment from the Legislature, composed of Men liable to all the Imperfections of Humanity, without the Aid and Influence, otherwise than in the Course of a general Providence, of the same Degree of heavenly Inspiration, by which we are sure the holy Apostles and Disciples were illuminated and directed. The former, like its heavenly Author, all Purity and Perfection, teaches the most admirable Morals that ever were discovered to the World, the whole End and Design of it being Peace, Love, Concord, Humility, Meekness, brotherly Love, Charity, forgetting and forgiving Injuries, and whatever else there is of Good, of Gracious and of Excellent, that can contribute either to the Tranquillity and Happiness of a particular Nation, or the universal Good of Mankind in this World, and their eternal Salvation in the next; the latter, I mean the Church of *England* as a Church, as it derives from the Fountain less pure and perfect, namely that only of human Wisdom partakes of the Imperfections of its Original, and is equally liable to Error and Corruption; but this by no means from the Nature of the most pure Religion she professes, but by Accident and the Abuse of her Professors: For if these Men degenerate into so shameful a Degree of Impiety, as to preach up such Doctrines and Opinions, and foist them upon the excellent establish'd Church, as evidently tend to destroy all those divine and amiable Vertues and Qualities which pure and undefil'd Christianity inforces; if they promote and propagate Discord, Dissentions, Envy, Hatred, Malice, Rancour and all Uncharitableness; if they continually preach up Divisions, Jealousies, Animosities and Distractions amongst Men, such as stirb and confound both the publick and private Happiness and Peace of Nations, and thereby indanger the Salvation of all such as are unhappily misled and influenc'd by them; such Men may call themselves, if they please, Ministers of the Church of *England*, tho' it

re wicked enough thus leudly to corrupt and prostitute the most  
 excellent Doctrines and Intentions of it to their detestable Purposes;  
 but they can never call themselves, or I am very sure never prove  
 themselves to be the Ministers of Jesus Christ, or of the most pure  
 and divine Religion he shed his most precious Blood to propagate.  
 That the pure reform'd Christian Religion, as made National, and  
 establish'd by our Laws, is in Propriety of Speech the true and ge-  
 mine Church of *England*, which every honest *English* Protestant  
 ought, and I hope will sacrifice his Life to preserve; but as cor-  
 rupted and prophan'd by the Impiety of mercenary Priests into a  
 trade to cover and countenance the worst Designs, fall'n from her  
 integrity and dwindle'd into Craft, is in the same Propriety of Speech  
 what we call High-Church, and is at best but the perverted Church  
 of a miserable Faction. As the Churches of *Jerusalem*, *Antioch*  
 and *Alexandria*, tho' establish'd by the holy Apostles themselves and  
 their Disciples, and all others in the first and purest Ages of Christi-  
 anity never set up for an Infallibility, or a perfect and incorruptible  
 society, but have err'd; so all others in all Ages since have been lia-  
 ble to err, and have err'd. There is nothing in this World but what  
 is finite and imperfect, nor is the Perfection of Infallibility the Por-  
 tion of any Condition, Church or Profession of Life in it, except al-  
 ways that divine one of *Rome*, which the true Church of *England*,  
 it has happily reform'd from her Impieties, will ever be asham'd  
 to copy after, tho' the High-Church of *England* we are sure is not;  
 therefore Errors in Discipline and Worship, or even in the Dispen-  
 sations of the Doctrines she professes, are by the Abuse and Corrup-  
 tion of the Priesthood crept into the Church of *England*, those  
 Errors and Abuses are cognizable and corrigible by the supream Pow-  
 er of the Legislature, which constituted her a national Church; and  
 Ministers, the wicked Authors of those Errors and Abuses, pu-  
 nishable like other Men, with the utmost Severity of the Laws, ac-  
 cording to their Demerits, both as Corrupters of the Religion of  
 the establish'd Church, and Disturbers of the civil Peace of the Na-  
 tion; may I maintain, that as Crimes of this Nature ought least of  
 Mankind be expected from Men of their Character, the Justice  
 of the Laws can never be esteem'd too rigorous and severe in their  
 punishment.

This is a Doctrine that I very well know will be damn'd, Bell,  
 Book and Candle, as heretical by the Priests of the High-Church  
 Faction, who so eagerly lust after an Independency from the State,  
 an Exemption, after the manner of their Brethren of *Rome*, from  
 Civil Power and Jurisdiction; nor am I insensible how the Per-  
 son who tells them these bold and honest Truths is like to fare in the  
 hands of Men who know no Mercy, yet if they will please to be-  
 lieve that he is in no manner of Pain for what they shall think, or  
 that they can do, they will spare themselves the trouble of unnec-  
 essary Resentments, and him that of his Contempt of them; and  
 without pretending to be wiser than the rest of my Neighbours, I  
 will take upon me further to assure them, for I have notable Intelli-  
 gence, that the time is not far off when they shall be made sensible,  
 that

that they are not only and ever shall be dependent on, but punish'd according to their Delinquencies by the Civil Power for attempting to be otherwise; and that the Church of *England*, as it is a Member of the Politick Body of the Nation, an Oeconomy consisting of Honours, Dignities, Emoluments and certain Privileges and Immunities, is in a capacity of being regulated according to the Pleasure of the Legislature; tho', as has been affirm'd, no Power under the Sun can alter or change, without the last Presumption and Impiety, an essential and fundamental Article of the Christian Religion the professes necessary to Salvation. It is but too evident, that the shameless Clamours these Men have rais'd about the Dangers of the Church are not concerning it in the first and purest Sense of it, but for the Church as environ'd with Honours, Power, Dignity and Riches, and their Concern for it little or none at all in a spiritual and truly religious one. Touch not the Pomp, the Splendour, the Magnificence and Authority of their Church, and they are the most tame and peaceable Creatures in the World to suffer you to do what you please with the Religion of it; yet we hope and question not to live to see the time, when the scandalous Doctrines of late foisted upon our excellent Church by her wicked mercenary Priests, shall be disown'd and rejected with all the Scorn and Detestation they deserve, and the infamous Authors of them as severely punish'd; and yet the true and pure National Church professing the Protestant, reformed Religion of Jesus Christ in its original Purity, preserv'd intire in all its just and legitimate Honours, Dignities and Authority, with which the Laws of the Land have thought fit to invest her. There is no honest Protestant *Englishman* can ever wish, much less design the least Evil to the most excellent of all the reform'd Churches, that his own Country; and I am as confident, that no such *Englishman* who has a Grain of Wisdom or good Sense with his Honesty, will ever consent or permit the Church in their Sense to attain to such an Excess of Power, as by no means belongs to it, and which as will not fail to be abus'd, will naturally tend to the Establishment of a spiritual Tyranny, of a thousand times worse and more dangerous Consequence to the Peace and Happiness of the Nation than a political one, inasmuch as the Consciences and Souls of Men are of infinite more Value and Consideration than their Bodies and Estates. The Questions and idle Clamours that have of late so rudely rent and torn the Bowels both of Church and State, are not concerning Religion and the Purity of Doctrine, but the Interests and Power of the Priesthood; 'tis a War of the Priest, not of the Church. I vest him with the belov'd Independency, Power and Authority he contends for, and he will not fail in a Return of Gratitude to the foolish honest Layman who gives them to the Devil; for the Laity, as they are pleas'd to distinguish them by a certain Sophism unknown to the first Ages of the Church, can from what is expected no other than to be the servile drudging *Gibeonites*, to beat the Wood and draw the Water of their imperious Tyrants the Lords of the Spiritualities; by the blessed Effects we have already seen and felt of the Abuse of that Degree of Power the Laws have allow'd



m, we may easily judge of what we are to hope for if ever  
arrive to their darling Independency, to which supream Power  
inseparably annex'd.

every good and honest Man is naturally inclin'd to love, respect  
honour, both for the Excellency of his Character and Professi-  
and the Probity and Candour of his Manners, an honest virtu-  
Clergyman, who fears God, loves his Prince and Country, and  
employs all his Powers truly and conscientiously in the exercise  
discharge of his Duty and Holy Function, for the Peace and  
happiness and Interest of his Fellow-subjects, and the Salvation of  
Mankind; who preaches the pure and genuine Doctrines of the Ho-  
Scriptures, as they are intended solely for that Glorious End; and  
enforces the Truth of the Precept by the Luster of a fair Exam-  
ple. And to the great Glory of our Church it can be affirm'd, that in  
this corrupt and degenerate Age there are still great Numbers of pious,  
virtuous, learned and religious Men of Wisdom and Courage, who  
besides the generous Warmth of a true Christian Zeal for all  
that is good or amicable and estimable in Religion, without the  
irreconcilable Fire of Persecution; who, as they are the most venerable  
and shining Ornaments as well as the immovable Defenders and  
supporters of the present Church, will be the most perfect Models  
of the Wonder and Imitation of the future; yet these great and ex-  
cellent Persons, renown'd for Wisdom, Piety, Learning, cannot e-  
scape the Malice of the vilest of Mankind, who have dress'd them out  
in the odious Colours I have been so often oblig'd to mention; so far  
from Virtue, Courage, Merit and Innocence from being sufficient to  
resist Men from the Insults and Poison of virulent and mercenary  
Scurriles: Yet the great and good God will not fail to do them justice  
for their unjust Sufferings in this World, in the Glory of their Re-  
wards in the next. These great and excellent Persons, though few  
in number, I mean in comparison of the rest, who have not bow'd  
their Knee to *Baal*, nor by a base and servile Complaisance to a pre-  
vailing Faction have at any time abandon'd the true Interest of their  
Church or Country, are such as are known to the World, under the  
best, though vilify'd Character of moderate or Low Church men;  
I heartily beseech God, for his own Glory, the Good of the esta-  
blished Church, and publick Peace and Happiness of these poor divi-  
dided Nations, to increase the Number of them. On the other hand,  
every honest good Man is as naturally inclin'd to detest and scorn a  
hypocritical clergyman, who neither fears God out of Principle of Conscience,  
loves his Prince and Country, but in Views of private Interest and  
ambition; who makes it his principal Business to pervert the easy  
natural Sense of the divine Precepts, by false and forc'd Glosses  
and impious Prevarications, in the pursuit of Designs that tend only  
to create Distractions and Confusions amongst his Fellow-subjects,  
to the general Detriment and Prejudice of Mankind; who if  
the soft and gentler Arts of Reason and Perswasion can't prevail,  
enforces the Truths of his Doctrines by the more powerful  
torment of Fire and Faggot; who mistaking Fire for Heat, finds  
Account more in Persecution than Argument; who preaches  
only

only to onfound and pervert, not to edify or instruct the People committed to his Charge; who can cringe and fawn and flatter an ambitious Traitor for Preferment; a Slave who will stoop to lick the Foot of a Sicophant Favourite in Power, who shall kick him into good Deanery or a fat Bishoprick, and expect the most honourable Stations in the Church for the meritorious Service of betraying the State, which ought in Justice only to be the Recompence of the Piety, Learning and Religion of those, who with an unshaken Constancy and Courage have dar'd bravely to stand up in the Defence and Preservation of the Liberties and Honours of the One, and Purity of the Other; 'tis of that former sort that is compos'd the numerous Herd that glorify themselves under the modern fashionable Character of High-Flyers, and High-Churchmen, who prostitute the Majesty of Religion to their diabolical Purposes, under the Cover of a hypocritical Zeal for the Safety of the Church; and betray the true Interest and Honour of their Country, under the plausible, but false Appearance of being its best Patriots; whilst, in effect, they are at the very same time labouring to betray them both into the Domination of a foreign Power, by the Introduction and Establishment of their popish Pretender, which they know it is impossible for them ever to effect without it. Just Heaven, who sees and knows the Iniquity of their Hearts and Designs, either open their Eyes that they may be sensible e'er it is too late, and repent of their Crimes; or if they are hardned in them, put them out, that they may fall into the Ditch, and be buried under the Ruins they have dug and prepared for their honest Fellow-Subjects and Fellow-Christians.

The Devil and his Disciples, the *Jesuits*, have sown this cruel unhappy Distinction of *Whig* and *Tory* amongst the People; that has brought them to the very Brink of Ruin, by the near Prospect of the Re-establishment of Popery, Slavery, and arbitrary Power; and refin'd it into Low and High-Churchmen amongst the Clergy, to compleat and finish so laudable a Design. The Vertue, Firmness and Courage of the former who retain the Purity of their Religion, and the Integrity of the political Principles of their Forefathers and the ancient Constitution, have hitherto, by the Blessing of God, nobly and resolutely stood in the Gap, and preserv'd both the State and Church from that Deluge of Ruin, the others by their wicked Activities were pouring in to overwhelm them both in the general Destruction. The continual Preachings and Writings of the other, (in which they propagate Doctrines that have sufficiently been prov'd to have no manner of Foundation or Authority from the Word of God, and to be evidently repugnant to all the Dictates of Reason and Nature, against the Opinion, Consent and general Practice of Mankind, and directly opposite to the fundamental Principles of our original Government, and as absolutely inconsistent by their whole Nature and Tendency, with the Peace and Safety of the State, or Purity of the most excellent Religion of the established Church) have yet had the Misfortune to infatuate a credulous and deluded People into a Belief, that will neither suffer them to see the Treachery of their ene-

est Enemies, or the Certainty and Suddenness of the Evils that are ready to break in upon them. Prepossession and Prejudice are ever attended with Passion, which casts a Mist before Mens Eyes, and hinders them from seeing into the Bottom of Designs, which under the specious Colour of Religion, and the publick Good, are leading them directly into the Subversion of them both; to this add the Ignorance of some, and the Corruption and Obstinacy of others, and the Work of Ruin is near finish'd; but they, who without them, are capable of examining the true Nature and Reason of Things as they are in cool Blood, and neither suffer themselves to be abus'd into a blind and implicit Belief, by the Craft and plausible Insinuations of the Priest, or misled into the general Corruption by the powerful Motives of a private Interest, will with half an Eye perceive, that the whole End and Intention of such Doctrines is no other than to prepare the Way to the Accomplishment of the private Designs of particular Men, who meditate a Change in an ancient Government, the more easily to establish their own Fortunes; though upon the Ruin of the Religion, Liberties, Honour and Happiness of their Country. It must be acknowledg'd, indeed, that these Doctrines are admirably calculated for the *Meridians of Constantinople, Ispahan, Delhi or Ayra*, or not to travel so far, for those of *Rome, Versailles or Madrid*, the Subjects of which former are naturally Slaves, and the latter by their Cowardice and Treachery are in a very fair way of being reduc'd into the same blessed Condition; but to propagate them in a noble and generous Nation, whose Freedom is as ancient as their Being, and who have had the Vertue and good Fortune, through the course of so many Ages, to have preserved it intire, they are visibly the frantick Villany of a treacherous High-Church Priesthood, the veritable *Pharisees* of the Christian Religion, who for their private Ends incessantly labour to reduce their Native Country into the same miserable Condition of Servitude with the former, by the one infallible Means of the Establishment of their darling Pretender; but there is ever a certain Infatuation of the Mind that attends the eccentric Motions of an irregular and ill-concerted Ambition, which hinders Men from reflecting on the Folly, the Wickedness and Dangers of their Enterprises, till they are made sensible of them by the Severity of their Punishment.

No Man can be ignorant that, since these mischievous Doctrines were utterly unknown to these Nations till the last unhappy Age, it cannot be understood that they can, with so much Violence and Application, be industriously reviv'd and propagated in this, otherwise than in view of some certain and particular Design; and as all true *Englishmen* esteem'd themselves happy and contented upon the Foot of the Re-establishment of their ancient Government in the Success of the late glorious Revolution, so I think no Man, who heartily loves his Country, can with Patience see Principles and Doctrines advanced, and publickly preach'd up to the People, that are absolutely inconsistent both with that and their original Constitution, without concluding that it is done purely with the Design to make a Change in the Government, and utterly to renverse that Form of it, which

cost



cost our generous Ancestors so much Blood and Treasure to establish and transmit to us, and ourselves so much more to bring about a Revolution to pass it surely to our Posterity. The Man must be very blind who does not see not only the Danger, but the utter Ruin and Subversion both of the established Religion and the State, in the Introduction of the Pretender by the Power of a *French Army*; and much blinder if he will not perceive that this only is the sole End and Design, both of the Principles and the Authors of them; and he is either an infamous Traitor to God and his Country, or the most despicable of Cowards, who will not sacrifice his Blood and Fortune to prevent it. 'Tis the highest Pitch of Glory a Man can arrive at in this World, to dye with his Sword in his Hand in the Defence of the Religion and Liberties of his dear Country; as it is the lowest and last Degree of Infamy and Dishonour to betray them, and live tamely under the miserable Condition of an inglorious Servitude, after having enjoy'd the Blessings of an immemorial Freedom, that has so eminently distinguished us from all the Nations round about us. 'Tis the Aggravation of the Miseries of the damn'd, to have once been happy; and will be the terrible Aggravation of ours, when we are groaning under the Yoak of an insupportable Slavery, and dragging out a miserable Life with the Chains of Popery, arbitrary Power, merciless Priests and *French Tyranny*; when we shall lift up our Eyes and reflect upon the Delights and Blessings of that glorious Paradise we shall have forfeited and lost by our Treachery or Cowardice. He who by such novel and pernicious Doctrines bestows an Excess of Power on his Prince, or indeed any more than the Laws allow him, is a vile Betrayer of his own and Fellow-subjects Liberties, because Slavery is an inseparable Appendage of unrestrain'd and arbitrary Power; but he who sees that such a Power is not of it self sufficient in how great a Degree soever granted him, without the Assistance of a foreign Aid, and calls that in to accomplish his Wickedness, is doubly guilty, both in his Intention to enslave his Fellow-subjects to the despotical Domination of his natural Prince, and equally exposing them to the Insults and Violences of a foreign One: yet this is demonstrably the sole End of these Men and their Doctrines at this time of the Day, who whilst by their fulsome flattering Concessions of an immoderate and uncontrolable Power above the Laws, they enable a Legal limited Prince to degenerate into a Tyrant, at the same time call in the Assistance of the Popish *French*; 'tis true their best Friends, but the Nation's worst Enemies, to finish the Work. This new Policy of modelling a Protestant Government and providing for the Security of the Protestant Religion by the Ministry and Intervention of the Pope and *French Jesuits*, is such as One as could never have enter'd into the Head or Heart of any *Englishman* but those of the venerable High-Church Complexion, who we very well know bear a wondrous Esteem and Affinity to the former. It will doubtless in time be an admirable Expedient for the Conversion of the obstinate Protestant Hereticks of these Nations, after the divine Manner of their new *French* Friends, who will

on become their Masters, to do it by the irresistible Eloquence of  
ragooning, which we all are satisfied is extreamly Primitive and  
political. If Slavery be the unavoidable Effect and Consequence  
of an Absolute and Arbitrary Power; if at this time the trumping  
of an Hereditary unalienable Right, cannot be suppos'd to mean  
any thing else than to reproach the Nation with the Injustice they  
have done the Pretender, in depriving him of a Succession they had  
Power to meddle with, and by disposing the Minds of the Peo-  
ple to plane the way to his Establishment; and if calling a Popish  
foreign Power to effect all this, be the highest Treason a Man in the  
Sense of our Laws can be guilty of; what Obligations then  
are these Nations to Men whose Principles, Doctrines and Practice  
cannot possibly be understood to have any other End or Intention?  
And if such Men would seriously lay their Hands upon their Hearts,  
they will seriously consider in time, when the Nation shall rouse out  
the fatal Lethargy with which they have infatuated so great a  
part of it, when they shall open their Eyes to see the Wickedness of  
their Bosom-Enemies, and the inevitable Ruin of their Religion and  
Liberties from their foreign Ones, whether any Punishment that can  
be devis'd or inflict'd on them, ought to be thought too severe and  
propos'd for the Guilt of so infamous a Treachery.

If these Doctrines, with all their dangerous and unavoidable Con-  
sequences, are not the immediate and genuine Productions of the  
corrupt and bigoted Zeal of High-Church Priests and theirs alone,  
then disown them, and tell us on whom else we can with Justice  
charge the cursed Spawn, and we will spare them our Reflections,  
and place them to the Account of some Body else; but this is a  
piece of Sincerity so little to be expected from Men who are without  
Honour, Conscience, or Love for their Country, and who seem so  
far from disclaiming them, that they make their Glory and Boast of  
that would be their Infamy and Confusion, if they had the least  
shame of either. Success is apt to harden Men in evil Enterprises,  
and these but too well see how far a prosperous Wickedness, im-  
prov'd by the Address and Arts of skilful Managers, has advanc'd,  
and give it over; and as by what they have already done, they flat-  
ter themselves to have arriv'd near the End of all their Wishes, they  
double their Instances, and have of late in all manner of Sermons  
and Pamphlets inforc'd the Poison of their Opinions with greater  
audacity, and a more barefac'd Impudence than ever. Thus far, in-  
deed, they may be in the right; for when Men have conspir'd and  
enter'd into the wicked Design of betraying their Country, the Sword  
is drawn, and it is the best way to throw away the Scabbard. Your  
oppos'd Politician will never boggle when his Hand is in, at any  
means how vile soever that will contribute to gain his End; and  
the Gentlemen very well know, that Confusion and Punishments  
are their certain Lot if they miscarry in their Designs; and we as  
well know that the last Miseries and Calamities of Slavery and Su-  
bjection are as inevitably ours, and the whole Nation's, in the Ruin  
of our Religion and Liberties, if they succeed. Their Business is  
to introduce the Pretender, under whose shelter they only can, with  
Reason, expect not only Protection, but the noblest Rewards for

so meritorious and extraordinary a Service; ours to keep him on and confound both his and their Devices; theirs to overturn our ancient established Government, the Extirpation of the reform'd Religion, and the final Subversion of our Laws and Liberties; ours to expend our dearest Blood and Fortunes in the glorious Toil of defending and preserving them all in their intire, with that Vertue, Courage and immovable Firmness, as shall compel the worst of our Enemies to acknowledge that we were at least worthy of a better Destiny, if we are to perish in so noble an Attempt. We cheerfully leave the Issue in the Hands of that all-wise eternal Providence, which governs and directs all Things for the Good and Happiness of Mankind; and only humbly implore that good and just God to favour with his Blessings and Assistance the Cause that is most just and righteous, and those of the contending Parties, whose Doctrines and Principles are most conformable to his divine eternal Truths, and who with the most Sincerity intend and pursue his Glory, the Good and Security of the national reform'd Religion, the general Welfare of Mankind, and the Peace, the true Interest, and particular Happiness of our own poor divided and distracted Country.

Yet these are the Men, who by a certain Figure of High-Church Rhetorick which in the vulgar Language of the poor despis'd we call Arrogance, distinguish themselves under the glorious Title and Character of the Church of England; they ingross to themselves what ought to be in common with the rest of their Fellow-Christians; for as a wittier Man has observ'd before me, they no more properly be call'd the Church, than the Drums and Trumpets of an Army can, in propriety of Speech, be call'd the Army; in this indeed they agree and resemble, that they equally beat the Drum and sound the Trumpet, one to Arms and Battel in the Field, the other to Sedition and Rebellion in the State; but in this they wonderfully differ, that the one participate and share the Danger with their Fellow-Soldiers whom they excite to the Charge, and the other as industriously as prudently withdraw and avoid it, and let those unthinking Blockheads they ingage in their Quarrel to beat one anothers Brains, whom they will be sure to use like Slaves, and their Expence they establish their Power, for the Reward of their Folly and Madness. We have been always taught that the Catholic or Universal Church of Christ consisted of the whole Body of Believers, whilst Christianity was in its Integrity, where-ever distressed or dispersed upon the Face of the whole Earth; and the Profession of the Christian Religion, when confin'd within the limits of a national Church, included every Member of it without Distinction, who assented to and believ'd all the necessary and fundamental Articles of it necessary to Salvation, till Priest-craft instituted the divine Virgin into a Trade and Commerce of Interest, nor are we unwilling to leave them the distinction of Churchmen or Clergymen, and shall be glad to see them not profane it, as I set apart for the Administration of holy Things, and to convey the sacred Mysteries of their Religion to their Fellow-Christians in the Exercise of a function, which every Man will honour and reverence when it is discharg'd with that Integrity and Probity of Man-



that become and are essential to it; but they will excuse us, if they please, when we tell them that every true Believer, of the meanest Condition and Profession of sound Faith and honest Practice, has as much right to be esteem'd a Member of the universal Church of Christ, and of the particular Church of *England* as by Law establish'd, as e're an Arch-bishop, Bishop, Priest or Deacon, by what Name or Title dignity'd or distinguished, in the Nation; and that neither the Priesthood nor the People separately, but the Priesthood and the People together mutually compose and constitute what we understand by and call the national Church of *England*. We are not inconsistent, that in their Opinion, the profane Laity are impious and sacrilegious to the last Degree, who shall presume to concern themselves or meddle with the Pomp, the Splendor, the Magnificence and Authority of what these Men constantly mean and understand by the Church, with little or no regard to the Substance and Propagation of true Religion, which is the Essential of every Church: And though the Pride and Insolence of these Men, who arrogate all the Honour of that Character to themselves, will not admit the Laity to a Participation of Fellowship in the national Church; yet a terrible Day of Reckoning shall come, when Jesus Christ, the only righteous Judge, shall reward the honest humble Layman, who firmly believ'd and constantly endeavour'd to practise the Duties of his divine Religion, as a Member of his Church militant; when the proud and haughty Churchman of Profession, with all his arrogated Titles and Distinctions, who profanes his sacred Function and Character to the vile and wicked Purposes of secular Ambition and Self-interest, shall of all sorts of Men be most severely punished; for if in this life only they had their Hope in him, they may be truly said to be of all Men most miserable.

If there be any thing in these Reflections that seems severe, I am free to tell my honest Countrymen, that the consideration of the Honour and Interest of my Country, is with me of infinitely more Weight and Consideration, than that of all the Clergymen who are in it as such; they intend their private Interest, and I the publick. I honour and adore the most excellent Religion of the established Church, in which I had the Happiness to be born and educated, and which I shall cheerfully die defending; but I detest the Perfidiousness of such Clergymen, as can fall into such a degree of Wickedness as to contribute by any means to betray it; and as it is impossible for any Man of ill Principles ever to be of good Manners, they who propagate such as visibly tend to the Pollution of the Purity of Religion, and the Disturbance of the Tranquility of the State, deserve to be treated with Scorn and Contempt, and punished with the utmost Severity of the Laws. When Men in pursuit only of private Designs preach up such Doctrines, and father them upon the Authority of the holy Scriptures, whose sole End is Peace, Love, Purity, and the general Good of Mankind in this World and the next, they are to be treated as Banditti and Robbers, the common Enemies of all Men; as their Hand is against every Man, every Man's Hand ought to be against them; they put themselves out of the reach of Compassion or good Usage; theirs is not a Frailty of human Nature,

ture, 'tis a study'd and concerted Evil of the Will; 'tis Obstinacy, the result of a perverted Heart and Conscience; the former may plead Excuse, the latter deserves only Detestation and Punishment; their principal End with respect to themselves, is to grasp at a Power which is foreign to their Function and Character, and indeed incompatible with true Religion, and which we are but too well assur'd by the Histories of all Ages, they never got into their Hands but they abus'd it to the certain Prejudice and Oppression of their indiscreet Benefactors, and to fill the World with Confusions and Disorders. Let any Man reflect on their Behaviour since the Policy of *Constantine* first made the Church rich, and the famous *Malthilda*, and after her the crafty Zeal of *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, who to secure a Crown usurp'd from *Chilperick*, who indeed never deserv'd to wear it, augmented both her Riches and Power, by the Concessions of large Territories, in Effect none of their own but the *Greek Emperors*, will easily be convinc'd of the Truth of what in this respect I have advanc'd; yet these Concessions, founded only upon Fraud and Usurpation, were in a trice, by Vertue of these spiritual Jugglers, sanctify'd into the Patrimony of the Church and *St. Peter*, whose Sword of the Flesh, rather than of the Spirit, they have ever since most divinely imploy'd to the Detriment and Disturbance of all the Kingdoms and Common-wealths in *Europe*. Their gracious Successors, as they are pleas'd to call themselves, have in all Ages continu'd exactly to copy after such excellent Originals; and those of our own Days and our own Church (I am always understood to mean that Part of it debauch'd into High Church) have sufficiently prov'd, that as they have the same itch of grasping at inordinate Power, no matter by what Means so they get it, have the same admirable Talent of abusing it. This is as evident to any who is acquainted with the Affairs and Behaviour of the Clergy in all Catholick Countries, as Light from the Sun; nor with respect to ourselves do we stand in need of any other Proof of it, than the Practice of our own High-Churchmen ever since the Reformation, against the first *Puritans* and their dissenting Brethren ever since, when they had enough of it in their Hands, to show their Resentments in the Severity of their Treatment. If they were contented with the honest and moderate Exercise of the just Power the Laws allow them for the Discipline and Oeconomy of their Hierarchy, Men wou'd have had no Reason to be dissatisfy'd; but when they fiercely contend for such a Degree and Excess of it, as is utterly incompatible with the Peace and Safety of the State, I humbly conceive, that an honest *Englishman*, who loves his Country, may be excus'd if he is angry; and who with all Submission takes leave to advance, that it is the Business of the Legislature to teach Men more Moderation and better Manners, whose principal End is to arrive at so much as in time shall enable them to become their Masters.

I neither expect or desire to find Credit to this Truth upon my own bare Asseveration; I profess my self to be their Adversary and their Enemy as far as my Religion, which I understand as well as any of them, and hope to practise it better, will permit me to be so; but I pretend to refer and appeal to an Authority, which the boldest of them

themselves will not have the Confidence to reject or dispute, I mean the Propositions they advanc'd in their last Sessions in their Lower House of Convocation, which may be understood as the general Sentiment of the whole Body of the High-Church; a Majority of Representatives always determining in such Cases, though every particular Member of that Distinction may, in some things, dissent from them; and this I only say in a supposition, if any of them do, which is very much to be question'd. 'Tis true the things they contain were first but whisper'd about and privately insinuated to feel the Pulse, and to try what Dispositions the People were in to receive them; but Arrogance is ever augmented when supported by Power, they began to think themselves (in a favourable Conjunction, when they had so many excellent Churchmen, of the new Edition, in the Management of Affairs) in a Capacity publickly to maintain such Theses, for which all *Englishmen* hope to see them one Day as severely and publickly punish'd as the vile Disturbers of Mens Minds and Consciences, and of the publick Peace and Happiness of the Nation, and are as follow, only as a Taste and Specimen of the Treat they are preparing for us, if they find us Sots enough to swallow and digest these.

I. That the Catholick Church is a Body subject to one only External Government.

II. That every Christian is oblig'd to submit to the Laws of this Catholick Church under pain of Damnation.

III. That the Church is independent of the State.

IV. That the Church alone has the Power to offer the mystical Body of Christ in Sacrifice.

V. That Episcopal Ordination is absolutely necessary for the Calling of the Ministers of the Gospel.

VI. That the Church and her Ministers have the Power of pardoning of Sins.

One would imagine upon the first sight of these notable Propositions, that we were either in *Italy* or *Spain*, or at least, that the Popish Religion were already re-establish'd in *England*; for we cannot but believe that they who so impudently advance them in a Protestant Country, would be wonderfully well pleas'd it should be so; since they are the constant Sentiments and Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, and altogether as consistent with the Purity of the Religion of the Church of *England* and Peace of the State as the *Mosses*; yet such as they are, I pretend to maintain that some of them are absolutely false, and am as sure that the wisest of them cannot prove the rest of them to be true, and that they are all as groundless and unwarrantable in the Mouth of a Priest of the Church of *England*, as they are in the last Degree scandalous and arrogant. I mean, in the absolute and dogmatical Sense that they have recommended them. These Gentlemen would have done Right to themselves, and Justice to the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, if they had pleas'd at the same time to have explain'd themselves a little, so as to be understood what they mean by the Catholick Church in their first Article, for we are weary of their indefinite and general manner of expressing themselves, which signifie and determine nothing; there's



too much *French* in it, which we of the Low Church cannot approve, though we are sure those of the High do : For if by the Catholick Church, they mean the whole Body of true Believers, agreeing and assenting to all the fundamental Doctrines of Christianity, in which only Sense it can be properly understood and call'd so, their Proposition is demonstrably false ; for all the separate Members that compose the Body of the Catholick Church, are not under one and the same external Government, or ever were under the Direction or Jurisdiction of any one Head as Supream in this World. Jesus Christ himself alone, we all know and allow, is the sole Invisible Head of the Catholick or Universal Church Militant here on Earth, who has oblig'd himself by an eternal and unalterable Promise to take care of it to the End of the World ; but in every Nation under Heaven (those under the tyrannical Usurpation of *Rome* only excepted) where the Christian Religion is profess'd and establish'd by Law, those under him are properly said to be the visible Head of every Church, whom the supream Legislature have thought fit to appoint to be so, and in those Heathenish Countries where it is only suffer'd to be profess'd, but not so establish'd, no Body can deny but that the Body of the Clergy with the Elders of the People, have the Power to elect and appoint those to be at the Head of their Church for the Regulation of the Discipline and Oeconomy of it, who for their Wisdom, Learning and Piety, they think may best deserve it. 'Tis not of this Place to examine the Usurpations of an insolent Priest who for many Ages has arrogated to himself the Title and Power of the sole Head of the Universal Church ; but we very well know that in the beginning of the Contest, the Churches both of *Greece*, *Asia* and *Africk*, vigorously oppos'd, and as absolutely deny'd and rejected any such Universality in the Bishop of *Rome* ; so did the *Æthiopick* Churches, and that of *Russia*, which to this Day acknowledges no such Authority and Jurisdiction in him, nor submit to the same Forms and Regulations of external Government : Nay the Church of *France*, all Catholick as She is, though for certain Reasons of Policy they in some Measure acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* for their Head, yet are govern'd by Maxims of their own and absolutely reject his Power and Authority, in several the most material Branches of the Ecclesiastical Regiment of the *Gallian* Church, as is evident from their four famous Propositions of 1684, and the notable Instance of the *Regale*. We as well know that this Honour and Authority was early and often pretended to by these Bishops, but was as often and vigorously oppos'd by all the other Churches ; and never had the Formality of an imperial Sanction, but upon a very extraordinary and commendable an Occasion. A certain Villain, to arrive at the *Greek* Empire, nam'd *Phocas*, murder'd his Master and Benefactor the Emperor *Mauritius* and his whole Family, after the most inhumane and execrable Manner that ever was, and to consecrate so pious a Villany, apply'd to the most holy Bishop of *Rome*, *Boniface* the Third, for his Confirmation on the Throne ; the good Father consented and gave it in ample Form and in return of Gratitude was complimented by his Monster with the Title of *Universal Bishop*. Behold then the Foundation of this

pretended Universality, erected solely upon the sanctify'd Basis of Perjury, Murder and Usurpation ! Worthy Commencement, and exceedingly for the Reputation of the Head of the Catholick Church of Jesus Christ ! All the reform'd Protestant Churches have actually withdrawn themselves from his Obedience, and by renouncing both his Authority and Errors, have happily freed themselves from the Burthen of the most insupportable of all Yokes, that of his Spiritual Tyranny, to which these honest Men would again enslave us ; yet it is to be suppos'd that they will not deny, but that all these distinct Churches are the Members that jointly constitute the Body of the Catholick Church of Christ when it signifies Universal, that is, the whole number of true Believers scatter'd over the Face of the whole Earth, under what Forms and Manner of Discipline soever they may happen to be distinguished ; for it is not Form, but Belief, that is of the Essence of every true Church ; and as it is past Contradiction evident, that they never were, are, or possibly ever shall be under one and the same only Head and external Government, it is as manifest that the Proposition that affirms them to be so, is evidently false. If they deny that all these distinct Churches are Members of the Catholick, or maintain that it is absolutely necessary that every Member of the Church of Christ should conform to every Instance to any one that they are pleas'd to esteem such ; suppose that of *Rome*, which alone pretends to it, and without which it cannot pretend to be a true Church, and consequently not to be a Member of the Catholick one, they will do well to assign some better Reason and Authority than barely their own for doing so, if they expect to find Credit with us ; for we don't remember to have read, that either Jesus Christ himself or any of his Apostles and Disciples, or any of their Successors of the first two or three Centuries, prescrib'd any certain Form and Manner of Discipline and Worship, as a Mark and Characteristick of his Church, to which all others, as they should encrease and multiply, should be oblig'd to conform under Pain of being excluded the Fellowship and Participation of his Universal Church ; or indeed, that in the time I have mention'd, either he or they requir'd any more than a firm and sincere Assent and Belief of all the fundamental Articles of his divine Religion necessary to their Salvation, and an Integrity of Manners and Practice conformable to them ; for the rest they may excuse us, if we tell them that the various and different Forms of Worship and Discipline of the Churches dispers'd over the Face of the Earth are purely of Humane Institution, and are neither of the Essence of a Catholick or any particular Church as Member of it, professing all the Fundamentals of the Christian Religion.

But without further meddling or concerning our selves with the Affairs of Foreign Churches, we pretend to affirm, that we neither have or acknowledge any visible Head of our National Church but our Kings, whom the Laws of the Land alone have constituted such, without any manner of regard to the Presumptions of the Pope of *Rome*, or Insolence of the Priests of the High-Church of *England* ; and as it is impossible for the Prince to be immediately concern'd in the Administration of holy Things the same Laws have

invested him with the Power of appointing subordinate Officers in the Church for that Purpose, with the Grant of certain limited Powers, Honours, Dignities, Emoluments, Privileges and Preeminences, which Custom, Prescription, and Circumstances of Affairs have render'd practicable, but how convenable to the Nature and Intention of the Character and Profession, I don't pretend to determine, but according to my little Knowledge, not very Primitive or Apostolical. Our first Reformers thought fit to model and establish the Protestant Religion in the National Church, under the Direction and Administration of Bishops, which without Controversy is of all other Forms the most decent and estimable as most conformable to the Manner and Practice of the Primitive Churches. These in some Sense are said to be Heads of our Church, but in Subordination, and under our Kings, inasmuch as they are intrusted with the Guardianship and Regiment of the establish'd Discipline and Economy of it; as our Kings themselves are said to be the Head of the Common-wealth, because they are invested and intrusted with the supreme executive Power; it being as impossible as unnecessary for every Branch of the Legislature to exist at all and the same times. Our Bishops in this limited Sense are said to be the Heads of our Church as they are appointed to the Execution of the Ecclesiastical Polity. In relation to our Kings, we say that all Power is immediately from God; but the Modification, the Determining, the Degree and Manner of it, is originally the result of the Choice and Consent of a free People: Thus in relation to these visible Heads of the Church, the Bishops, all Power is from Heaven as its Fountain; but the *Quantum*, and the Manner of the Discharge and Execution of it, is directly from the Prince; but both the Regal Power in the Prince, and the delegation of it to the Bishops, as to the governing part that imports and denominates Headship, are equally and originally the Gift and Concession of the People. It is very distant from my Intention or Principles, to dispute the Sanction and Authority of Episcopacy: I honour and reverence the Order as Primitive and Apostolical, and of all others the most contributing to Peace, Unity, Decency and Order, whilst in the Hands of Men who understand the Excellence, and practise the Purity of it in its first Intention; and it were heartily to be wish'd, that the Conduct and Behaviour of some of late Years may not have given Occasion to their Adversaries to revive an old Dispute on that Head, which for the Peace and Honour of our Church and Nation would have been much better to be buried in Oblivion: But as there can never be wanting in the Church, Men of Wisdom, Courage and Learning, I leave it to them to defend and maintain their Cause against the Reasons or Calumnies of all their Adversaries; and as heartily as any Man in the Nation pray that the Church of *England* may in all Ages, even to the Ends of the World, remain under the happy Constitution and Influence, in which by our wise and pious Reformers it was first establish'd; and that as the Order of Episcopacy is the distinguishing Honour of our Protestant Church, it may never fall into the Hands of Men, who by their Wisdom, Piety, Learning, Courage, Love of their Country, and all other Christian Vertues



may be an Honour to the Order. This then is the Constitution of the civil State; this the Nature and Establishment of the Ecclesiastick in our own Nation. I would therefore ask of these Catholick Gentlemen Innovators, whether the National Church of England, under such an Oeconomy be a Church or no? Whether it be the Catholick Church, or whether it be only a Member of it? I suppose they will hardly deny the First, for then they themselves are no Priests or Members of that Church; nor affirm the Second, because such a Notion is absurd of it self, as exclusive of all the other Churches in the World, or makes them but Members and dependent on her self; It remains therefore to confess that the Church of England as by Law establish'd, is only a true Member of the Catholick Church, as it implies the Universal Church of Christ, that is, of the whole Body of true Believers, assenting to and practising all the fundamental Doctrines deliver'd by Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles and Disciples as absolutely necessary to Salvation. And if this be granted, which cannot reasonably be deny'd, what then becomes of the Truth and Modesty of a Proposition which maintains that the Catholick Church is one Body under one and the same external Government: Since ours is not that Catholick Church alone (nor any other single Church in the Universe) but the most pure and excellent Branch and Member of it, independent on any Power under Heaven but that which form'd and establish'd it with us National; govern'd and regulated by a delegated Power to her Bishops, under the Favour and Protection of our Kings, who are her supream visible Head here on Earth; having her own Canons and Constitutions, which all receive their Force and Vertue from that which is alone the supream Power that establishes all things in every free Nation, and particularly in our own, I mean the whole Legislature.

But there is another notable latent Sense, and that we don't in the least question is what they intend, in which their Proposition is something of Truth; yet if they mean by the Catholick Church, with the old Absurdity of a particular Universal, only the Church of Rome, in which we acknowledge that all those of the same Superstition with her acknowledge both her Authority and Jurisdiction, and submit to the Pope as their Head, at least in appearance, in one and the same external manner of Government: These Men are to know, that the Title of the Catholick Church in truth belongs no more to that of Rome, than to the Greek, the Eastern or any other Church under the Sun; and that the Honour of it, which she insolently assumes, has no other Foundation than what has been already mention'd, which as these reverend Hypocrites are not sensible of, they would have done well duly to have reflected on. The most she or any other Church can modestly pretend to, is to be a Member of the Universal Church of Christ in the only proper sense it is capable of, that is, of the whole Body of true Believers, and that the most Corrupt and Vicious too of any upon the Earth; but let them besides consider, that as the National Church of England, as she stands reform'd from her abominable Errors and Superstitions, so has she as absolutely renounced her Power and Jurisdiction,

rifdiction, and consequently in no manner can be esteem'd a Member of her Catholicity in their Sense, which is the only natural One can be understood or meant by their Proposition, *viz.* That the Church of *Rome* is the Catholick Church, and all other Churches to be comprehended under it, and to be in Subjection to, and acknowledge the Pope as the only Supream visible Head of the whole, to be obey'd in all Things under one and the same external Government and Jurisdiction; for in any other Sense the Proposition is both false and nonsensical, which are two Reproaches that a Man ought not in Conscience to make to such a Learned, Judicious and Reverend Body as a Majority of an *English* Convocation. Admirable Doctrine for a Society of Priests of the Reform'd Protestant Church of *England*! 'Tis but too true indeed that these her pious Sons have given the World of late but too convincing Proofs of their good Inclinations to return again into the Bosom of their dear Mother, both from the Nature and Tendency of their Doctrines, and the Principles and Practice of their modern Politicks; for it is evident enough that such Men as are so very forward to have the State govern'd by Maxims of *French* Policy, as are unavoidably destructive of the original Constitution, without doing them the least Injustice or Breach of common Charity, may be affirm'd to be very well dispos'd to conform their own to the Tenets and Opinions in Matters of Religion to the *Gallican* Church, from whence 'tis but a short Trip over the *Alpes*, and then we are at our Journey's End. 'Tis then indeed that what these Men now as impudently as falsely urge, that the Catholick Church, and we as Members basely betray'd into a Fellowship and Participation with that of *Rome*, may be said to be a Body under the external Government of one supream visible Head, the Pope; but till then with Truth or Equity it never can: But the good God who put it into the Hearts, and assisted our first pious and courageous Reformers in the glorious Work of separating from her Communion, and renouncing her Tyrannical Jurisdiction, and has promis'd to continue that Assistance to the Ends of the World, will, we hope and pray, defeat the wicked and shameless Designs of those Wretches who labour hard to plunge us, our Church and Country, into those impious Superstitions again, as are the Abomination and Reproach of the whole Christian Religion, and must be the intire Loss of all our civil Liberties.

Their Second, that every Christian is oblig'd to submit to the Laws of the Catholick Church under Pain of Damnation, is of a piece with the former, and what they cannot prove either from Divine or Humane Authority to be true; for till they define and demonstrate which is this Catholick Church, 'tis both Nonsense and Impiety, which favour strongly of the Craft of the Priest, to threaten us with such a terrible Punishment for Disobedience to his Decrees; yet this may notwithstanding be very proper Doctrine in the Mouth of a Doctor of the Church of *Rome*, who gives more Weight and Credit to the Decretals and Decisions of a single Pope without the Authority of a general Council, than to the holy Scriptures themselves; who can no otherwise support the Interests of

ne Spiritual Whore, than by keeping the miserable People in a blind  
 ignorance of all things they ought necessarily to know in order to  
 their Salvation; and who are wicked enough to continue to delude  
 and abuse as great a part of Mankind as is possible for them, even  
 against the Convictions of their own Conscience, the Lights of na-  
 tural Reason, and the more divine Illuminations of the holy Scrip-  
 tures. But Heaven be prais'd, it is not in the Power of the whole  
 Body of the High-Church Priesthood, their Imitators, to gain in-  
 creasingly that Authority and Ascendant, though they have seduc'd but  
 too many, over the Minds of People blest'd with the Knowledge  
 and Revelation of the sacred Truths of their Religion, as to gain  
 their Belief of so impious and unwarrantable a Doctrine. We  
 are under no manner of Apprehensions of incurring the dread-  
 ful Punishment of eternal Damnation for the Breach of any Laws,  
 but those deliver'd down to us and seal'd with the precious Blood  
 of Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles; these indeed we acknow-  
 ledge are the eternal Laws, the Precepts and Commands of an  
 adorable Divinity, that we are neither permitted to dispute or dis-  
 obey; but we know that the Decretals and Decisions of Popes,  
 the Canons of General Councils, and all other Constitutions of  
 Churches and Churchmen, whether general or particular, are no  
 more than the result of a Wisdom purely Humane, and we but too  
 well know but too often interested, subject not only to Error, but  
 to the Impositions of a study'd Craft, and to which from the very  
 nature of their Original it is impossible for honest Men in their Sen-  
 ses to conceive a Notion that so dreadful a Penalty should be attach'd  
 inseparably to the Breach or Disobedience of them. If ever we are  
 to look for any such infallible Authority over the Destiny and Souls  
 of Men in the Catholick Church, it ought to be in the Decisions of  
 the four Oecumenical Councils; and we desire them first to prove  
 that the Canons and Constitutions even of them, which we know  
 they believe preferably to the holy Scriptures, and we no further  
 than as they are consonant and agreeable to them, are genuine; that  
 they have equally been had in Veneration, and observ'd by all Chri-  
 stian Churches; and that they were fram'd with the unanimous  
 consent of the Deligates of the whole Body of true Believers who  
 constituted the respective Christian Churches in the World: The  
 contrary of all which we can past dispute make out, were it of this  
 force and Design, before they impudently inforce the Belief of  
 them, and the Consequence of it in their Proposition upon the esta-  
 blish'd Church of this Nation under Pain of eternal Damnation; but  
 they know well enough that nothing of all this is possible to be  
 true, but that it is only the Craft of the Priest for secular Intenti-  
 ons to enslave the People, what Punishment in this World or the  
 next may be due to an Arrogance and Impiety that would terrify  
 the Weak and Credulous, and pretend to bully those in their Senses  
 and better Understanding with so dreadful a Punishment for the  
 Breach, Non-observance or Disobedience of Ecclesiastical Canons  
 and Laws of the Catholick Church, when they themselves very well  
 know that barely as such they have no manner of Force, Vertue or  
 vigour of a Law, and consequently in no wise binding or obligato-  
 ry



ry on the Minds and Consciences of Men, till they have receiv'd their Sanction and Confirmation from the Authority of the Civil Magistrate, without which they are but merely *bruta fulmina*, Bugbears in the Hands of crafty, knavish Priests to frighten ignorant, credulous Fools, who are weak enough to be cajol'd by them into the Delusions of their Spiritual Tyranny.

But be that as it will with their Enthusiastick Notion of their Catholick Church, we have Canons and Constitutions of our own, which are only binding upon us by the Authority they have receiv'd from the Legislature, Independent upon any other Power under Heaven, and which for the sake of Peace and Discipline in the Church, lead us into the Duty of Obedience to them as far as we can approve of them, without hectoring us with the Terrors of Damnation if we don't; and I leave it to the Men, whose Profession may oblige them to swear to a punctual Observation of them, to determine, whether any Man amongst them, with a safe and honest Conscience can swear to a nice and scrupulous Appobation and Assent to them all: For I am very certain, that there is no Punishment in this World inseparably affix'd to a Man who refuses his Assent and Obedience to any of them, much less of an eternal one in the next. We live under a happy Constitution, where all the Crimes and Delinquencies of all Sorts and Professions of Men amongst us are equally cognizable and punishable by our own Laws, and not at the Arbitrement of designing and ambitious Priests, except some few, that by their Nature more immediately relate to Ecclesiastical Discipline, which no Man grudges them whilst they pretend to no more; in all others, the Priest as well as the People is liable and obnoxious to the Penalties of the Laws according to their Delinquencies, and if by the Default or Neglect of the Civil Magistrate the Execution of certain Laws had not been too much relax'd, but exerted with the natural Severity which always best inforces Justice, and best provides for the Peace and Security both of the State and Church, we should not at this time of Day have felt the Smart and ill Consequences of those Disorders, with which an unseasonable and too great an Indulgence have encourag'd this sort of Bigots so often to imbroil the Nation. Our holy and excellent Church speaks in quite another Strain and sort of Language, of more Modesty and Reserve of her Authority, in the express Words of her twentieth Article. — The Church hath Power to Decree Rites or Ceremonies, and Authority in Controversies of Faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one Place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another; wherefore, tho' the Church be a Witness and Keeper of holy Writ, yet as it ought not to Decree any thing against the same, so besides the same it ought not to enforce any thing to be believ'd for necessity of Salvation. — Here are the Christian Sentiments of our first religious Reformers and Compilers of our Articles and most excellent Liturgy in a modest Declaration of the Power and Authority of the Church in Matters purely religious and in Controversies about Matters of Faith, which every Man allows is her due, and convenable to the Nature of the Character and Profession of her Pastors, for the Discipline and Order of the

ecclesiastical Oeconomy, and in a Degree so just and rational as is altogether compatible with the Peace and Tranquility of the Commonwealth, without bullying or arrogating a Power, whereby to force Men, who may think fit to question or dispute it, with any punishment, even Secular, much less with the Terrors of eternal damnation.

'Tis with the same Christian Moderation and Reserve that they speak of the Nature of a national Church in their nineteenth Article. . . . The visible Church of Christ is a Congregation of faithful Men, in the which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly ministred according to Christ's Ordinance, in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same. As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch* have err'd, so also the Church of *Rome* hath, and not only in their Living and Manner of Ceremonies, but also in Matters of Faith.—What is all this but an honest and ingenuous Acknowledgement of the natural Imperfections and Fallibility of all Churches to err, and be mistaken even in things that are most properly of the Essence of a Church, even Matters of Faith? If then the first and earliest Churches of Christianity, if the Church of *Rome* and that of *England* have, and may be liable to Errors and Corruption, either as separate Members, or as they compose the whole Body of the Universal Church of Christ; what Punishment, or indeed Excuse is equal to the Insolence of a small number of Priests of a particular unknown High-Church of their own forming, who saucily arrogate to themselves and their Church the Power of damning all Mankind, who will not submit to the Laws and Decrees of the Catholick Church, without telling us what, or where the Catholick Church is, or to be found, whose Constitutions and Decrees at best cannot be deny'd to be only the Results of such, who are liable to the same Errors and Spirit of Delusion with Men of all other Sorts and Professions? And if we consider how much greater Stupid and Prejudice and Self-interest generally have over Reason in the sort of Men than most others; what Condition are the Peace of Men in in this World, or their Happiness in the next, who are left to the Guidance of such fallible and prevaricating Directors? The first general Council of *Nice* was held, I think in or about the year 325 of Christ, yet we know even so early what Intrigues, Heats, Faction and all other wicked means were employ'd to render that Assembly abortive and of no Effect in Favour of the detestable *Arrian* Heresy, for the Suppression of which it was principally conven'd; in such, that if their famous *Constantine* had not interpos'd the Imperial Authority to check and restrain their Frenzy, it would have broken up with the Reproach of a Meeting compos'd of Knaves and Madmen for the Ruin of the State, rather than of wise and learned Men inspir'd and actuated by the Holy Ghost for the Good and Edification of the Christian Church. We know as well that the same evil Spirits of Discord, Pride, Malice, Revenge and private Interests have more or less reign'd in all general Councils and Ecclesiastical Synods ever since; and we are too unhappily convinc'd by the constant Practice of that usually assembl'd in our own Nation, that not so much the Good and Propagation of the Christian Religion is their Business.

Business, as the Inlargement and Augmentation of the Power, Riches, Authority and Jurisdiction of their High-Church and Church-men, who are sure to have the Management and Administration of them. If these Men would really have us give any Credit to their Novel Dogms and Opinions, let them first convince us that they are Men of more Piety, Wisdom, Learning, Probity and good Sense than our first Reformers, whose Sentiments of the Power, Authority and Nature of a Church are so widely different from theirs. Those excellent and truly conscientious Persons, by a warm, but justifiable Christian Zeal for the Souls of Men, shew'd their Abhorrence of the Errors, Corruptions, Superstitions and scandalous Usurpations of the most degenerate of all Churches that of *Rome* from which they reform'd; and these by a furious, blind, bigoted and interested Infatuation, are as fast as they can betraying us back again into them by endeavouring to reintroduce the same dangerous Errors of Power, Authority, Jurisdiction and Infallibility, and the consequence of them, implicate Obedience to all the Laws and Decrees of it, under pain of Damnation, which the former with a generous and christian Disdain renounc'd and rejected for ever. There is nothing for that End that these Men affect so much as to have the People believe that these sort of Assemblies are inspir'd and directed by the immediate Presence and Influence of the holy Spirit; yet we are told by an Authority something better than theirs, that the Works and Effects of that divine adorable Spirit are eternally Peace, Unity, Concord, Meekness, Humility, Forgiveness, brotherly Love and universal Charity. Let them be pleas'd to reflect a little and convince the World, if they think it worth their while, what they have done and what Works of this Nature they have produc'd, either for the general Good of the Christian Religion, the Peace and Happiness of the State, or the particular Glory and Utility of the national Church from the unhappy Time of the Revival of their Convocation to the Day: Whether the Doctrines of these High-Church Priests, for would be understood to speak of no other, are not captious, litigious, and all tending only to private Views and Interests? Whether in all their Disputes there has not always appear'd more of the Spirit of Persecution than a true Christian Warmth and Zeal for Persuasion or Conviction? If rude and unmannerly Reproaches and insolent Invectives against their Superiors, the most reverend and learned Bishops, who cannot run into all the Violences of their Infatuation if railing, reviling, abusing, insulting their Equals and their Betters in Moderation and all other Christian Vertues, who have Probity and Courage enough to oppose their Bigotry, have been the constant Practice of these divinely inspir'd Gentlemen of the High Church Model? If a Pharisaical Pride, Envy, Hatred, Malice and all Uncharitableness, Discord, Disunion, Jealousies, Animosities, unnatural Heats, Divisions, Distractions in the State, and Scandal, Dishonour and Reproach to the most excellent Church in the Universe, are the natural Productions, as well as the Charactericks of Men who erect themselves into the sole Judges and Reformers of an antient Government and an establish'd national Church. Good God! what precious Fruits, what blessed Works are a Church or Nation to expect



from Men of such an unevangelical Temperament and Complexion?

Their Third, that the Church is Independent on the State, is a Proposition of that scandalous Audacity and Extravagance in the Mouth of a Protestant Priest of the Church of *England*, as the bare mention of it, not only destroys the Credit, but creates an Abhorrence of it in the Heart of every *English* Gentleman who has any notion of his Religion or Liberty, and is much fitter to convince the World how far the Insolence of such Men is capable of arriving, when they are abetted by Power, and no longer under the restraint of Honour or Conscience, and rather with Scorn and Contempt to be rejected and hooted out of the World with its audacious Authors, than to be thought worthy of a serious Answer. 'Tis true indeed, that this is the constant Language and darling Tenet of the Church of *Rome*, which esteems her self not only Independent on all Civil States, but impudently challenges an absolute Superiority over all the Governments and crown'd Heads upon the Earth; and if the Ambition of these Men in her Imitation hurry them to contend for the same Independence and Superiority, 'tis only for the same End that she does; not so much out of any regard to Religion as to be Masters of a lawless and unrestrain'd Power, that may once again enable them to lord it and domineer over the Persons, Consciences and Estates of their miserable Fellow-subjects; and that which amongst us infinitely augments and aggravates the strangeness and audacity of such an Opinion and Attempt in these High-Church Priests, is because they well enough know that such an Excess of secular Power is intirely foreign to the very nature of their Profession, which obliges them to renounce the Pumps and Vanities of the World in a much more formal and peremptory manner than any other sort of Men in it; and that such an Independent Power is absolutely inconsistent with the fundamental Principles and Policy of our Constitution: They know very well that in Effect they have no Power at all but what they derive purely from the Indulgence of our Laws; which as they are a Member of the Body Politick, they are permitted to exert according to the Tenor and Meaning of the Articles of their Church in things purely relating to her Discipline, and to determine in Disputes concerning Opinions and Matters of Faith, and even in these they have no such Degree of it to constrain Men, who may think fit to dissent from them, under any Penalty to believe as they do; they know as well that the Canons and Constitutions of a national Synod, which is the utmost Extent of their Ecclesiastical Capacity, (and even that not without the Permission and Writ of Summons from the Crown) are but a dead Letter, till they receive their Life and Vigour from the Fountain of all Power in a free Nation, the supream Legislature: They are not at all ignorant of the shameless Nonsense and Absurdity of a Proposition that asserts two Independent Powers in the same Kingdom at the same time, for whatever is Independent is Supream; and from two Powers equally claiming and pretending to Supremacy, nothing can necessarily result but eternal Clashings, Confusions and Disorders to the Common wealth. What then can any *Englishman* in his Senses imagine

imagine that these Men would be at other than in the end to reduce  
 the State to a Dependency on their Church, after the manner of most  
 Catholick Countries where they prevail and have Power to do it,  
 and especially of the Court and Church of *Rome*, for whom they  
 seem to have so extraordinary an Attachment? This indeed we al-  
 low is a never-failing and infallible Receipt, with a Popish *probatum*  
*est*, to cure the Evil of two Supream and Independent Powers in  
 the Kingdom at once, when for our Sins they shall have brought up-  
 on us the Curse of having made their Church the only one; we shall  
 have made a very blessed Exchange from a Condition of Life of Hap-  
 piness and Freedom under the Protection of our Laws, which are  
 only calculated for that End, for the miserable Servitude under the  
 Tyranny of Priests who know no Mercy. If the Question were to  
 be put whether the Church and her Clergy should live under a  
 legal Subjection and Subordination to the State, or the State in an  
 Inferiority and Dependance on the Church and her Clergy? I think  
 amongst *English* Freemen the Question would not be long a deciding;  
 and if we did not reflect in what Times we live, it would have been  
 to the last Degree surprizing to see the Legislature of a free and no-  
 ble Nation to neglect showing their Resentments of so scandalous  
 an Indignity in the Severity of a Punishment proportionable to the  
 Insolence of so traitorous a Profession. We are sure, that by the  
 Grace and Favour of our Laws, and the Indulgence of a mild and  
 gentle Government, they will ever be continu'd in the Possession and  
 and Injoyment of their legal Honours and Privileges, if they do  
 not forfeit their Right to them by Misdemeanor, which I desire  
 them to know is very possibly, and it may be worth their while to  
 reflect how fairly they have already bid for it; but we are too well  
 acquainted with the Spirit and Temper of such Men in all Ages,  
 when they have been possess'd of a Power they never knew how to  
 use with Moderation, not to be sensible that if ever they arrive at  
 such an Excess of it as they contend for, we shall be sure to be treat-  
 ed with the Indignity of Slaves, and richly deserve it too if we are  
 such Sots as ever to suffer it. 'Tis true we live in an Age where  
 Nonsense, Absurdity and Contradiction slip down as glibly with a  
 High-Church Priest, when they contribute to promote the Interest  
 of their dear Church, as a Glaiss of Sack with a Lay-Sinner, where  
 Impudence and Falschood are furiously *ala mode*, whilst they have  
 a Faction that supports them; where Treasons against the State, and  
 Reproaches and Scurrilities against all that is Brave, or Wise, or Ver-  
 tuous in it may be liberally belch'd out, whilst it may be done with  
 Impunity; but a Day of Reckoning shall come, and bad as it is we  
 do not at all despair to see these worthy Gentlemen made sensible,  
 that they are no more than subordinate Members of the Body Polit-  
 tick, and their Spiritualities better instructed and convinc'd too of  
 their Dependence on the State, by an Exemplary Rigour of the Law  
 upon a certain modern Insolence, unknown to these Nations since  
 the time of their blessed Reformation from Popery, and the insup-  
 portable Tyranny of a corrupt and imperious Priesthood contending  
 for their High-Church Independency.

If by their fourth Proposition, That the Church alone has the Power to offer the Mystical Body of Christ in Sacrifice, they mean by the Mystical Body of Christ, the Universal Church, compos'd of the whole Number of Faithful Believers, in which Sense only, all wise and learned Men have constantly understood it; we tell 'em, that it is good, substantial, downright High-Church-Nonsense; for it is no more than giving the Catholick Church the Power to offer the Catholick Church as the Mystical Body of Christ in Sacrifice, and we by no Means grudge 'em the Profoundness or Delicacy of so extraordinary and refin'd a Discovery: But if by that Mystical Body, they mean the propitiatory daily Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, as it is constantly understood in the Church of *Rome*; we with the same Freedom tell 'em, that it is frank High-Church Popery. We are taught in our Holy Church, by the Mouth of much wiser, honest, more learned and religious Masters than themselves, that our Blessed Saviour once for all offer'd his Body as the propitiatory Sacrifice upon the Cross for the Sins of all Mankind, and we firmly give credit to her and believe it: We are likewise taught by her, that as often as we partake of the Blessed Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, we eat and drink the real Elements of Bread and Wine, as Signs and Symbols only of his Body and Blood in Commemoration of his Death and Sufferings, to which he has, by his Almighty Power, inseparably annex'd all the Blessings and Merit of his Body and Blood to all truly penitent Receivers of it, in the full Satisfaction and plenary Remission of their Sins; and which, in the Power and Virtue of a sincere and lively Faith, we call a real spiritual eating and drinking the Body and Blood of Christ: We leave to their High-Church Stomachs to digest the Absurdity of their propitiatory daily Sacrifice of the Mystical Body of Christ in the Mass, in the same Manner, Reality and Proportion, as it was expos'd and suffer'd upon the Cross, for nothing else can be rationally understood or intended by their Proposition; and content our selves with the humble and reasonable Sense and Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in the most venerable and important Mystery of our Holy Religion, which she has excellently express'd in the Office of the Holy Communion, of the Head, in these Words; *The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy Body and Soul unto everlasting Life: Take and eat this, in remembrance that Christ dy'd for thee, and feed on him in thy Heart by Faith with Thanksgiving*— And in the following Words of the Wine; *The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy Body and Soul to everlasting Life; drink this, in remembrance that Christ's Blood was shed for thee, and be thankful*. This is the true and rational Opinion of our Church of *England*, concerning the Nature and Merit of this Holy Institution; which we readily assent to, and imbrace, because it is plain, easy and intelligible, and because it is perfectly agreeable to the Nature of a Sacrament, and the plain and genuine Sense of the Holy Scriptures: But for the quaint Devices of the Mystical Body of Christ, in their Proposition importing the actual Existence of his



Body and Blood in the same Figure and Dimensions as upon the Cross, and a daily Offering of the same as a propitiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the World, as it is always understood in the Communion of the Popish Mass, we freely leave the Honour and Administration of it to these reverend High Church Profelytes of hers; upon Condition, if they please, to transplant themselves into a Climate and Soil luxuriant and fertile of Enthusiastick Visions as those of *Rome*; for, by the Blessing of God upon our honest Endeavours, they shall never introduce and re-establish, tho' they impudently attempt it, the execrable Blasphemies and Superstitions of a Popish Mass in our Nation, which are the Reproach of the Christian Name and Religion.

Their Fifth, That Episcopal Ordination is absolutely necessary for the Call of the Ministers of the Gospel, is a Proposition as equally void of Christian Charity, as Truth and Sincerity; tho' the Establishment of such an Opinion may be more necessary for their Purpose, that is, to gain the Reputation of Sanctity to an Order that has more of it in Vision than Practice, or the Interest and Propagation of true Religion. It is indeed acknowledg'd, that in a Church reform'd and establish'd by the Legislature, as ours, under the Oeconomy of Bishops, that the Act of Ordination rightly understood, is necessary for the Call and Institution of Ministers, that is, such as are appointed and set apart for the Administration of Holy Things proper to their Office and Function: But we maintain, that those Churches in which their Pastors and Ministers receive their Ordination, that is, their Appointment to the Ministry by the Hands of their Presbyters and Elders, are as much true Churches of Christ, if the pure Word of God be preach'd, and the Holy Sacraments duly administred in 'em, according to the Tenour and Meaning of the Holy Scriptures, as the Churches of *Rome*, or *England*. It is very far from my Intention to revive the old Dispute concerning the Nature and Validity of Episcopal Ordination, as at this Day practic'd in our National Church: I am pretty well acquainted with what has been said for or against it; and, as I hope there shall never be wanting Men of Parts and Abilities in our Church to defend and maintain it, I leave it to such to acquit themselves of that Office, whenever it may be called into question. For me, I am well satisfy'd in my Conscience, that it is an excellent and necessary Institution in it self, when it is conferr'd on Men, especially who will not abuse it to Purposes for which it never was intended; but when it is, it is neither of any Estimation or Importance; and he that shall advance, that what they now lay so much stress upon for certain particular Ends, is originally but a Ceremony purely human, which in process of time they have thought fit to dignify, and as it were consecrate by a sort of divine Title of Ordination; will advance a Position he may very easily maintain, and without in the least any thing derogating from the Validity or Efficacy of the Episcopal Ordination of the Church of *England*, which I perfectly honour and esteem as absolutely necessary for Peace, Order, Decency, and the Conservation of her Discipline and Worship.

Whoever

Whoever has been at the trouble to inform himself of the Nature and Original of this Institution in the Apostles time, and the first Ages of Christianity, will find it very different from what it is at this Day generally esteemed amongst us ; and that of the foreign Churches more conformable to the manner of those primitive Times, than the Practices either of the Churches of *Rome* or *England*. There is no Body, I believe, who doubts but that the holy Apostles, as Men divinely inspir'd and commission'd by the Holy Spirit, had Authority to appoint and qualify their Successors by an immediate Communication of that Spirit and Authority, to the Ministration of those Offices and Duties necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel, and we are sure that upon certain Occasions they did so ; but it is certain, that even in their own time, as the Apostles could not be every where, that the Exigencies of the Infant Church might require 'em (whilst the Numbers of Believers were yet but small, yet considerable enough to stand in need of particular Pastors and Teachers, but especially as they multiply'd and dispers'd thro' the different parts of the Empire); they, on the Occasion of a Vacancy by Death or otherwise, first the Apostles themselves, and afterwards by their Example, their Disciples cast their Eyes upon whom they esteem'd a fit Person for his Capacities, which in those times only consisted in Innocence and Purity of Manners, in Piety, Prudence, Sobriety, and good Life, as what were most likely to contribute to the Edification of the Church ; the Person thus pitch'd upon, they were always recommended to the People in their publick Assemblies, and they were always cheerfully received at the Hands of these holy Men, and confirm'd to the Work of the Ministry by their unanimous Suffrage and Approbation, which was given by their lifting up of Hands, which was the manner in those Days of giving their Assent ; and sometimes the Hands of the Elders were laid upon him, and prayers were made by the whole Congregation for him. This was then the whole manner of this Institution ; and the Person thus qualify'd and appointed, apply'd himself to the Work of his Ministry, which was Prophecyng or Preaching, Praying, Administring the Sacraments, Visiting the Sick, and the like, without withdrawing himself, or interrupting the ordinary Course of his proper Trade or Profession by which he liv'd, except for the necessary Application of some part of his time for the Discharge of his Duty to his Congregation in the Office of his Ministry : Nor did his Title to that important and honourable Calling give him any manner of Pretension to live upon the Sweat and Labour of his Fellow-Christians ; he was not design'd to be a Burthen to their Purses, but for the sake, the Good and Direction of their Consciencies in all Godliness and Honesty ; the Honour and secret Satisfaction of so glorious an Employment, the Merit of which consisted in doing good to Mankind, was a sufficient Recompence of the Pains he was at in the Discharge of his Duty. 'Tis true, that in time when the Numbers of Christians vastly increased into great Congregations that necessarily requir'd all the Time, Care and Application of the Pastor, each Congregation made constant voluntary Contributions, which were carefully

fully collected by the Deacons the first Day of every Week, and a reasonable part of it appropriated for a comfortable Assistance of the Minister, and the rest to the Necessities and Exigencies of the Poor and Indigent, unable otherwise to get their own Livelyhood. I stop here ; What I have said being sufficient for my Purpose, which was to show both the Arrogance and ill Grounds of a Proposition that lays so much Weight upon an Institution purely human in its Design and Original ; but according to them, has something in it of Divine, as in a peculiar manner distinguishes 'em from all the rest of Mankind, and excludes all other Communities of true Believers from the Honour and Privilege of being Members of the universal Church of Christ, who are without their Episcopal Ordination, and leave it to our High-Church Priests to acquaint the World, if they please, by what commendable Arts and Means their Church arriv'd to such a Degree of Riches, Power, Authority and Magnificence, all of which were utterly unknown to the first and purest Ages of Christianity.

But before I quit this Subject, I think it necessary, for the further Information of my honest Countrymen, to acquaint 'em that the Word Clergy, is a perfect Stranger to all the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, in any other Sense than as a sort of Men thus destin'd and set apart after the manner already mention'd, for the Ministration of the Holy Things of Religion ; that is, a most peculiar People as God's Lot, the Word *Cleros* importing no more and is ever to be understood sometimes of the whole Body of Believers, sometimes of the Saints and the Elect, and sometimes of the Church ; which is no more than an Assembly of the Faithful met together, as appears from most of St. Paul's Epistles dedicated to the Churches then in being, where he expresses himself in one, to all the Saints ; in another, to all who have obtain'd like Faith with us ; in a third, to all who in all places call upon the Name of the Lord Jesus ; the Church, as the Word *Ecclesia* imports, signifying no more than a Meeting or Congregation of the Faithful ; from which it is demonstrable, that in those early times, (by which all that relates to Controversies of this kind ought to be determin'd), neither the Term or Meaning of the Words Church or Clergy, as they are abusively understood and misapply'd now-a-days, were never applicable solely, or appropriated to the Pastors or Elders of their Congregations ; but did indifferently signify and include all the whole Body of the People assembled together, or disjunctly in their several and respective Assemblies making a Profession of the one common Faith of Christianity. If this be false that I advance, let it be solidly confuted ; if true, I beseech these reverend High-Church Men to prove to the World upon what Authority they solely assume to themselves the glorious Title and Appellation of the Church of Christ, in distinction from the rest of the Body of true and faithful Believers ; or why they value themselves and lay such a stress upon the present manner of their Ordination, so as presumptuously esteem themselves distinct and separate from the rest of Mankind when in its Original, the Word Ordination was never understood



to signify more than a Decree of any thing made in the Assembly of the Faithful; and in process of time was particularly us'd for the Act of Appointment and Election of any one to the Office of the Ministry; and left the first Professors in the same Condition it found 'em, without conferring any Sort or Degree of Sacredness to their Persons, or Dignity to their Profession, but what they might justly deserve from a diligent and conscientious Discharge of their Duty; and I am very much mistaken in my Opinion, if such a Discovery will contribute much to lessen the Disesteem Men have conceived of the Presumption of such, who honour themselves alone with the glorious Character of the Church of Christ in Exclusion of their Fellow Christians, at least without convincing the World that they have more Regard for the Purity and Propagation of Religion than they have of late done; or who arrogantly assume to themselves a Sacredness and sort of Divinity from their Ordination, that pretends to separate and elevate 'em above the Condition of all other sorts of Men, whilst by their Principles, Doctrines and Manners, they have given but too much Occasion to think 'em the most detesting and irreligious part of Mankind: From this appears the Falseness of an Opinion that ascribes such a Vertue and Sanctity to Episcopal Ordination, and which makes it so absolutely necessary to the Call of Ministers of the Gospel, that without it there can be no constitution of a true Church; tho' that which is call'd Episcopal at present, is so widely different from that of the Apostolick Times and Institution. But further; the Want of Christian Charity in this Opinion, is as notoriously manifest as the Falseness of it; in-much as it excludes at once all the foreign Communities of Christians from the Priviledge of being true Churches of Christ, because they are without Episcopal Ordination; tho' it is evident past question, that the Election of Pastors by the Congregation, and the Confirmation of 'em by the Prayers and Laying on of Hands of their Ministers and Elders, comes much nearer, and is more conformable to the Primitive Manner of Ordination, than that in Use in the Churches of *Rome* and *England*. Thus, according to these hot-headed, uncharitable Bigots, that vast Body of true Believers in France, before they were extirminated by the Episcopal Zealots of the Church of *Rome*, and the imperious Persecution of their Popish Tyrants; those of *Geneva*, *Holland*, and all other parts of *Germany*, together with our own numerous Dissenting Brethren at Home, are no longer true Churches of Jesus Christ, tho' all of 'em professing the same Christian Faith tho' in different Manners, in all the essential and fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion: Yet the Reverend and learned Fathers and Doctors of the Church of *England*, in their Letters and Writings to 'em, have ever acknowledg'd and given the Title of the *Huguenot*, the *Calvinist*, and the *Lutheran* Churches, I mean of the Confession of *Augsburg*, who have no Bishops or Ordination like their own; which I think is an Authority of something greater Weight than the rash uncharitable Bigotry of a few hot-headed High-Church Priests assembled in Convocation, who make their Episcopal Ordination of so absolute Necessity to the

Nature and Constitution of a true Church, that they can allow none to be such that are without it.

As to their last, that the Church and her Ministers have the Power of Pardoning Sins, is of the same piece and hammered out of the same Forge with the former, that is, all of 'em out of that of the Church of *Rome*, which of all the Churches in the Universe, is the only one that presumptuously arrogates to her self an Impious and Antiscriptural Power and Authority, which the holy Apostles never practised themselves or ever intended to invest the Christian Church withal; nor need there any greater proof of the good intentions of these Men, to re-establish the errors of a Church which their Wise and Pious Forefathers had absolutely renounc'd, than their reviving in a Protestant Nation such pernicious Doctrines purely *Papish*, which the other still practise and maintain, and are absolutely inconsistent with the Peace of our establish'd Church or the Interests of our civil Government. We know that our holy Church modestly asserts and allows her Ministers as Men set apart for the Sacred Offices of the Divine Religion she professes, a Power of pronouncing a conditional Absolution or remission of Sins, upon the Terms of Confession of 'em to God and a sincere and hearty Repentance for 'em, but she does no more; Jesus Christ having never himself practis'd or invested the holy Apostles with any other; but we have no where been Taught as yet, that she allows any Power to her Priests as such by virtue of their Episcopal Ordination decisively and absolutely to forgive Sins, without that condition of Repentance, for God himself has no where told us, tho' his power is infinite, that he will ever pardon or forgive without it; and we know but of one Power which is Antichrist, (who tho' in the extent of his presumption he styles himself with a hypocritical humility but the Vicar and the Servant of the Servants of Jesus Christ,) yet places himself above all that is call'd God, yet arrogates to himself the absolute capacity of pardoning all sorts of Sins by his sole Virtue and Authority as such. The true establish'd Church of *England* a genuine Virgin Daughter of the primitive Christianity assumes no more Power herself, nor allows to her true Sons any of forgiving Sins, but what she brought with her into the World, and which is equally granted to the Ministers of all other true Christian Churches; but the high Church of *England* a prostitute Daughter of a debauch'd Mother the Church of *Rome*, as impiously as insolently arrogates to her self, and communicates to her spurious Sons an absolute and unconditional Power of Absolution and Remission of Sins unknown to Jesus Christ, his holy Apostles, or the first and purest Ages of Christianity. If these Men mean no more than the Power of conditional Absolution, we don't dispute or refuse it 'em; but why then do they express themselves in Terms that evidently import, that their Church and her Ministers have a power of forgiving Sins absolutely and without mentioning the condition. For the general and indefinite Terms of their Proposition without restriction or limitation, cannot reasonably be understood in end any otherwise, than that they believe themselves, and would have others believe 'em invested with such a power absolutely and authoritatively as Priests; but if they mean it so, they are I think at least oblig'd

oblig'd to prove to the World, from what fountain and authority they derive a Sacrilegious Usurpation above the power of God, at least that he has any where revealed to us; for his Omnipotency as no body doubts it, is out of the question; and if they mean it only in the Sense of the Church of *England* that has been mention'd, we must tell 'em that in the modest Sense of that Church the same Power of Conditional Absolution, and Remission of Sins is granted and practicable by the Pastors and Ministers of all other true Christian Churches; who we know, in the insolent Sense of the corrupted *High Church* of it, an absolute and unconditional Power of forgiving Sins is inherently invested in the *Pope*, as the Head of their Catholick Church, and by him communicated only to his Sons of the Episcopal Ordination, and by special favour to such of ours who in all their Doctrines, so nearly and exactly resemble so gracious and indulgent a Father. Now the Truth and Religion of this Proposition is in the Clouds, but the Craft and Design of it are as evident as Light from the Sun; for if People can be once Deluded into an Opinion of this Power of the Priesthood, there is but very little wanting to establish the Tyrannical Domination they so eagerly contend for; there being nothing that Men in the last Articles of Life will not willingly part with to a Priest, who he is perswaded has a Power to save or damn him; the old infernal Artifice of the Church of *Rome*, by which she has in all Ages augmented her Revenues and Authority at the expence and ruin of Millions of Families, and a wondrous proper and most primitive and Apostolical example for the imitation of the pure established Church of *England*. In two words, every honest vertuous Christian who conscientiously endeavours to discharge his Duty, and to come up as near as possible to the Purity and Perfection of the admirable Precepts and Commands of his Divine Religion, and dies in a sincere Repentance and Contrition of all the Sins and Follies inseparable from the condition of humane Nature, shall by a lively Faith in the full Merit and Satisfaction of the Death and Sufferings of Jesus Christ, obtain a full and free Pardon of 'em all without their Absolution; and the best of 'em, who without this Condition in the Article of Death have no other or better Security for their future Happiness, than the bare Absolution of a Priest of Episcopal Ordination, the good God have Mercy upon their Souls. Far be it from me to dissuade Men from the Offices of our Holy Church; I very well know, that it is a sweet and wonderful Consolation to an honest dying Christian, to hear the Promises of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ repeated and confirmed to him by the Mouth of a pious and reverend Minister of our Church; but I would endeavour to prevail with my fellow Subjects and fellow Christians not to suffer themselves to be imposed on and deluded at the hazard of their Souls, by the groundless tho' specious insinuations of such High-Church Priests, as assume to themselves a Power which God himself never has, or never will exert that we can know of.

Whoever shall seriously and impartially inquire into the Nature and Design of these famous Propositions, will at first sight discover



that they have all along been and still continue the avow'd and professed Doctrines of the Church of Rome; which, without any manner of regard to the Interests of the true Religion, or the good and Salvation of Mens Souls, tend primarily to increase and enlarge the Power, the Grandeur and Authority of what they are pleas'd to call their Church, but indeed is nothing less; and that they are all and every of 'em founded upon one branch or other of the manifest Usurpations of the Popes, who in all times have communicated so much and such a proportion of Power to all the Orders of the Priesthood, as he has thought necessary to support his Kingdom of Antichrist; for, as I hope, it shall plainly be made appear, that there is not the least, or any manner of Foundation for 'em from the Sacred Authority of the Holy Scriptures. Our Saviour Christ positively tells us, that his Kingdom is not of this World, and that if any one amongst his Disciples desired to be the greatest he must become the least, and be the Servant of the rest; so that the greatness here mentioned cannot possibly be understood of Worldly Pomp and secular Power, but a greatness that consisted solely in a degree of excellence and perfection of all the Divine and Moral Virtues. There is indeed in the *Apocalypse* an Officer prefigured to be in the Church, which most learned Expositors fix upon the Pope as Antichrist; and St. Paul tells us who it is that shall sit in the Temple of God, shewing himself that he is God. Whether these Predictions are convenient to or accomplish'd in the Character of the Popes, I leave to the Reflection of such as shall consider, that the exorbitant Power, which, without any sure warrant from Scripture, they have for so many Ages usurped and arrogated to themselves, is first, that of being Christ's universal Vicar, by which they ingross, as it were, the Monopoly of that Holy Spirit which was equally promised to the whole Church, which, as has been prov'd, was in the Language of those Days, ever understood of the whole Body of true Believers; and is further evident from these remarkable Words of St. Peter's Sermon both to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. *Repent, and be Baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the Remission of Sins, and you shall receive the Gift of the holy Ghost; for this promise is made to you and your Children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.* In which Words we see that the holy Spirit was to be thro' all Generations the equal partage of all true Believers as they constituted the Universal Church, and was to remain with it to the Ends of the World; and at the same time we are Taught the insolence and presumption of any one who should pretend to ingross to himself what was design'd the universal Blessing of all the faithful. After this pretended universal Vicarship, founded no otherwise than we see, follows, as a necessary consequence, an infallibility of judging of all Divine Truths, the Power of forgiving Sins after a more absolute manner than our Blessed Saviour was known to do himself; not only to be the supream head of all Ecclesiastical Persons and causes whatsoever; but to be so far exalted above all Kings, Princes, Powers and Principalities as Sovereignly to Decide, Judge, Depose and Deprive 'em as they shall think fit; and lastly, to have a despotical Power and absolute Jurisdiction over all the Affairs

of the whole World. This is that immeasurable Power, which the corrupt and Sycophant Sophisters of the Canon Law have invested their Idol with, and which he has been graciously pleased to accept and Exercise for so many Ages; how much for the general good of Mankind, the Glory of God, or particular honour of the Christian Religion, is of every Mans Knowledge. Now let any the most Zealous of his High Church partisans, who pretends to Ability enough, oblige the World so far, as to shew 'em upon what solid Foundation this inordinate Power of the Successor, as they are pleas'd to call him, of *St. Peter*, which we are sure *St. Peter* himself never dreamt of or Exercis'd, is created; for all the Texts of Holy Scripture which have been usually alledg'd for the support of it, will appear to be as impiously and shamefully abus'd by these prevaricating Impostors and Deluders of Mankind. They tell us then that this absolute jurisdiction of theirs, especially over the Church, was first granted by Christ to *St. Peter*, and from him derived to the Popes as his Successors in these Words; *thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my Church*; but besides that, it never was, nor ever will be proved, that the Popes are the true and legitimate Successors of *St. Peter*, or by what Right the Bishops of *Rome* pretend to that Succession more than any other of the Bishops who succeeded immediately to the Apostles; all the best Expositors unanimously agree, that the plain and natural meaning of that Text imports no more, than that the Preaching, Ministry and Sufferings of *St. Peter*, should be as a Rock the firm and great Foundation of the Christian Doctrine, without any manner of regard or mention of Secular Authority and Jurisdiction whatsoever. As to the Power of forgiving Sins from these Words of our Saviour to him; *I will give thee the Keys of Heaven; whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth shall be loos'd in Heaven*; and also from those other Words spoken by him, and equally directed to all his other Apostles, *Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted, and whose Sins ye retain, they are retained*; 'tis the Sense of all the Primitive Fathers, that they are to be understood to signify no more, than that in what part of the World soever ye shall Preach and Propagate my Divine Truths, as many as believe in and Practise them, shall find Grace and Mercy and Remission of their Sins; but those to whom the knowledge of these joyful Tidings shall not reach, or knowing 'em shall shut their Ears, or obstinately refuse and reject them, shall remain in darkness and under the burthen of their Sins. Now one must be very quick-sighted, who shall discover any thing in all this, to ground or confirm the Usurpation of a Power in the Pope, or derivatively from him in the Priesthood of forgiving of Sins authoratively by Virtue of Episcopal Ordination. 'Tis just after the same manner and full as weakly that the Canonists and his other partisans, found his infallibility of judging all things, and his own exemption from all other Judgment under Heaven, from these Words of *St. Paul*; *the spiritual Man, judgeth all Men, but is himself judged of none*; from whence these Sacrilegious Wresters and abusers of the Sacred Oracles of the Divine Truths infer this Character and Power of the Spiritual Man to be meant only of the Pope; tho' it is evident, that *St. Paul*, who may be suppos'd best to

understand

understand his own Meaning intends by these Words no more than to distinguish between a Christian enlighten'd and inspirited by the divine Virtue and Influence of the Holy Ghost, and one continuing still in the State and Darkness of meer Nature, who is incapable of discerning or judging of the excellent Gifts and Graces of the Christian Religion, as he formally explains himself in the following Words, *The natural Man cannot discern the Things of the Spirit, because they are Foolishness to him.*

'Tis from these small and feeble Beginnings (conceiv'd in Fraud and Usurpation, and nourished and supported by Craft) is arisen the Leviathan of the monstrous Power of the Pope and Church of *Rome*, which has for the Course of so many Ages been the Scourge and Terrour of all the Crown'd Heads and Governments of *Europe*, and of all those out of it, where for their Unhappiness they have had the Misfortune to establish their Lawless Authority. 'Tis full thirteen hundred Years since the Clergy of that Church, abandoning the Purity of the Evangelical Doctrine, by an execrable Priestcraft began to ingross an immeasurable Power, not only inconsistent with the Profession, but absolutely destructive of all that is good or virtuous, and estimable amongst Men. By these Means they have introduced upon the Ruins of the Primitive Christianity, an abominable Superstition, that in respect of civil Government and good Morality, has brought the World into a much more miserable Condition than it was before under the Religion of Paganism: For I maintain that there were more frequent and noble Instances amongst 'em of Virtue, Valour, Honour, Justice, and Love of their Country, and of all other Moral Excellencies, than have been known in the World, since the most pure Primitive Doctrine of Jesus Christ has been debauch'd by their Clergy into the present Popish Superstition. There is nothing more certain than that the Christian Religion, considered in its native Purity and Excellence, is infinitely more advantageous and beneficent to Mankind in all Respects, both of this Life and that to come, than all the most excellent Productions of that kind of the most virtuous and most politick Legislatures of former Times; nor is there any thing that more evidently demonstrates the Divinity of its Original, than that in its whole Nature and Tendency it is so admirably calculated equally to promote the Peace and Tranquillity of this World, and the Happiness and Salvation of all Men in the next; yet is it as demonstrable, that this Divine Religion, as it stands corrupted and establish'd in the Church of *Rome*, not only not provides for either, but is diametrically opposite to both those great and glorious Ends. For by placing the whole Merit of it in the Observation of certain superstitious Ceremonies and Duties without Life or Virtue (which crafty Priests by their Spiritual Legerdemain have sanctify'd into Works of Supererogation), they have utterly destroy'd the very Nature and Design both of Religion and all Moral Virtues, which so eminently lead Men into the Ways of Honour, Integrity of Manners, good Life here, and Happiness hereafter; and which the true Christian Religion so admirably promotes and refines, that by a certain Communication of its Divinity, they loose what they had



of imperfect as barely moral, to participate of an excellence purely divine: But the Religion of the Church and Clergy of *Rome* soils and tarnishes the native Beauties of those admirable Virtues, and renders them either impracticable or despicable by the unhappy Mixture of the Ordures of Error and Superstition. As the Interests of a Clergy so corrupt and fall'n from the Purity of their Profession, must ever be, not only distinct, but opposite to that of all other Conditions of Men; (the sole End and Aim of all their Actions and Designs being the Aggrandization of the Power and Authority of themselves and their Church, without any Regard to Religion, any farther than the Appearance and Affectation of it may serve to the Accomplishment of their Ends) it is impossible to expect any good Effects to the World, in Relation to the Civil Governments of it, from a Superstition compos'd only of Formality and Hypocrisy; the Priests of which pretend to ingross to themselves the absolute Power of domineering independently and sovereignly over the rest of Mankind, and think themselves well repaid by what they gain on the side of secular Power, for what they loose on the side of Virtue, Honour or Religion; for if the Power of the Church and her Clergy be, as they suppose and would have it, supream and independent, adieu to the Liberties of all Men of other Distinctions; and as there are but little or no Degrees in Slavery, it will follow, that both the Prince and the People will be equally under the Bondage of their imperious Domination, for whether their Chains are of Gold or of Iron, they are still Chains, and they are still enslav'd. This is but too evident from the Ravages, the Blood, Slaughter and Confusions they have in all times been the Authors of, in all Dominions in *Europe*, where they have been able to establish their Spiritual Authority; themselves by a Licentiousness inseparable from Tyrants, revelling in all the Luxuries of Peace, Plenty and Liberty, whilst all that have the Misfortune to be dependent on 'em, are sure to be perpetually expos'd to all the Hardships and Miseries of Slavery and Want. Yet is all this Excess of Power and Independency as directly contrary to the express and positive Doctrines and Commands of the holy Scriptures, as any other Usurpation of the Papacy; for though they presume to elevate themselves above the Reach of all secular Authority and Jurisdiction under Heaven, yet the Apostle *Sr. Paul* and even *St. Peter* himself, from whom they pretend to derive, preach every where Submission and Obedience to the higher Powers, and to submit to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or other legal Magistrate; though we very well know, that the Princes in whose Times those Doctrines were inforc'd, were Heathens and Tyrants; yet by the Principles of the Christian Religion we are, and hold our selves indispensibly oblig'd to pay that Obedience to 'em, without regard to the evil Qualifications of their Character, in things that the fundamental Laws invest 'em with the Authority to exact, when they are not contrary to the Word of God; and this Doctrine of theirs of Obedience is couch'd in such general and comprehensive Terms, as without Exception includes all sorts and De-

degrees of Men, who make a Profession of the Christian Religion; otherwise the Command, if it only bound some, and left others at Liberty to disobey, had been both imperfect and unreasonable; nor is there the least Colour for any pretended Ecclesiastical Exemption or Immunity for Pope or Clergy; nor did *St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, or any other of the Apostles, either from the Doctrine, Principles, Practice or Manners ever propose to leave an Example to their Successors of any Order or Distinction, to insult, domineer and depose Princes, overturn Governments and Common-wealths, and to be the Occasion or Authors of all those Disorders and Calamities, that make Kingdoms desolate, and their People miserable; for as it is the whole Business of the Christian Religion eternally to preach up and cultivate all the good Offices of Peace, Purity of Manners, Humility, Moderation and Charity amongst Men here, and their eternal Happiness hereafter; all the reverse and contraries can only be the Effect of a debauch'd and prostitute Religion, if it deserve that sacred Name, founded upon self-interest, Avarice and Ambition; and therefore naturally tending to root out and destroy whatever there is of good, of great, of virtuous and commendable amongst Men in this World, and damn 'em in the next. For since the Diffusion and Establishment of Popery in those unhappy Nations where it has obtained full Credit and Authority, there has abounded more Immorality, Profaneness, Irreligion, Dishonesty, Lewdness, Cowardice, and detestable Politicks, which are the certain Prognosticks and Fore-runners of the worst of all Evils on this side the Grave, Slavery; than ever were known under any other Oeconomy to the World from the Creation of it to this Day.

'Tis then from this corrupted Source, namely the Profane and impious Abuse of the Holy Scriptures, that the Craft of Priests has derived that immeasurable, and I may properly say infinite Power, which they fix in the Church, that is, according to their Notion in themselves and their Pope, as their only visible Head here on Earth, to whose external Government the Universal Church of Christ is to be subject, and to whom they pay much more Regard and Veneration than to Jesus Christ, the only true and invisible one in Heaven; but which neither Jesus Christ or any of his Apostles, either by Precept or Example ever propos'd or intended for their Imitation. I have purposely dwelt the longer upon this Subject to shew the Weakness of the Pretensions of the Church and Popes of *Rome* to Infallibility and Independency, as well as their other Usurpations; because it is from this noble Original our own High-Church and her Priests are not asham'd to form their Pretensions to 'em, and have so audaciously advanc'd towards them in this favourable Juncture of the Credit and Interest of their Faction, in order to re-establish both the Religion, and curs'd Appendages of it, of Infallibility and Independency and the eternal Consequence of 'em, Slavery; though our wise and pious Princes and Reformers have so long ago renounc'd and disclaim'd 'em, as absolutely incompatible with the Purity and Intention of the Christian Religion made national in the Church, or the Peace and Happiness of the State.

I think therefore it is the Business and Interest of every honest *Englishman*, who heartily loves his Country or Religion before it is too late, seriously to reflect on the End and Design of these Men with their Modern Doctrines, which are all of them avowedly those of the Church of *Rome*, and unknown to that of our own national one, since by the Blessing of God she had the Happiness to become Reformed and Protestant. What Peace they are to expect to their Conscience from the Dominion of Priests, who endeavour to perswade, that their Salvation or Damnation absolutely depend upon their Belief or Dissent to what they say and think fit to obtrude upon them as the most sacred Oracles, to which they exact all the servile Compliances of a blind and implicate Faith; what good Effects or Blessings to the Civil Government founded upon Liberty and Prerogative, from Men who aspire to an Independency on it, which in the End must necessarily reduce it to a miserable Servitude and Dependency on their Church; whose Maxims of Policy and Principles in respect of Religion are solely founded upon Errour, Craft, and Usurpation; and whose utmost Ambition it is to subject all things in a free and noble Nation to the insolent Domination of the Head of them and their Catholick Church? What Business has an *English* Protestant, at this Time of Day, with Popish Doctrines of Religion, or an *English* Subject with the Jesuitical Maxims of *French* Policy? Yet there is nothing more demonstrable than that the whole Design and Tendency of these Propositions are only to dispose the Minds of weak and unthinking People, and to prepare the Way to re-establish Popery in the Introduction of their Pretender; for no great notable Change can possibly be effected at once in an Ancient Government, but it is absolutely necessary to cajole and prepossess the Minds of the People, as it were insensibly, by previous Dispositions to receive and acquiesce in it; and as has been said, there is nothing more easily affects, or makes deeper Impressions on Men's Minds and Affections than Religion, when Artfully manag'd; we acknowledge that nothing could be better calculated for their End than the former Doctrines and these latter Propositions of our High-Church Priests; for if Men can be thoroughly perswaded of the Truth or Necessity of 'em for the good of Holy Church, it will be no difficult Matter in a little Time to perswade 'em to sit down contented under the Government of a Popish Prince, though poison'd with the Principles and Maxims of a Nation irreconcilably an Enemy to their own; and in a little more to introduce the whole Gallimaufry of Popery in Form. One would be glad to know what else an honest *Englishman* ought reasonably to expect from the Doctrines of High-Church, that constantly teaches the Divine Commission, the absolute and arbitrary Power, and the hereditary unalienable Title of our Kings, that is, that establish Tyranny by a divine Right, and the necessary Consequence of it, an unconditional Slavish Passive Obedience in the Subjects? Or what from a Body of her Priests, who in a Protestant Country maintain, that the Catholick Church is a Body under one and the same external Government, when all the World knows, that cannot otherwise be understood but of the Pope,

who



who those of that Communion constantly maintain to be the only  
supream visible Head of the Catholick Church. That every Christi-  
an ought to submit to the Laws and Decrees of the Catholick Church  
under Pain of Damnation, which is the barefac'd Language and  
Doctrine of Papists only. That the Church is independent on the  
State, by which they can only intend to subvert the Imperial Crown  
of our antient Kingdom once more to the Tyranny of the *Roman*  
Mitre. That the Church alone has the Power to offer the mystical  
Body of Christ in Sacrifice, which in good old *English* is down-  
right the Mass. That Episcopal Ordination is absolutely necessary  
for the Call of the Ministers of the Gospel, by which with as much  
Modesty and good Nature and Charity, they send most of the Fo-  
reign Churches of Christ with the whole Body of Believers that  
compose 'em, with all our own Dissenting Berthren, in one Lump to  
the Devil. And lastly, That the Church, and her Ministers, have the  
Power of pardoning Sins; tho' one thing I will venture to advance,  
that for their sacrilegious Presumption of usurping the Authority  
of Jesus Christ, who as God has alone the Power of pardoning  
Sins, they of all Mankind in the last great Day shall most stand in  
need of Forgiveness.

Nor is the Malignity of these Popish Doctrines confin'd to the  
High-Church Clergy of this Nation alone: The Disease is more  
epidemical, and the Poyson diffused thro' all Her Majesty's Domi-  
nions, 'Tis true, their Brethren of the same Principles and Do-  
ctrines in the Convocation in *Ireland*, have not presumed as yet to  
offer any thing of this kind to the Publick; but they have upon  
all Occasions, both in their Discourses from the Pulpit, and their  
Pamphlets, sufficiently insinuated their good Inclinations to the com-  
mendable Doctrines of a Church, from which their honest For-  
fathers, so much to their Glory, have reform'd: And we can name  
the Person and the Day, whereon one of the Lower-House of Con-  
vocation, in which there is a great Majority of High-Church-Men,  
who with a very grave Face and villain Heart, in a formal Speech,  
which wanted not others of the same Complexion to second it, pro-  
posed the Re-establishment in the Church, the Doctrine and Practice  
of Auricular Confession: And tho' the Horrour of such a Proposi-  
tion, so evidently Popish in the Mouth of a Protestant Priest, met  
with the Scorn and Contempt it deserved in a Committee of that  
House, where a reverend Dean presided, and was condemn'd and  
at that time drop'd; yet it is a manifest Indication what these reve-  
rend Bigots would be at, and their ready Dispositions to imbrace  
the old condemn'd Errors of the Church of *Rome*, so they might  
arrive at the same Degree of Power over the People, that their dear  
Brethren of that Communion have been so long, and are still in  
possession of, in all Catholick Countries. It will be difficult for the  
Wiseft amongst 'em to show of what Necessity, nay, even of what  
Utility such a Doctrine is to the Good and Salvation of Mens Souls:  
That does not at all appear to be the Point in question; but it is  
very easily demonstrable, that by it they solely aim at the Advance-  
ment of the Power of their Church and Clergy; for by being ad-  
mitted

mitted into all the lewd and other sorts of Secrets of Persons and Families, they gain a Dominion over 'em, which they never fail to improve to their own Advantage; and Fear, which is ever a slavish Passion of Discovery, puts 'em under a vile Dependence on such, as by their Folly they have made the absolute Masters of their Honour and Conscience, and very often of their Lives, Fortunes and Estates: Which latter, these reverend Confessors prevail upon 'em frequently in the Terrors of Death, as the most meritorious of all Charities to bequeath to their dear Church, and with a wonderful Piety truly Apostolical, leave their wretched Heirs and Families to all the Miseries of Poverty and Want: Which we all know has been the frequent Practice and Means by which the Clergy of that Communion have us'd to augment the Riches and Power of their Church; and since wherever that Doctrine shall be receiv'd and establish'd, the Effects and Consequences of it will always be the same: That Nation is wonderfully oblig'd to the Sect of Men, who under the Pretence of a more than ordinary Care of Souls, would re-establish a cursed Doctrine that would indispensibly place 'em under the Thralldom of the most imperious and unrelenting of all Masters their High-Church Clergy, of so near a Kin to the Papists. Nor is there any thing that has so long restrain'd these Men from more publickly declaring their Intentions sooner, but the Fear of the Laws; for the Considerations of Honour, Conscience or Religion, are of no Weight with such as have abandon'd themselves to the insatiations of their private Ambition, or the Interests of their Church: But that Fear being over from a Relaxation of the Laws, by the Negligence or too much Indulgence of the Magistrate, and under the Favour of what they esteem an auspicious Juncture for their Designs, they have begun to throw off the Mask, and with a bare-fac'd Impudence, give us to understand what we are to expect even from a Protestant Clergy, prostituted to the condemn'd Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, if the Virtue and Courage of the honestest part of the Nation, and the faithful and vigorous endeavours of the yet uncorrupted part of their Profession do not prevent the Abominations they are bringing in upon 'em; for God be praised, there are still some Numbers, tho' but small in comparison of the others, and would be more if they had been encourag'd, who neither want Piety, Learning or Courage to defend the primitive genuine Doctrines of the Establish'd Church, and at the Hazard of their Lives and all that's dear to 'em, oppose the Introduction and re-establishment of the Corruptions of that of *Rome*.

'Tis the greatest Unhappiness and Misfortune of that poor discourag'd and divided Nation, (which in our Remembrance, and no longer ago than the late Lord *Rochester's* short but fatal Administration, was the most unanimous and united in their Sentiments and affections, both for the Establish'd Religion and the Protestant Interest of the State, of any under her Majesty's Dominions), to have a Stranger at their Head, intrusted with the Execution of the Laws, who either will not understand their true Interest, or is sent amongst 'em only to betray it; a Man without a Name in the World, till he

he got one by the laudable Defence he made for the Villains engag'd in the horrible Design of Assassinating our glorious King *William*; and has nobly augmented it since by that of a more infamous Traitor, if that be possible; and because I desire to be understood, I mean *Sacheverell*; for if either the End or Circumstances of a Crime be what can add Degrees of Aggravation to it, the Villany of setting a whole Nation in a Flame, solely in order to divide and betray it into the Hands of a Foreign Enemy of different Religion and Interest, is a Treason of infinitely a deeper Complexion, than that of depriving a Prince of his Life, tho' adorn'd with all the royal Virtues and eminent Qualities that can contribute to render a People perfectly happy; because the Consideration of the publick Good of a Nation, is over preferable to that of any single Person of what Distinction or Character soever. 'Tis principally to these two famous Occasions, that this Gentleman owes his Reputation and Rise, I will not say Establishment of his Fortune, for that is still in the Clouds. Tho' I am an Enemy to his Principles and Designs, I am very far from detracting from his Parts and Abilities which he is endu'd with in an eminent Degree, but is by their Means only so much the more dangerous Enemy. The Ignorance of a Fool or weak Man can never do much hurt to his Country, let his Intentions be what they will; but Parts and Learning in the Hands of a corrupt and mercenary one, when misapply'd, are the most pernicious Tools that can be made use of for its Subversion. 'Tis true, that as our Laws are so indulgent to all Criminals as to allow 'em Council for their Defence, a Man of the honourable Profession of the Law is permitted to say what he can or pleases in the Cause of his Client, let the Crime be of the highest Nature or Degree imaginable, and yet may very well be suppos'd to maintain his Integrity and the Character of an honest Man: But when a particular Person is always pitch'd upon and made use of to maintain the Cause of Assassins and publick Incendiaries, notorious Enemies and Betrayers of their Country, it seems rather to be the Effect of Choice than Chance: it looks extreamly as if a Man's own Inclinations influenc'd and warm'd him more than the Consideration of a Fee; such a Man seems to like the Cause, and to be in the Interests of those he appears so forward and fond of defending: But be that as it will, I think it is every honest *Englishman's* Business, who loves his Country or Religion, especially in that poor Nation where there is at least eight Papists to one Protestant, to pray, that for the future they may never see any more Lord Chancellors of Royal Assassins, or publick incendiary Creations; for the Occasions are suspicious, and if we mistake not, of evil Omen and inauspicious: Yet this may be truly said of him, that the wise Politicians in Power, who have plac'd him in that honourable and important Station, will not find themselves in the least deceived in their Expectations of the Man; for he has given sufficient Evidence to the World, both of his Belief and Practice of his beloved Doctrine of Passive Obedience in a blind and servile Submission to all the Orders of his excellent Patrons and Benefactors; and of all the Faults that may be objected to him, that



of Ingratitude to so good Masters will certainly be one of the last. It is admirable to observe with what a Harmony and sort of Sympathy in carrying on the noble Design, there is between his darling High-Church Clergy and him, in that Kingdom; where, when he had with the utmost Violence and Injustice oppos'd the chief Civil Magistrate of the Metropolis, the Lord-Mayor and Protestant Court of Aldermen, in the legal and accustomed manner of electing their ensuing Lord-Mayor, and had by his Authority rejected to the seventh or eighth time, Men of Probity, Capacity, good Fortunes, and sound Revolution Principles, only to make way for a Creature of his own, Alderman *Constantine*, a supple Tool of High-Church Agility, who would leap over a Stick backwards and forwards for a Pretender to a King of France; to which I must add, the Circumstance of time, it being the Year wherein they were to appoint a new Common-Council, which is to continue the three ensuing Years, in which time the wise Men in Business hop'd to have finish'd the commendable Work of enslaving their Country, and if they had prevail'd in the Metropolis, would have given a fair Example for the lesser Cities and Burroughs of the Kingdom to have follow'd; the lower House of Convocation for such an eminent Piece of Service and Design, and for his distinguish'd Zeal for the Promotion of all the Interests of their High-Church, to the visible Detriment of the National one; and the Establishment of the Power of the present Politicians, his singular good-Lords and Patrons, before the Utility and Advantage of his Country, made the following Address; which, as it is an eminent Piece in it self for the Style and Substance of it, and an ample Indication of their Sentiments and Gratitude to so extraordinary a Minister of their High-Church and Faction, I shall do my self the great Honour, out of the wonderful Esteem I have for so venerable a Body, of so zealous Intentions for the Good and Prosperity both of the State and Establish'd Church, to transmit it as far down to Posterity, as it shall be the Fate of this Trifle to survive.

To the Right Honourable Sir *Constantine Phipps*,  
Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, a Message of  
Thanks from the Lower House of Convocation,  
agreed to *Nemine Contradicente, Die Veneris*  
*9<sup>o</sup> Novembris, 1711*, and presented the same  
Day by the Prolocutor, attended by his Af-  
fairs.

My Lord,

*A M* commanded by the Lower House of Convocation, to wait upon  
your Lordship with their Thanks for your many and great Services  
to the Churches of England and Ireland, as by Law Establish'd; it  
is your Glory to be instrumental in Supporting the Distressed, when it  
is not only fashionable, but meritorious to depress 'em.

Your undaunted Courage, your well-temper'd Zeal, and your moving Eloquence, were then most remarkable when they were most necessary.

And as these noble Qualifications drew the Hearts and Eyes of all those who wish'd well to our Church and Constitution towards you; so our most Gracious Sovereign could not but soon discern, that no Man could be a more proper Minister of Equity to her Subjects in this Kingdom, than he who had so happily defended 'em from Rigour and Oppression in the other.

May this Nation be ever happy in so Wise, Faithful and Steady a Minister, for the Security both of the Prince and Subject; that the Prerogative of the one, and the Liberties of the other, may be ever inviolably preserv'd to 'em; and may the Church never want so Faithful and Affectionate a Friend to Support and Defend her in Times of Difficulty, and be an Honour and Ornament to her in Times of Prosperity.

### The Lord Chancellor's Answer.

Gentlemen,

**I** AM extremely oblig'd to you for this great Respect: I always thought it my greatest Happiness to be a Member of that Church which is the Honour and Glory of the Reformation; and it is my greatest Satisfaction that I have done any thing which so great and learned a Body esteems a Service to that Church. I do assure you, that as it is my Duty, so it is my Inclination, and shall always be my Endeavour, to promote the Interest and Welfare of the Establish'd Church, and of the Clergy that are Members of it; and I will not be deterr'd by any Menaces or Dangers whatsoever, from doing my utmost to Support and Maintain Her Majesty's Prerogatives, and Liberties of Her Subjects and our Constitution both in Church and State.

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*Claw me and I'll claw thee*, was the Language of a certain sort of Animals (which in reverence to these great Parsons I shall at present forbear to name), in the Times when they were accustomed to speak. I don't at all question, but that the Person who writes thus freely of these sort of Men, shall, in a Language and Charity very peculiar to 'em, be damn'd for a Republican, Anti-monarchical, a Fanatick, an Irreligious, an Atheist, and whatsoever else the Devil and they shall agree to call him; all which I'll freely forgive 'em, if they will spare me that of High-Church-Man: Yet I assure those worthy Gentlemen that is, the very few that are so amongst 'em, that the Author is at least ten Bars length further from the Qualities of any of those Characters, than the best or wisest of 'em: And, that as he perfectly detests both their Principles, Doctrines and Manners; he equally despises their Malice and Friendship, and will not fail, to the last Gasp of his Life, to oppose 'em in the Defence of the Honour and true Interest of his Country, and the Establish'd Religion, against all the impotent Efforts of them, their Chancellor, and the rest of their noble Masters and Benefactors to subvert 'em. It may justly enough

enough be wonder'd at, how such a Man as the reverend and learned Prolocutor Doctor *John Sterne*, could prevail with himself to continue in a Station which daily expos'd him to the Rudeness and ill Manners of those hot-headed Zealots, as often as he refus'd to run into the Violences and Excesses of their Frenzy ; a Gentleman of excellent Parts and Learning, of a sober but agreeable Conversation, generous, friendly, charitable, laborious and indefatigable in the Duties of his Function, of great Courage, Piety and good Manners, a strenuous Defender of the Revolution, and a true Lover of his Country, in an eminent Station in the Church, as Dean of *St. Patrick's* : Nor do I believe that any better, or probably any other Reason can be assign'd for it, than that he was willing to make a Sacrifice of his private Quiet and Resentments of the shameful Indignities he frequently receiv'd, to the publick Good of the Church, whose Peace he ever studiously promoted ; and endeavour'd, if possible, by the Prudence and Moderation of an excellent Conduct, to restrain and soften the Violences, the Fury and Passions of Men who knew no Temper : He has since, to make room for the reverend, judicious and incorruptible Doctor *Jonathan Swift*, the renowned Author of the *Tale*, and the *Conduct*, been remov'd to the Bishoprick of *Dromore*, which was more due to his Virtue and Merit. This noble States-man, whom they thus magnify and extol to the Skies for his great Services to their High-Church, has not hitherto given the World any Instances of his Affection or Attachment to the Establishment of that Kingdom ; but his good Inclinations for the Preservation of their ancient Civil Government, he has amply demonstrated, by turning out of the Commission of the Peace all over that Kingdom, Gentlemen of good Estates, sound Revolution Principles, and other eminent Qualifications for the Service of their Country, and filling 'em up with new Converts and others, Men without Fortunes, Interest or Estimation, but very proper Tools to carry on the commendable Designs of the Faction : And I cannot here but mention with Honour, the Generosity of those worthy Protestant Gentlemen who rejected the Offer made 'em of succeeding the former (with a noble Probity and Disdain) from a Man they had something more than bare Suspicions, was sent amongst 'em for their Ruin : Nor can we ever sufficiently commend the generous Constancy and Firmness of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and famous Recorder of that City, who at that time had the Honour to be Speaker of the House of Commons in that Kingdom, whose united and unshaken Courage and Virtue, which they have ever constantly shown in the Defence of the Privileges and Liberties of their ancient Charter, baffled all the unjust and violent Attempts of the Chancellor and the Faction ; and by their resolute Conduct gave so fair an Example to all the other Cities to stand up as boldly in defence of theirs. They have, and ever will have fresh in their Memories, I mean all the honest part of 'em, which is much the greatest, the Danger that their Religion and Liberties were expos'd to from the Tyranny of a late Popish Prince and a slavish mercenary Clergy : Their Gratitude to God, and under him to their glorious Deliverer King *William*, goes



Hand in Hand with their miraculous Delivery from Popery, Slavery and Arbitrary Power; only amongst the miserable Jests of the High-Church Clergy and Faction, are to be found the Instances of a vile Ingratitude, which shall fix an indelible Infamy upon their Profession. It was this particular and remarkable Firmness of the loyal City of *Dublin*, and the general Constancy and Vigour of a Majority of the Honourable House of Commons of that Kingdom, which (to their immortal Honour) have, as it were, stunn'd the Faction and Insolence of the Man at the Head of it; and given 'em to understand, that a Nation so gallantly defended by so rare and uncommon a Virtue of such noble Patriots, is not easily to be made a Prey to the base and slavish Politicks of the Magistrate, or the furious and ungodly Bigotry of the High-Church Zealot, who with united Hearts and Hands endeavour its Destruction. With what Impudence do these Men confound the Establish'd National Religion of three Kingdoms, which only preaches and maintains the pure Doctrines of Jesus Christ and his Holy Apostles, with their upstart High-Church, which is but a politick Hotch-potch of usurp'd Power, Authority and Jurisdiction, which are by no means of the Essence of a Christian Church, but to delude and impose upon the Understandings of their weaker Brethren? Who are in reality to be reputed the best and most faithful Friends to a State or Church? They who adhering to the ancient Doctrines of the one, and ancient Principles and Maxims of the other, imploy all that's in their Power to preserve and maintain 'em both, upon the Foot of their original Constitution, which has ever been, and ever will be, the constant Practice of the Moderate or Low-Churchmen? Or they who eternally broach and disperse amongst the People, new Popish Doctrines in Religion, and new Jesuitical Maxims of *French* Policy in the State, which unavoidably lead to the Ruin and Subversion of 'em both; which ever has been, is, and 'tis to be much fear'd, ever will be, the perpetual Endeavour of all High-Church Bigots and Politicians? Yet one of the most frontless of their Scriblers, I mean the Examiner, has had the Impudence to put the Decision of this important Question upon that Issue, and we chearfully and readily join in it, and leave it to the Determination of every sensible impartial *Englishman*, who has Knowledge enough to understand the true Interest of his Country and Religion; and Virtue enough not to betray 'em, to decide in the Case between 'em. The Whig or Low-Churchman, who acknowledges a Power and Prerogative in the Prince legally established, limited and circumscribed, by fundamental Laws, which are both the Soul and Nerves of all Civil Governments, together with a just and legal Obedience and Submission in the Subjects to all his lawful Commands, according to the Tenour of the Holy Scriptures, which injoin no more; or the Tory, High-Church Priests, or other, who in a free Nation and limited Monarchy, founded equally upon the Prerogative of the Prince and the Liberty of the Subject, ascribes such an unlimited, absolute and arbitrary Power to the one, as is absolutely inconsistent with, and unavoidable destructive of the other.

That

That *Englishman* must be infatuated, or what is worse, to the last degree of Infamy corrupted, who in what so nearly concerns him can balance a Moment to distinguish who are his and his Countries best Friends, from his and his Country's most dangerous Enemies. As to regards purely of Religion, who has the best Title to the glorious Profession of it, as establish'd in the National Church; the low Churchman who constantly Preaches Peace, Unity, Concord, Humility, Brotherly Love and Charity to all Men, or the high one who incessantly Preaches Doctrines that are naturally productive of Discord, Heats, Jealousies, Animosities and Divisions, which are the Fruits of a private Spirit and Ambition; and as they are ever destructive of the publick Peace and Tranquillity of a Nation, are as visibly design'd only for the Aggrandization of the Power and Jurisdiction of their high Church, to the manifest Scandal and Detriment of the National one. The former are the genuine Results of a natural Affection that lead Men strait into solid Friendships and Regards for its true Interests upon Principles of Reason, Nature, and pure Religion; the other only appearances and affectation of Friendship and Concern, under the Colour and Mask of a Divine Religion which they neither understand or practice; the one in all their Actions and Designs are really and effectually what they seem to be, true Friends, and faithful Patriots to their Religion and Country; the other only desire to seem what indeed what they never were or will be, the more easily to betray both under a specious disguise into the hands of a foreign Enemy; and by an admirable tour of high Church Policy provide for the Interest and Security of a Protestant Church and Nation, by enslaving them under the Domination of a Popish Tyrant; yet these reverend Jugglers will in a moment consecrate the Nonsense and Contradiction of so gross an Absurdity into the most pure and orthodox Doctrines, when they contribute to elevate their high Church above the State, or subject the profane Laity under the infamous Servitude of so pious, a learned and venerable Clergy; and I cannot here omit to take notice of a very notable Doctrine, but something new with us, of a Priest of their Tribe, who tho' not a Member of their Convocation, is a very good indication of the endeavours and ardent inclinations of the whole Body of 'em to work a change for their purpose in the affairs and nature of our ancient civil, as well as ecclesiastical Constitution; it was deliver'd in a Sermon in *Christ-church* the 29th of May, being the Anniversary of the Restoration, before the Lords Justices, Sir *Constantine Phipps*, and the great General *Ingoldshy*, by whose special command it was ordered to be Printed, to show how perfectly well they understood the nature of our original Government, and their vigorous Resolutions to contribute to the preservation of it. This Journeyman Tool, in the Language of the Church, was at that time Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor, and has since for his rare and supple Capacity for the Service of the Faction, been promoted to the honour of being in the same Station to the renowned Lord *Bolbroke*. I should by no means have thought *Joseph Trap*, A. M. worthy to mention, or to have taken the least notice of, had it not been for the

the singular rarity of his Doctrine from these words of *Isaiah*, Chap. I. v. 26. *And I will restore thy Judges as at the first, and thy Counsellours as at the beginning, afterwards thou shalt be called the City of Righteousness, the faithful City.* I think it will not be difficult to guess that so learned and artful a Partisan would not omit so fair an opportunity of employing all the Stock of his profound Erudition, and flourishes of Rhetorick, to give from these excellent words a very favourable and indulgent turn to the Glory and Advantages of his singular good Lords and Masters of the present Times, and to the discredit of those of the preceeding. Whoever has a mind to be satisfy'd in that Point, may inform his Curiosity from the Sermon it self which has been publick; I shall concern my self at present with no more of it, than what is to my purpose, to shew the Audaciousness of the Priest, 'tis in a Paragraph, Page 7th, which I shall faithfully transcribe.

'But to our own case, the ordinary Providence of God never bless'd any Nation of the World with so perfect a constitution as that of these Kingdoms; in which the Authority of the Prince, the Liberty of the Subject, and the Happiness of both are equally provided for. The Schemes of *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato* or *Machiavell* were not so exquisite in speculation as ours in fact, and what they could not so much as contrive, we actually enjoy. — So far the Man is right, and what he is in nothing else Orthodox. — 'A Constitution, says he, it is made up like the Universe, of four Elements, and tho' the Sovereign and the three Estates seem to be in their Natures like them, jarring and disagreeing Principles, yet like them too, they are so mutually temper'd and blended, that instead of destroying they strengthen and support the whole; and as this Scheme resembles the World in its composition, so it may do in its duration, if so great a Blessing be not prevented by our Folly and Wickedness.

Now this same Doctrine of the Sovereign and the three Estates is something new and unknown, till the day this Insolent publish'd it to the ears of all his honefter Countrymen; for we have ever been taught by our Fore-fathers, and all our fundamental Laws that our Kings, Lords, and Commons, were the only three Estates which compose the Legislature, the only supream and Independent Power of the Nation, without ever dreaming of a fourth. 'Tis true indeed, that such Language in the Mouth of a Popish Priest in *France* might have pass'd without Reflection or Censure, where for the Misfortune and Curse of that noble Kingdom the Clergy have been establish'd a fourth Estate of their Constitution; yet there is nothing in nature more plain, than that they have been not only the principal cause of defacing the Beauty, and preventing all the Ends of it for the publick Good of their Fellow-Subjects, but even the Subversion and Slavery of one of the greatest People in the Universe; but in the mouth of an *English* Protestant Priest, who knew he was advancing a Lye, (in a place he ought to have esteem'd sacred to Truth) the moment he was divulging it, is, if I am not in an error, of very near akin to Treason, and so audacious a piece of Impudence as could never have enter'd into the head of any but a high Church one, who we

know



know are so desirous to carry on the same execrable design of enslaving all Conditions of their Fellow-Subjects to the Tyranny of the Priesthood. We acknowledge that the Church of *England*, as by Law establish'd, and her Clergy are a considerable Branch and Members of the Commonwealth, and as such ought and ever shall be maintain'd in their just and legal Honours and Immunities; yet we believe the time is not far off, when the high Church of *England* with the corrupt and mercenary Tribe of her Clergy shall not be permitted to increase their Usurpations, or enjoy the Dignities and Emoluments they so little deserve; and whenever they shall dare to pretend to erect themselves, according to the Notion of this insolent Churchman, into a fourth Estate, there are two things that we heartily hope, and firmly believe, that is, that the Nation will never by their Sins fall into such a State of Wickedness and Degeneracy from the Virtue and noble Spirit of their Ancestors, as to merit so terrible a Curse and Judgment; and that the just and merciful God for the Glory of his true Church and the establish'd Religion, and the Good and Happiness of these poor Kingdoms will never permit it. If any honest *Englishman*, deceiv'd by the plausible Opinion of the Uprightness and Sincerity of the Intentions of such Priests from the nature of their Character and Profession, has hitherto doubted, that all their Designs and Endeavours have tended solely to raise and aggrandize the Power and Authority of their Church and Priesthood, upon the ruin of the holy Religion of the establish'd Church, and civil Liberties of their Fellow-Subjects; let him reflect with himself, what other Inferences and Conclusions he can rationally draw both from all their other Doctrines, and this of aspiring to the Honour of a fourth Estate, which neither the Laws of God intended, nor those of the Land ever thought 'em worthy of. To what end can Men pretend to affect such a Power so entirely foreign to their Function and Profession, but in the same views with those of the Popish Communion, who wherever they have obtain'd the ascendant of Power, have perpetually employ'd it to reduce both Prince and People under their Tyranny? Do we not see our own so near of kin to 'em, daily propagating such Popish Doctrines in a Protestant Kingdom, solely to the end of re-introducing the abjur'd Errors and Superstitions of *Rome*, to corrupt the Purity of the reform'd Religion establish'd in our holy National Church? Do we not find 'em hourly insinuating and promoting Maxims of Popish *French* Policy into our happy Constitution, which if they succeed, must necessarily terminate in the entire Subversion of it? Are we grown so fond of *French* Popery and Slavery, or are we become already such vile submissive suffering Slaves, as to sit still with our Hands in our Pockets, till our crafty high Church-Priests shall put the Bit in our Mouths, and Saddle on our Backs to mount, and ride us once more our selves and miserable Posterity to the Devil? Shall we tamely see and suffer so unsupportable an Infamy and Punishment? Or shall we not rouse out of this fatal Lethargy that has so long bewitched us and before it be too late, exert our old *English* Virtue, good Sense and Valour to their Confusion? If we have not the courage to do any

thing better and nobler in the defence of our Religion and Liberties, which they so audaciously labour to extirpate and subvert? Shall we be wanting at least in our good Wishes and Prayers, that we may soon see the blessed time when this traiterous maintainer of a fourth Estate of Priesthood, with all his Abettors, shall be animadverted on with the utmost severity of those Laws they so impudently insult and contravene? 'Twill be a glorious situation, which by our Cowardice or Treachery we shall see our selves reduc'd to, when we shall find an imperious high Church Priesthood erecting themselves into Legislators, and giving Laws to a free and noble Nation; they who at present have not the power of making a Canon for the regulation of their Church, that has the force of binding, till it receives its Sanction from the civil Power; yet it is this alone demonstrably that these venerable Pharisees and worthy lovers of their Country directly drive at: Let that wretched cowardly *Englishman*, who is fond or desirous to be the Slave of such relentless Masters, perish their Slave, he deserves no better; but let them know, that there are yet many a hundred thousand honest and generous ones who know the value of their ancient Freedom, and in that are worthy of it, who will sacrifice their Fortunes, Lives, and whatsoever else can be esteem'd dear and precious amongst Freemen, rather than tamely part with their Religion and Liberties, or submit to the Spiritual Tyranny of Men born their Inferiors, and who never usurp'd a Power which they did not always profane to the Distress and Misery of the rest of Mankind; if any Man is offended with the freedom or plainness of my Sentiments, I have only to tell him, that I am an *Englishman*, a Freeman, a Gentleman, and an honest one too, who love my Country, my Liberty, and my Religion; with all such, the justice and merit of the Cause will be my excuse, if I need any with 'em; as to the rest, that is of high Church, whether Priest or Layman, I think 'em not worth it, and am in little pain, and less dispositions to make any at all to any of 'em, either in this Kingdom or that.

But to return to the *Irish* Convocation, I intend only those of the high Church Members, who compose it, and are the Majority; if a Man seriously examines their Conduct of late Years, even abstracted from their Doctrines, there is much more reason to believe that they are a sort of Men who rather have no Religion at all, than such as desire to be honour'd with the Character of the Ministers, and more immediate Professors and Dispensers of it; since it is manifest that they so very little conform to, and practise the Precepts of that which Jesus Christ and his Holy Apostles by their Example and Sufferings recommend to their Observance and Imitation, under the most dreadful Penalty of Eternal Punishments. 'Tis in vain for Men to boast of the glorious Title and Privilege of being Christians, who act directly opposite to all the Precepts of Christianity. Such Men affect only the appearances of Religion, but in effect are nothing less than Religious; and as the World is too quick-sighted not to see thro' the thin Disguise, and to discern the Interests of Ambition, preferable to that of the only pure Religion, they seldom fail

to look on such, with that Contempt and Abhorrence so scandalous an Hypocrisie and Prevarication deserve. What opinion can one rationally suppose'd to conceive of those who set up for Teachers and Leaders of the People into the Ways of future Happiness, who themselves set before their Eyes Examples of Vices, the practice of which our holy Religion assures us have for their reward Eternal Damnation ; we know as well as they, and I hope shall justify our Knowledge by our Practice, that the Religion of Jesus Christ and his Disciples is a Religion of Peace, Unity, Concord and constant Charity ; but whose Disciples then are they to be esteem'd who eternally preach up Divisions, Dissentions, Envy, Hatred, Malice, and all Uncharitableness, to the Disturbance of the publick Tranquillity of the State, and of the Peace and Union of the National Church. This were indeed a heavy Charge, and an impious one in any Man who should invent it only to calumniate or expose 'em ; but they have taken sufficient care, to prevent a Man's making so foul a Reproach to his Conscience on that Article ; for they have so evidently demonstrated to the World the little regard they have to the Welfare and Happiness either of the State or Church, that by their own perpetual practice they stand self-condemn'd, in the opinion of all such as have sense enough to enquire into the true nature of Things and Actions, and judgment enough not to be deceiv'd by their fraudulent, however specious Impositions. If we are commanded by a Divine Authority, it is not lawful for us to question, to love one another, to live in charity with all Men, to love our Neighbour as our selves, and by a refinement on humane Nature by a celestial Grace, to love even our Enemies ; what do these Men mean, who every hour of their Lives convince the World they love no body but themselves, that they practice none of the Duties of common Humanity, much less of a heavenly Charity but to themselves, and even that, not so much out of a sense of Religion as views of Interest ; and who esteem all the rest of Mankind who do not believe and act as they do, as mortal Enemies, and treat and persecute 'em as such ? From so very unchristian a practice, so directly opposite to all the Precepts and Commands of their Religion, can these Men be reasonably said to be the more immediate Ministers and Teachers of it, by a peculiar Authority from the holy Apostles, which they pretend to assume to distinguish 'em from the rest of their fellow Christians ? Or have we not reason more justly to conclude, that if they make a profession of any thing, 'tis of an infernal quality, very opposite to the Purity and Divinity of it, Unforgiveness ; and whether pardoning and forgiving Injuries be considered as an indispensable Duty of a Divine Religion, or as one of the brightest and noblest Excellencies and Perfections of human Nature, I appeal to the observation of all disinterested and impartial Men, whether that Reverend Community distinguish'd under the Character of the high Church Clergy, are not of all Mankind observ'd to know and practice 'em the least ? For if a Man, a Society, or Body of Men, nay, if a very considerable Body of a Nation, tho' professing all the essential and fundamental Articles of the same common Faith



in Jesus Christ, do not submit and conform to 'em, in every circumstance of the Discipline and Worship of their Church, they are Hereticks, they are Schismaticks, they are every thing that is odious and reproachful that Hell or Malice can put into their antichristian Mouths to render 'em contemptible ; tho' it seems something hard, and not a little unreasonable, that such Men should pretend to set themselves up for the Judges and Controllers of the Consciences of others, who evince to the World how very little, or what strange sort of ones they have of their own.

What Authority have these Men to make the Worship of any particular, suppose the establish'd Church of these Nations to be the sole and indispensable rule by which the Consciences of all their fellow Subjects, and fellow Christians, must of necessity be constrain'd to serve God after their manner only ? Jesus Christ, or his Apostles left no certain Model for the imitation of all succeeding Believers ; and if Discipline of any sort were afterwards establish'd by their Successors, it was no more than a human Institution, and might be refus'd without fear of being damn'd for noncompliance, till the Craft of Priests made it be esteem'd so, to terrify and hold in subjection a misguided Laity ; the Establish'd National Church, tho' she wishes and desires Conformity, yet enjoins not, much less commands no such thing ; because she is modest and sensible she is not invested with a Power to do so ; nor since the first happy Reformation have there been any Laws made to compel Men's Consciences, but what have been procur'd by the Arts of an insidious high Church Priesthood when they were in credit to obtain 'em. How do these Men prove to us from the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, which is the only one under Heaven that can decide in the case, that a just and merciful God shall not be as well pleas'd with the Sacrifice of contrite Hearts, of the Prayers, the Praise and Thanksgiving of Christian Dissenters (whose behaviour in respect of civil Government, and practice in regard of things purely religious is generally a reproach to theirs) as of their elevated high Church Clergy, or of those other unhappy People they have by their specious insinuations cajol'd into their Interests and Designs ? If we have not been misinform'd, 'tis the Heart alone, and upright Intentions of it that are ever the most acceptable Sacrifice to God, and not Affectation, Appearances, and certain Formalities, which are in themselves, the former irreligious, and the latter indifferent ; this is to make Religion consist in pure grimace, or what is worse, impudently to prostitute it to the sacrilegious views of private Interest ; the former, when sincere and truly Religious, shall questionless be receiv'd by an equitable and merciful God as agreeable Offerings, tho' without the precise and manner of the establish'd Church ; whilst the latter with all the Poms and Formalities of the High (of which I am only understood to speak) may be rejected as the Impieties of an infamous Hypocrisy. Is it then by unmannerly Railings, by Calumnies, by Investives, by Fire, and a Spirit of Persecution, (things unknown to sacred primitive Christianity) that they wou'd invite Men back into the Communion of their Church, from which their Severity, and a

Discipline (which they might think in some things might still savour of the Superstitions from which they had reform'd) had first banish'd 'em? Do they not know that Men's Consciences cannot, and are not to be compell'd, since it is as impossible for Men to believe as others do without conviction, as to be well or ill at other Men's Pleasures, or indeed their own? They would do well out of prudence in their own regard, if they had any true value for themselves, their Religion, or their Country, to forbear prescribing dogmatically, or offering officiously their Advice before it is ask'd, and never can be necessary, at least till they had got into their hands that Supremacy and Independency which we know they aim at, and which they never shall or can be masters of, but upon the Ruin and Desolation both of the State and Church. We shall then be quickly, when it may be too late, made sensible of our Error and Folly in suffering 'em to arrive at a Power which we shall be no longer able to resist. What Mercy then to be expected from Men invested with such an exorbitant degree of it, as shall place 'em above the reach and Influence of the Laws? The Church of *Rome* which has so long, and by such sacrilegious means usurp'd such an independent Power, damns all the rest of Mankind, tho' more true Believers than themselves, and cuts 'em off from the mystical Body of Christ, the universal Church, as Hereticks; and the high Church of *England* which nicely copies after so perfect and primitive an Original, damns all their fellow subjects who cannot conform to the Discipline and Worship of their Communion, tho' much honest Men, and much better Christians than themselves, as Schismatics, and obstinate disturbers of the Peace of the Church. This is the common roar from their Pulpits in that Kingdom, for we are all this while in *Ireland*, which we think were intended for more Pious and Christian Purposes, and it is with great sorrow that we can affirm, that we can point out the Men, and the Places, where in express words they have declar'd to their Congregations, that all the Children of such as have not receiv'd their Baptism from the hands of a Priest of the Episcopal Ordination, are under a State of Reprobation. Is this the Peaceable, the Meek, the Humble, the Charitable Spirit of the Gospel of Jesus Christ? Or does it not rather manifestly appear, that they are doing the Drudgery of a Being that sets himself up in opposition to all that can be call'd God? What is this to the business of true Religion, to the Ministration of which they insolently presume to be consecrated, and by that Character distinguish'd from the rest of Mankind? Their heavenly Master has told 'em, that his Kingdom is not of this World, and condemn'd the Presumption of his own Apostles, as yet ignorant of the End and Intention of his doctrine, as aspir'd to be the greatest. From what School is it then that these pretended modern Disciples, even the least among 'em has learn'd the desire to become the greatest; and all of 'em to arrogate Power of commanding and domineering over Kings, Princes, and commonwealths, not to mention their Fellow-Subjects? Or from what Authority do they pretend to decide magisterially over other Men's Consciences, but from that of *Rome*? For we know no other

Power under Heaven that arrogates it, but their Sovereign Pontif, as the Supreme visible Head of their belov'd Catholick Church.

'Tis something above Wonder, to observe with what unchristian Haughtiness and Severity they treat the distress'd *French* Refugees, who have taken shelter in that Kingdom from the violent and barbarous Persecutions of their inhuman Tyrant. It might reasonably have been expected, that poor Strangers banish'd from their own Country, Friends, Relations and Estates, by the fury of a merciless Religion, purely upon the score of Conscience, might have mov'd so much Compassion, and Sentiments of Tenderness due to the distress'd, as to have permitted 'em to find that Repose and Tranquillity there, which they were so cruelly deny'd and depriv'd of at home, at least amongst Men professing the same common Faith, who had had the least Tincture of Humanity or Religion, which was design'd to refine upon it : Yet neither the Miseries of Banishment, the Cause of Conscience and Religion, the loss of Estates, and whatsoever else is us'd to be esteem'd dear and most valuable amongst Men, have been able to shelter those poor Unfortunate, from the Hatred and Malice of these admirable Professors of their new Religion, who know no Pity. Neither the Favour and Indulgence of our Princes, nor the Authority of Laws, which in two Acts of Parliament, one in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, and the latter in that of our glorious King *William*, (both which have establish'd 'em amongst us upon the foot of the ancient discipline and manner of Worship of their first Reformation) can cover 'em from the ungenerous Insults of a high Church Clergy void of Honour. *Calvinists*, *Republicans*, Enemies of the establish'd Church, Disturbers of the publick Peace, and an additional Strength and Reinforcement to the *Presbyterians* of that Nation, are the softest and gentlest Epithets and Characters those fiery Zealots can bestow upon 'em, and are heartily sorry they can do no more ; yet do these poor, distressed, unhappy People live amongst themselves with that truly Christian Spirit of Brotherly Love, and of a distinguishing Charity with all other Fellow-Christians ; with that Firmness and Loyalty to the Government that protects 'em, and with that respect and deference to the establish'd Church which they honour ; as will eternally reproach the Neglect and Remissness of the others, in the Practice and Exercise of all these excellent, religious, and politick Vertues. I can with the greater confidence, and do with the greater pleasure and Satisfaction advance these Truths in their behalf, both because I esteem it a Duty, inseparable from the Character of the Christian and the Gentleman, to do Justice and Favour to the Unfortunate ; and because I have been sufficiently conversant, and a strict Observer of the Inhumanity of the one sort of Men, and the great Moderation and Christian Temper of the other under Sufferings, that are the greatest Proof and Tryals of human or religious Virtues. I have been wonderfully charm'd and edify'd to see Men, many of 'em of ancient Nobility, noble Fortunes, with all the Advantages of a generous Education (which too often give a loose to the Follies incident to human Nature) live un-



er the Affliction of the loss and deprivation of 'em all, with so much indifference and perfect resignation to the Will and Decrees of Providence, as was rather to be look'd for in the Simplicity of the first and purer Ages of Christianity, than to be met with in these latter, and more corrupt Situation of Religion; constant Frequenters of their Churches, and of a most pious and exemplary behaviour when they are there. Great Respecters of their Ministers, who for their Piety, Learning, good Manners, fair Example, and their indefatigable Application to a conscientious discharge of the Duties of their Ministerial Function, deserve all the Commendations that can be justly due to so excellent a character. 'Tis something more than hard, that these prudent and religious People for continuing in the Exercise of their Religion, after the manner of their Fore-fathers, and that under the protection of our Laws, should be liable to the insults and Violences of those Men, whose Honour it would be to imitate 'em in their Moral and Christian Virtues. There is something ought to be allow'd to custom and the power of Education, even in respect to Error and Prejudice, where they unhappily are; but where they are not, or only in the Caprices and Visions of their Enemies, there is something of the Barbarian, or what is worse, the Papist, to condemn Men for adhering firmly to the Principles and manner of Worship of a Religion in which they have been born and educated, tho' different from theirs. Yet this I can with Truth further affirm, that they are so far from thinking our Service sinful, or unjustifiable in any respect, that generally speaking of 'em, they without the least scruple frequent our Churches, and show all the marks of a veritable Devotion in their behaviour there. I am pleas'd to be the more particular in this Instance of their Sentiments and Respect for the manner of Worship of the established Church, of which they ever speak with extraordinary Deference and Esteem, because I think it will give an opportunity for Men to observe and distinguish, which, of the two sorts I have been speaking of, are the most sincere and most conscientious Practisers of a certain divine Precept that commands us to love one another, to love our Neighbours as our selves, to love even our Enemies, and to do good to such as hate, as despitefully use and persecute us; and leave the Application to the Consciences of such whom it may most nearly concern; nor is it less common amongst 'em mutually to frequent their respective Churches tho' divided, some according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, and others according to the first Reformation in *France*, without Revilings, without Investives, without Reproaches to one another, but in a true Spirit of evangelical Union and Harmony, so becoming all Men who make a profession of the same common Faith in Jesus Christ: And it must be further observ'd, for the honour of their high Church Adversaries, that notwithstanding the different Constitution of the *Huguenot* Churches of *France*, or the Doctrines of *Calvin* maintain'd in 'em, is what raises the Spleen and Animosities of these Pharisaical Bigots against 'em, is a certain political reason of Interest which they are sure they will never forgive 'em; and that is, that the whole Body of *French* Refugees

fugees in that Kingdom (a very inconsiderable few excepted, and those some of 'em of the Clergy) are unanimously and immovably fix'd in the Principles of the late happy Revolution. They lament the deplorable condition of their native Country, which from a noble free People, they have been reduc'd into the miserable condition of Slavery, by the very same Doctrines, Principles and Measures that are employ'd to ruin and subvert our own. They have been made too sensible of the Miseries of Bondage and Tyranny in their own Country, to fall in with the same Methods, and much the same sort of Men, who they daily see taking so much pains to introduce 'em both into these. They admire, and have too noble a sense of the old *English* happy Liberty and Property, to contribute with their and the Nation's Enemies, to deprive us of those invaluable Blessings as has been done in *France*. They well know, that both they and we owe the Happiness we enjoy above all other Nations, to that glorious Revolution, that re-establish'd our tottering Government upon the foot and solid Basis of its original Constitution; and they have Gratitude enough to thank God and our great Deliverer for so inestimable a Treasure, and courage enough to joyn with all honest *Englishmen* to support and defend it. They see their Interest, their Repose, and their Religion inseparable from those of all the honest and greatest part of the Nation who love their Country, and they are cheerfully and generously resolv'd to stand by them for their Preservation; this is the true and principal, the other but the affected and apparent Cause of all the High Church Malice and Animosity against them; and I may venture with their Permission to affirm, 'tis that in which they place their principal Glory, which as it will with all disinterested Persons be both an Argument and eternal Monument of their Judgment, Virtue, and Courage, will on the other hand convince the World how far the Interest and Ambition of mercenary Priests, who are basely betraying their Religion and Civil Liberties, can carry it above all Considerations of Honour, Conscience, and the general Utility and Happiness of their native Country.

Neither will this cruel and unchristian Behaviour to our own Domestick or the Foreign Dissenters, seem strange to a considering Person, who shall reflect with what Inhumanity they treat the Gentlemen of their own Character and Communion, who have the good Sense and Probity to dissent from 'em in the Extravagancies of their Opinions; nor is there any thing that more visibly makes known the Nature and Genius of a mistaken and intemperate Zeal than Severity, Passion and ill Manners, that are inseparable from it. A true and conscientious Zeal for the Glory of God, the Peace and Unity of a National Church, the Propagation of true Religion, and the interest and Happiness of one's Country; as they are in all Men in the highest Degree commendable, ever work by the gentle Spirit of Perswasion, Affability, Courtesy and good Nature; 'tis a universal Desire of promoting the general good of Mankind; but a false, affected and hypocritical Zeal, as it has ever for its End a private Interest distinct from that of the Publick, is made up of

Self-Love and Ambition ; and always discovers it self, and operates by the suitable means of Pride, Asperity, Passion, Prejudice, Violence and Persecution, with a certain Air of Imperiousness, that is impatient of Opposition. The one is a generous Heat that gently warms and animates Men to cultivate and preserve the Peace and Tranquillity both of the Church and State, by Reason, and the peaceable Virtues of Moderation and Christian Charity : The other a devouring Fire, which with an irresistible Violence and Impetuosity is kindled and blown up into a Flame with an Intention only to destroy. 'Tis not difficult to conceive, Men actuated by such a turbulent and ungovernable Spirit to be capable of the wildest and most pernicious Extravagancies, and of introducing all the Confusions and Disorders, that not only shake, but subvert that Peace and Union and natural Justice, which are the very Foundations of the Publick Happiness. It is from this furious and unquiet Spirit of an intemperate Zeal, that proceed Railings, Calumny, Investives, Scandal, Reproaches, and whatever else can contribute to create and foment Heats, Animosities, Discord and unnatural Divisions amongst Men of the same Religion and Civil Polity ; and I am sorry to say, that it is every Body's Observation, that these terrible Effects of it are of no one sort of Condition of Men so visibly the Practice, as of Clergymen, I ever mean of those of the High-Church Distinction, and tho' I could wish with all my Heart I had not the Reason to advance so melancholy a Truth, yet a thing so obviously the Knowledge of all observing Men, and the Love I have for my Country, which they have long, are still labouring to betray, makes me insensible of the Reproaches or Resentments of Men whom I neither love nor fear. It is very difficult to imagine that a Body of Men assembled in Convocation, which is suppos'd to be compos'd of Persons of Piety, Learning, Prudence, and good Manners, should shamefully abandon themselves to all the Violences of Prejudice and their Passions, in a Manner that would be a reproach to any other Sort and Condition of Men, who are not suppos'd in the same degree to have had all the happy Advantages of Education, Learning or Profession ; yet there is so much more of the Wolf than the true Shepherd amongst 'em, that it were next to incredible, if it were not past contradiction evident, with what Bitterness, with what haughty ill bred Insolence, with what unbecoming Rudeness of Language and Manners, they not only insult, but as it were tear to pieces and murder the Reputation of those honest and more moderate Gentlemen amongst 'em, who will not run headlong with 'em into all the Excesses of their Enthusiasms ; and which is the utmost stretch of infernal Malice, where there are no Faults, will not scruple to invent 'em ; so pregnant and fertile is the Devil of scandal in the Mouth of of a Mercenary Priest, when the business is to blast the Reputation of Men, in every respect, of all the Virtues of their Character infinitely more commendable than themselves ; for some few there are, and 'tis pity their Numbers are not greater, who to their great Honour have the good Sense to understand the true Interest of their Religion and Country, Virtue to defend and maintain 'em, and a

Courage



Courage and Temper truly Christian to support the Insults and Effrontery of the Zealots.

It were a Task as endless as invidious, to enumerate all the particularities that may be instanced in a Practice so very unsuitable to the Profession; and I shall content my self only with the mention of one, which will sufficiently discover the Temper of a Zeal, when it is rather an Effect of Passion, than of Conscience or pure Religion; which where it prevails, amongst other commendable Qualities, is always attended with a Blindness of near akin to Infatuation. A certain Reverend Member of their Convocation, who as Chancellor of *St. Patricks* is Minister of *St. Warburgh's Church* in *Dublin*, instead of a Lesson, (if I do not forget) it was the Chapter wherein is the story of *Tobit* and his Dog, was pleased to appoint another to be read, which he esteemed of more Use and Edification to his People, One cannot easily imagine what a Cry, upon so very frivolous an Occasion, was rais'd amongst them against this excellent Person, by the godly; the Church was in Danger, the Order of their Holy Liturgy was inverted, Discipline despis'd; and one would really have believ'd that *Mahometism*, was pouring in upon us with a Deluge to overflow and drown both the Church and Nation; they stopp'd not here, for this Sin of such dreadful Complexion and Consequence was carried to the Upper House, as an unpardonable Violation of the sacred Rules and Orders of the Liturgy, dress'd up in all the ridiculous Formalities of Complaint; but was rejected with the Contempt it deserv'd by the Lords the Bishops, as frivolous and malicious on the one part, and excusable and justifiable on the other. Is not here now a most admirable Instance of these Men's Regards and Sense of Religion? One would have imagin'd that if such a Body had been in a Humour of finding Fault, they should at least have pitch'd upon a Subject that might have furnished out a reasonable Matter for a just Complaint; yet so far were they blinded by their Passion, and suffer'd that to carry it over the little Stock of Reason or Prudence they were Masters of, that they unluckily cast their Eyes upon a Person, who, if there be such a thing in Nature, was the only Man amongst 'em without a Fault; and, as I cannot be suppos'd to flatter where I have no manner of Interest in doing it, I shall do my self the Honour, and him the Justice to give a feeble Sketch of his Character; and if I have any Excuse to make, 'tis to him for Want of Ability to come up to the Merit of it. The venerable Person I am speaking of is *Dr. Edward Synge*, a Gentleman by his Birth, and much more so by his Manners; who, to the Happiness of an excellent natural Genius, has added all the Advantages of a generous Education, and Improvements of indefatigable Study: 'Tis difficult to discern, to which he is most indebted for the Accomplishments of the Gentleman and the Scholar; I don't mean by the former a Machine of Grimace, or by the latter, the Pedant; but a Man equally eminent for the Probity of his Manners, and his singular Knowledge in all useful Learning; of great Temper and Moderation, and a constant and excellent Preacher, vigilant, watchful, and tender as a Father in his Care over his

Flock

Flock ; who places his Satisfaction and Repose of his Mind in the Discharge of his Duty, because he knows it is his Duty, without catching at the airy Phantom of Applause or Popularity ; one, who truly wears his Religion in his Heart, and ever busy in the Exercise of his Ministerial Function, though he never fails to shew it in all the decent Instances of his external Behaviour ; chearful without Reproach, of inoffensive Freedom consistent with a nice and scrupulous Virtue, that speaks a Soul exempt from the Embarrassments and Disquietudes of Hypocrisy and Affectation ; and, to compleat the Character, of Primitive, and I will be bold to say, without offending him or the Truth, of Apostolical Example, in the whole Train of his Life and Conversation. It would be for the Honour of any Church, the Glory of God, and Happiness of any Nation, if all the Pretenders of Profession to Religion would, I not say come up to the Perfection, but endeavour to imitate a Man of such uncommon Virtue and unaffected Piety. Behold the Man, the Object of the Rage and Malice of these Bigots ! and I challenge the worst and most ill natur'd of his Enemies to contradict or deny any one Article of the Character I have done the World the Justice to give him. But to unriddle this Mystery of Iniquity, and expose the true Causes of their Animosity, I need only acquaint the Reader, that to the many excellent Qualities I have mention'd of this venerable Clergyman, he has had the great Indiscretion (for there is nothing perfect on this side the Grave) to superadd such as will ever recommend him as a loyal Subject and honest *Englishman* in the Opinion of all who are truly such, tho' they may differ something from the Mode and Language of the present Times that is, that he has in their Convocation, and on all other publick Occasions shewn himself a true Lover of the Liberty and Property of his Country ; that he is what most of 'em are exrtreamly scandaliz'd at, an Enemy to their Pretender, and a strenuous Asserter of sound Revolution Principles ; that he perfectly honours the Virtues and Memory of that great and glorious Instrument in the Hands of God, King *William*, who accomplish'd it ; that as he is convinc'd of the Reasons and Equity of the Revolution it self, and sensible of the happy Effects and Blessings of it to these Nations, he has Gratitude enough to be thankful for 'em to God and the Prince, and to endeavour to perpetuate the Memory of it to Posterity ; that with all honest *Englishmen* he adheres inviolably to the Succession as settled by the Legislature in the most illustrious Protestant House of *Hanover* : all which he has ever approv'd and maintain'd to be just, reasonable and equitable, by a Strength of Reasoning which none of them is able to answer ; particularly in an excellent Sermon, preach'd before the honourable House of Commons in that Kingdom, for which he deservedly receiv'd the Thanks of that House, and their Orders to publish it ; which with most of these hypocritical, angry Zealots are all Sins of that crying and damnable Nature, as will never be forgiven or capable of Absolution even from the sacred Mouth of a Priest of Episcopal Ordination ; and we are all certain, that it must be something very extraordinary that is out

of the Reach of such an infallible, independent, sanctify'd Power to effect.

These are the blessed Evangelical Dispositions in which we find the Majority of them, and the Generality of the rest of the inferior Clergy, (I am forc'd, for Distinction sake, to make use of a Term they cannot well endure), of that Kingdom; and it would be some Degree of Happiness for it, if this fatal Poison were only confin'd to them: But it has been unluckily diffus'd into the House of Lords, where those of the Spiritual Order make the Majority to carry every thing they please in that House, according to their own Principles and Designs; which is sufficiently evident from the famous Contest between them and the Honourable House of Commons, the last Session of the last Parliament, upon the Subject of the Revolution; which I hope may, without Offence, be communicated to the World in their own express Terms, whereby my Countrymen may be satisfy'd of the different Spirit and Principles upon which both Houses have acted upon that important Occasion; and the more easily judge which of 'em have, and are likely to approve themselves the best and most faithful Subjects to the Establish'd Government, and Supporters of the Establish'd Religion. The Case is as follows:

**T**HE House being inform'd, That the Lords, in an Address to her Majesty this Session of Parliament, have reflected on the Honour of this House; and a Paper, alledg'd to be a Copy of the said Address, being read,

Order'd, That Sir Ralph Gore and Mr. Attorney-Generat, do immediately and inspect the Journals of the House of Lords, and compare the said Paper therewith. Sir Ralph Gore reported from the Committee, that they had compar'd the said Paper with the original Address shew'd 'em by the Clerk attending in the Office of the Lords House; and that the same was a true Copy of the Lords Address to her Majesty agreed on the 17th Day of July last; which he deliver'd at the Table where the same was again read: And a Motion being made, and the Question being propos'd, that this House having on the first Day of June, 1709, come to the following Resolutions, viz.

Resolved, That this House taking into Consideration the Proceedings of the University of Trinity-College near Dublin, in censuring Edward Forbus, by Degradation and Expulsion, for speaking dishonourably of, and aspersing the Glorious Memory of his late Majesty King William the Third; and also the steady Adherence of the Provost and Fellows of the said College, to the late happy Revolution, her present Majesties Government, and the Succession in the Protestant Line, as by Law Establish'd; for the Encouragement of good Literature and sound Revolution Principles, do address his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant that he will lay before her Majesty the humble Desire of this House, that 5000 l. be bestow'd by her Majesty on the Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity-College near Dublin, for erecting a publick Library in the said College; which Resolution being laid before the Queen's Excellent Majesty, and her Majesty having been graciously pleas'd to order that 5000 l. to be paid to the Provost and Fellows of the said College



lege, in compliance with the aforesaid Application, as appears by his Grace the Lord-Lieutenant's Speech to both Houses of Parliament: And the Lords having in their Address to her Majesty, agreed on the said 17th of July, inserted the following Words, viz. Your Majesty has also extended your Royal Favour to the College of Dublin, and at such a Juncture, as must testify to the World, that what your Majesty bestow'd, was not given to promote those Principles, upon which it was first apply'd for.

The previous Question was put, that that Question be put; it was carry'd in the Affirmative.

Resolved, That the Lords in the said Address, have highly infring'd the Rights, Privileges and Liberties of the Commons, misrepresented her Majesties gracious Condescension to their humble Application, and have unjustly insinuated (to the Dishonour of this House) that the Principles for Encouragement of which the aforesaid Application was made, were such as her Majesty disapprov'd.

Resolved, Nemine contradicente, That to insinuate that the House of Commons, in their afore-recited Resolution, intended any other than the late happy Revolution brought about by King William the Third, of Glorious Memory, is false, scandalous and malicious, highly and most unjustly reflecting on the Loyalty, Integrity and Honour of this House, and a great Breach of the Privileges thereof.

Resolved, Nemine contradicente, That it is to the late Happy Revolution, next under God, and to the Wisdom, Justice and Piety of her Majesty, and the glorious Successes of her Majesties Reign, we owe the Enjoyment of our Lives, Religion, Liberties and Properties.

Resolved, Nemine contradicente, That this House will, at the utmost Hazard and Expence of their Lives and Fortunes, defend, support and maintain her Majesties most sacred Person and Government, the Church of Ireland as by Law Establish'd, and the Succession of the Crown in the illustrious House of Hanover, against the Pretender, and all other her Majesties Enemies Abroad, and against all Jacobites and other factious and disaffected Persons at Home.

These noble and vigorous Resolutions alarm'd the House of Lords, and gave birth the 9th of November following, to a Representation and Address to her Majesty. The former, as being a Charge against the Presbyterians in that Kingdom, and from which in their Answer they have handsomly clear'd themselves, as foreign to my Purpose, I omit, and refer the Curious to their Defence, which has been publick: The Address to her Majesty, in answer to the Resolutions of the Commons, is as follows.

To the QUEEN's Most Excellent Majesty.

*The humble Address of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal  
in Parliament Assembled.*

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

**W**E Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, do with a just Retribution of Thanks for all Your Majesty's Favours with the highest Veneration of Your Sacred Person and Government, and with the utmost concern for the Welfare and Prosperity of this Your Realm, beg leave to approach Your Majesty.

The grateful remembrance of the many Obligations you have laid upon us, the sincere Veneration for Your Majesty's Royal Person and Prerogative, and the tender regard we have for the Peace and Tranquillity of this Kingdom, could alone prevail with us thus long to forget the high Indignities offered to this House by the Commons, and to submit our private Injuries to Your Majesty's more publick Concerns, least by our just Resentment of their Behaviour, when so industriously provok'd, Your Majesty's Affairs might be obstructed, and by that means, the pernicious Designs of evil minded Men render'd effectual.

How far the Commons have made good their Professions to Your Majesty of Unanimity, how far they have pursu'd that Temper recommended to 'em by Your Majesty, we shall not determine; yet surely had those Professions been sincere, they would not (without any Conference demanded, or any Opportunity given us to explain our selves, if we had been mistaken) have us'd us in a manner unknown to former Parliaments, and in Language more indecent, more opprobrious than was given by another House of Commons, at a time when they Voted a House of Lords useless.

However your Majesty might justly approve the Conduct of the College of Dublin in the late Revolution, we did and do still humbly conceive, that Your Majesty did not extend your Bounty to 'em to promote in general Revolution Principles, Principles which as explain'd by the Pamphlets and Libels publickly avow'd and celebrated by Men of Factious and Seditious Tempers, and particularly by a Sermon Preach'd on the 30th of January, Dedicated to this very House of Commons, without Censure or Animadversion, do in a great measure maintain and justify the execrable Murder of King Charles the First, your Royal Grandfather of Blessed Memory, and on which may be founded any Rebellion against your Majesty and your Successors.

Nor have the Commons, in our Apprehension, vindicated themselves of their Vote, by saying that sound Revolution Principles mention'd in their Address, neither had nor can have in the true Construction of the Words a yother meaning, than what related to the late happy Revolution; for however they may take upon themselves best to know their own meaning, yet we think it hard to deny us the Right of Judging, as well as they of

th: true Construction of the Words; and we do take leave to say, that the Commons having in that Vote mention'd the steady Adherence of the Provost and Fellows of the College to the late Revolution, as one consideration for the Five Thousand Pounds since granted by Your Majesty, the subsequent motive mention'd in the Vote, viz. for the Encouragement of sound Revolution Principles, cannot in good Reason or Grammar, be refer'd to the late Revolution, since Adherence to the late Revolution, was a distinct motive of it self, and it is the known Nature of Principles to be as well the Rule and Guide of future as of past Actions.

It never enter'd into our Hearts to misrepresent the Commons to your Majesty; for their own Actions they must be judged by God and by your Majesty; but for our selves, we do solemnly assure Your Majesty, that we are heartily thankful to Almighty God, for the late happy Revolution and Acknowledge the Necessity and Justice of it, that we will at the utmost hazard and expence of our Lives and Fortunes, defend, support and maintain, Your Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, Your Just Prerogative in the Choice of Your Ministers, the Church of Ireland as by Law Establish'd, and the Succession of the Crown in the Illustrious House of Hanover, against the Pretender and all who design Revolutions either in Church or State, against all your Enemies abroad, and against all Papists, Jacobites and Republicans at Home.

Whatever plausibility of Expressions or Professions there may appear thro' this whole Address, there is no Man of tolerable Sense who Examines and seriously considers it, but must with half an Eye discern the Spirit of an inveterate animosity against the Whigs, or in the language of the Resolution and Address, the Men of sound Revolution Principles in every Paragraph of it, which it is impossible for 'em to disguise or conceal. Whether the remembrance of Obligations, Veneration for Royalty and Prerogative, and Regard for the publick Peace and Tranquillity were the Motives that prevail'd with the Lords Spiritual (for it is of them that I would be principally understood to speak, as being the Majority that leads or overpowers the others as they please) to postpone their private Injuries to the publick Concerns, I do not pretend to determine; yet the Reason why they subjoin to make the World believe it was of this wondrous Deference and Submission (viz. Lest Her Majesty's Affairs should be obstructed, and by that means the pernicious Designs of Evil minded Men render'd effectual) is in the Opinion of all Wise and thinking Men, but a very Weak and Malicious one; because it carries a very rude and violent Reflection upon a great Majority of that Honourable House who are of Revolution Principles, and have never been known to have offer'd, and indeed are utterly incapable from their Principles of forming any evil or pernicious Designs against their Country, which they have always contributed so nobly and generously to defend. When their Lordships complain of the high Indignities offer'd to 'em by that House, they would have done well to have reflected upon the Occasion they had given 'em for their Resentments from their own; when in their Address of the 17th July, they asserted that her Majesty



had extended her Royal Favour, to the College of *Dublin*; at such a Juncture as must testify to the World, that what she bestow'd was not given to promote the Principles upon which it was first apply'd for; when they could not be ignorant that the Commons in their Resolution of the first of *June* 1709, had maintain'd that it was granted upon their Application solely for their commendable Behaviour in the late Case of *Torbus*, and their steady Adherence to the late Happy Revolution. In Parliamentary Affairs upon Occasion of Mistake or Matter of Offence, to prevent Misunderstandings between the two great Branches of the Legislature, 'tis as usual for the Lords to desire Conferences with the Commons, as for the Commons with the Lords, and generally is sought for by the House in which the Mistake or Offence first took Birth, which in the case before us evidently did in the House of Lords as the Aggressors; and therefore it seems to be with so little Reason as Equity that the Lords complain of Indignities offered 'em by that House, without any Conferences demanded or any Opportunity given 'em to explain themselves, if they had been mistaken; when the Commons found themselves first so injuriously attack'd and insulted in the aforementioned Address of the Lords of the 17th of *July*, which in Effect and in the Language of the Vulgar, was flatly giving 'em the Lye; and we never heard any but High Church Men blame their Resentments in the vigorous Resolutions they came to in their Defence and Justification. There is no Condition of Men exempt from the Obligations of Justice and Good Manners, but such as consult the Motives and Interests of Ambition and a Supercilious Haughtiness before their Reason; and if the Temporal Lords by their Birthright and Nobility (without inquiring how many of 'em came by it) or the Spiritual Lords who we know how they came by theirs, are of a Distinction above the Commons; the Commons are not debar'd their Pretensions to as much good Sense and true Honour, Titles excepted, as the best and Learnedest of 'em; and it ought besides to be considered, that they represent the whole Body of the Nation, which is thought by Wise Men to be of something more Weight, than Feathers in some Mens Caps without Virtue, or Lawn upon other Mens Sleeves, without Merit; yet the former instead of being sensible of their Injustice seem both to defend and aggravate it, and plainly tell the World the Reason, why they so long forbore to express their Resentments for such high Indignities, was lest the Publick Business should be obstructed, and by that means the pernicious Designs of Evil Minded Men render'd effectual; this seems to be a new way unknown to former Parliaments of redressing the Injustice of one Indignity by the Addition of another; a notable Specimen of the modern High Church Policy and Morality in the Infancy of its Power; when it is Establish'd and grown Stronger, we may reasonably believe as a badge of our Slavery, that a House of Commons shall be oblig'd to ask Pardon for the Affronts and Injuries the House of Lords at their Pleasure may think fit to insult 'em with; yet their Lordships may be pleas'd to reflect, that as they have not ingrossed all the Sense of the Nation, that there were many Wise Men at that time of Opinion, that there was another politick Reason of much more force than that already alledg'd, which prevail'd with

'em to defer the expressing their Resentments from the 17th of *July* to the 9th of *November* following, which I think was the last or last day but one of that Session; for if their Lordships had expressed 'em sooner, or the Commons been permitted to have sat but a very little longer, they would have given their Lordships, and that they very well knew, a further Taste of the Resentments of a Body of Men equally jealous of the Honour of their House, and of that of their Country.

In their next Paragraph they are pleas'd with a wonderful shew of Moderation to inquire, how far the Commons have made good their professions to her Majesty of their Unanimity, and how far they have pursu'd that Temper recommended to 'em by her Majesty, which in their great Wisdoms they will not undertake to determine; yet surely without all this Affectation of I know not what Supercilious Modesty, they very well knew what and who were the Occasions of all the Disagreements amongst 'em, for if that harmonious Unanimity, so eminently the result of their Principles, had not been Interrupted and Disturb'd by an Infernal Spirit of Men of contrary Opinions, eternally productive of discord; if that honest and peaceable Temper recommended by her Majesty had not been discomposed and ruffled by the insidious Arts of their High-Church Tools and Emissaries who had poison'd and debauch'd considerable Numbers of 'em, there never would have been an Hours Dispute, or an Hours Obstruction to any Business before 'em in Relation to her Majesty's Honour or Satisfaction, or the Service of the true Interest of the Publick; but when there happens to be unluckily in a House of Commons, or in a Nation a distinction of Parties, it is impossible but that Jarrings must insue, and when there are different ends and designs it is as impossible to avoid Heats and Disagreement of Counsels and Sentiments; the Question is who is in the right, and most perfectly pursue the true Interest of their Country, and I think it has been sufficiently made out in the preceding Discourse, which of the two Sorts of Men, tend most directly to that noble End; For it was to their either ignorant or Mercenary Incendiaries were solely owing all the Opposition and Disturbances the honest Whig party have always met with, in their House in the Discharge of the great and honourable Trust, repos'd in 'em by the Nation; there has ever been a Spirit of Unanimity, Temper, Moderation and Fidelity, in the whole Conduct and Behaviour of all the other Members of that Honourable House, who without any private Designs or other Interest than that of the Publick, were solely influenc'd and animated by the true and sound Principles of the Revolution, as they are ever understood by all honest sensible *Englishmen*; nor is it rational to imagine that Men, who from the Beginning, and ever since, have inviolably adher'd to the Defence of it, should ever be suppos'd to give themselves flatly the Lye, by acting barefac'dly in Opposition to their Sentiments, since there was not a Man amongst 'em, who was not sensible that he ow'd his Religion, his Life and his Estate to that alone. This is a Practice as it belongs wholly to, we freely leave to the Partisans of High-Church, who can play fast and loose with their Religion

and Virtue, and for their Interest be one thing to day, and another to morrow; who as they faintly engag'd in at first, have since as treacherously deserted and reproach it with infamous Characters of Sedition and Rebellion into the bargain; and have demonstrated that they never look'd upon it otherwise than a State Engine, by which they hop'd to have rais'd and establish'd their private Fortunes; and if those generous Commons have taken so just an Occasion to show their Resentments both for the Disturbance of their Concord and Unanimity by 'em in their House, and the Injustice of the Lords Address pursuant to 'em; they have been provok'd to it by the Treachery of their Countrymen, who are manifestly more in the Interest of the Pretender, than the Establish'd Succession; and rather vile Sicophant Flatterers of a prevailing Faction than Patriots and true Lovers of their Country. It is a violent and invidious Reflection on those Lords of mighty Moderation and Temper, are pleas'd to make upon that Loyal House by their Comparison of an infamous Rabble, that formerly in a disastrous occasion, which can bear no proportion or manner of Relation to the Case before us, Voted a House of Lords Useless; there is not a Man of the honest Party in the House, that has not all the Respect and Veneration that is due to so noble a part of our Legislature as the House of Lords is, and who is not equally Sensible of the Excellence and Necessity of it in a well regulated Constitution like ours; and their Lordships in their great Candour and Concern for the Nation might have done well to have distinguished a little and reflected, that the Kingdoms at that time of that Vote, were in the Frenzies of a violent Fever, and by a certain unaccountable Fatality, the Power of it usurp'd by the wrests of a Miserable Canaille, that ever will be the disgrace and ever will be the reproach of it, whilst it has a Name; and who visibly design'd to have debauch'd our noble ancient Model of Government, into the vilest of all, a Popular or Democratical one; neither would it have been amiss when their Hands were in; if their Lordships had thrown into their Reflections, that all the Misfortunes and the miserable Issue of that Reign, were principally owing to the Advice and Principles of Men of the same Order and Distinction with themselves, they know very well (I believe) who I mean, their Saints *Laud* and *Strafford, cum multis aliis*. But as the Nation at the Time of this unhappy Contest were sound and in their very good Senses, (tho' we are not ignorant what Pains have been taken to debauch 'em from 'em since) and in the Revolution, and from that time have constantly acted solely upon the Principles of Reason and Equity; it was an outrageous Violation of the Honour and Loyalty of its Representatives to compare their Proceedings or Language to those of the most execrable of all Rebels; since they have given the most convincing Demonstrations, that there is not a Man amongst 'em who is not ready and willing to spend his Life and Fortune in the Defence and Maintenance of their Religion and Establish'd Government; tho' their Lordships are pleas'd in the latter End of their Address, to honour 'em with the Title of Republicans, and rank 'em with her Majesty's Papist and Jacobite Enemies at Home; for



it is evident from the occasion of the dispute between 'em which is concerning the Principles of the Revolution, which the Commons insist upon and defend, that a Reflection so harsh and unbecoming their Lordships great Wisdom, Learning and Evangelical Temper, cannot rationally be understood to point any where else but at them, as Men carrying on the same Republican Designs upon the same Republican Principles with the former ; for it naturally follows that since they ascribe the same Principles to that honourable House of Commons, the same Designs will insue, as Effects from their proper Causes ; it being according to their Lordships own Opinion, the known Nature of Principles to be as well the Rule and Guide of future as of past Actions ; which Rule if it be true, I am afraid their Lordships have unawares brought themselves into a very unlucky Circumstance, for if the Whigs are by their Principles of necessity Enemies to the Pretender, than which nothing can be more certain ; then it may pretty reasonably be said to follow, that High-Church whether Lords or Gentlemen, whose Principles are diametrically contrary, are by the same necessity of theirs for the Pretender, which is as certain, for their Lordships very well know, that *contrariorum eadem est Ratio* ; and therefore as the honest Whig Commons of that House for the same reason must be eternally Enemies to the Pretender ; their Lordships of that notable distinction must for the very same Reason, be eternally Friends to the Pretender ; for Men are not to be judg'd by the Expressions of their Mouths which may convey very false Ideas of 'em, but from their Actions and Principles, which are most certain Indications of the Intentions of their Hearts, for their Lordships have told us that it is the known Nature of Principles to be the Rule and Guide of future as of past Actions ; I leave the Reader to make what Application he pleases, and shall take leave to repeat to their Lordships ; that as our Princes themselves who deviate from the End of their Institution, which is eternally the good of the People, are accountable to the Laws and may be depos'd for their Male-Administration, as we have a very fresh Instance in which some of their Lordships had a Hand ; so 'tis possible a House of Lords which is something of an inferior Rank may be so far corrupted, as by what our Lawyers call, *Frustratione Finis*, to forfeit the Honours and Privileges of their Birthright ; and in such a case ( which God grant it may never happen ) it may neither be a Crime to think 'em useless or a Crime to Vote 'em so.

'Tis to as little Purpose, that their Lordships with much Solemnity assure her Majesty, that they are heartily thankful to Almighty God for the late happy Revolution, and acknowledge the Necessity and Justice of it, when in the same Breath they brand such as defend the Principles of that Revolution, with the odious Characters of Men of factious and seditious Tempers, as they plainly do in their third Paragraph. Now this merry spiritual Knack of thanking God for a Revolution, and disapproving the Principles upon which it was affected, is something so far out of the Comprehension of my weak Capacity, and every Body's else that I have convers'd with, that their Lordships would certainly have done themselves justice, and

and oblig'd all the World besides, if they had been pleas'd to have explain'd themselves a little upon so nice and metaphysical a Circumstance: For the Pamphlets, and Libels, as they are pleas'd to call 'em, so publickly avow'd and celebrated by 'em, are no more than so many Essays of honest and ingenious Gentlemen, who have asserted the original Power of a Free People, to exert themselves in the Defence and Preservation of their natural Rights and Liberties, against the Incroachments of Tyranny and Usurpation in Cases at the last Necessary, by the Means that God and Nature have left in their Hands; which we very well know the Adversary is ever pleas'd to interpret a sort of Blasphemy against their divine Commission and hereditary Right; and particularly that Sermon preach'd the 30th of January, and dedicated to this very House of Commons, without Censure or Animadversion. Now if there had appear'd any thing in that Sermon worthy of Censure or Animadversion, there is not the least Doubt to be made, but that honourable House would not have fail'd to have shown their Resentment of it, without the Advice and Admonition of their Lordships. There are great Numbers of 'em, of Virtue, Capacity and Discernment, who have not the least Reason in the World to envy their Lordships upon any of those Points; and many of 'em of Estates and Fortunes, who surpass 'em: Nor is it at all probable that such a Body of Men would either prostitute the Merit of their Judgment, or expose to Hazard their Estates and Fortunes, as they must in a great Measure have done by their Silence, in regard of any Man who should have dar'd to preach and dedicate Doctrines to 'em, that in any wise tended to the Prejudice of the establish'd Government: For whatsoever Doctrine in its natural Tendency, promotes the general Dissolution of a Government, must necessarily in some Degree affect every Particular that composes it; and in such a Remissness as the Lords tax 'em with, the Character of wise, of prudent, and of sensible Men, would have dwindled into that of Fool, or something worse, in such as should have approv'd and encourag'd 'em. Nor is it more strange, to see a House of Commons of Revolution Principles themselves, not to find fault with a Gentleman who preaches a Sermon only to defend the Principles of that Revolution, than it would be to see a High-Church House of Commons pass by, without Censure or Animadversion, another who should preach a Sermon and dedicate it to 'em, wherein he boldly maintain'd the noble and beneficent Doctrines of Divine Commission, Arbitrary Power, Passive Obedience and Hereditary Right; which every *Englishman*, who is not an Ideot, or Betrayer of his Country, very well knows are all of 'em diametrically opposite to, and utterly destructive of that Revolution by which we enjoy our All, and their Spiritual Lordships their Honours and Temporalities. Whatever Faults such Men may find in that Discourse, I shall pretend to do that injur'd Gentleman the Justice to maintain, that it is absolutely free from the Reproach they would make him guilty of, in any Measure maintaining and justifying the execrable Murder of King *Charles*, or of encouraging any Rebellion against her present Majesty, or any of her Successors:

And

And I think he must look with a very High-Church Pair of Spectacles, of a new Model, who can discover any thing in it that has the least Tendency to the one or the other : And I cannot here forbear to say, that the Doctrines of Arbitrary Power and Passive Obedience, which their Lordships have so strenuously avow'd and celebrated, (I speak only of those who have done, and still do so, for I know there are some few of both Orders that have nobly rejected and despis'd 'em,) tend more directly to establish Tyrants and Tyranny amongst a free People, than any thing he has said tends to excite Rebellions against our legal Kings acting according to the Prescripts of our Laws ; and leave it to my Countrymen to judge which of their two Opinions are most for the Honour and Integrity of our common Happiness. I have read and consider'd that Sermon with a great deal of Attention ; and as to the former part of the Charge, I do not know how the most zealous Admirer of that unhappy Prince could have express'd his Sense in Terms more strong and pathetick, both of the execrable Murder, the Manner, and the infamous Contrivers of it, than he has done ; and as to the other part, of encouraging and promoting Rebellions against her Majesty or Successors, their Lordships have been, and must be told again, and none of 'em yet have been able to prove the contrary : That in case of the Male-administration of the Prince, when it evidently tends to the Subversion of the Establish'd Religion and Fundamental Laws of the Land, the general Rising or Revolt of a Nation in the Defence of that Religion, their Lives, Estates, Laws and Liberties, against the Violences of such a tyrannical Prince, can in no Sense of the Word be term'd a Rebellion, which is all he contends for, and for which he has something a better Authority than theirs, I mean the Consent and Practice of the whole Nation, (Papists, Jacobites, High-Flyers and Nonjurors excepted) in the famous Instance of the late happy Revolution, which he strenuously defends, and no more. They who will be at the pains seriously to examine that Discourse without Passion or Prejudice, will see a bold and honest *English* Spirit of Liberty, and a hearty Love for his Country thro' the whole of it ; he will see Tyranny and Arbitrary Power detested and expos'd ; he will find an Absolute, Slavish Obedience, prov'd to be inconsistent with the Nature of all Civil Government in general, and in a more particular Manner with our own, and without any Foundation from Scripture Reason or the Practice of Mankind ; he will see the Revolution, and the Principles upon which it is turn'd, resolutely defended ; the great and glorious Author of it, under God, gratefully celebrated, and the renown'd Duke of *Marlborough* in a just and generous Character, and the Right of a Free People to defend themselves, vigorously asserted after a Masculine Manner, which shows him to be a Man, (and I believe it is the Opinion even of his Enemies), who neither wants Sense to understand his Principles, nor Courage to defend and maintain 'em. But it is an audacious and unpardonable Sin, with a Faction, in a Man who shall dare to speak too bold, and if they can be so, unreasonable Truths : Nor needs there any more to convince the sober part of the World of the Reason



sons of their Animosity and Severity towards him, so long after the Delivery of that Sermon, than because they differ from him in Opinion and Principles; yet there has been two Editions of that terrible Sermon, with all its Faults, publish'd here, and went off as fast as it could be printed, with a general Approbation; and it has been done into *French* at *Amsterdam*, with a Preface, to shew the Severity and Injustice had been done the Author in that Kingdom: Yet has he besides, the Example and Company of many greater Men, both before and since, this Consolation under his Misfortune, if he esteems it any; that if his Sermon was committed to the Flames by the Hands of the common Hang-man, for preaching down the slavish Doctrine of unlimited Passive Obedience, by Order of a House of Lords, wherein a Majority is made up of *Irish* Bishops; a Sermon of an infamous Incendiary that preach'd it up, was condemn'd to the same Fate with much greater Justice, by Order of another House of Lords, of something greater Weight and Estimation, who have ever been known to act upon Principles of Reason, Justice, Honour and Conscience, and in whose Respect I hope I shall never have Occasion to change my Opinion.

Tho' their Lordships are pleas'd to assert in their next Paragraph, That in their Apprehension, the Commons have not vindicated themselves or their Vote, by saying, that the sound Revolution Principles, mention'd in their Address, neither had, nor can have, in the true Construction of the Words, any other Meaning than what related to the late happy Revolution; yet as good Sense, Apprehension, and Capacity of Judging, are not always confin'd to pompous Titles alone, there are great Numbers of wise and honest Men without 'em, who are of the Opinion, that the Commons have not only express'd their Sentiments in such clear and distinct Expressions, as leave not the least room to question their Meaning, (but with such as were willing to mistake 'em), that without making 'em speak direct Contradictions to their constant Practice and Opinions, it is impossible they can be conceiv'd to mean any thing else: The Misfortune in this Case, is the different Opinion of the Lords from the Commons, concerning these Principles of Revolution; for when the Commons mention'd in their Address, the steady Adherence of the Provost and Fellows of the College, to the Revolution, as the Reason and Foundation of their applying to her Majesty for 5000*l.* and the subsequent Motive of that Application, viz. For the Encouragement of good Literature and sound Revolution Principles; whatever their Lordships Meaning of Reserve, not to mention Equivocation, may be; the honest Meaning of the Commons is as plain, as that two High-Churchmen and three High-Churchmen make five Betrayers of their Country, whether Lords or Commons; and with great Submission to their Lordships eminent Learning and rare Sagacity of Apprehension, that they cannot in good Reason or Grammar, and I will take leave to add Honesty, be possibly refer'd to any thing else in Nature, besides the late Revolution; and if their right reverend Lordships, or the Provost and Fellows, meant any thing else, whilst this too indulgent Application was making; they would

would have oblig'd the World, and particularly her Majesty, for whom they pretend to have so profound a Veneration, to have specify'd what sort of Principles, or what that was besides, to which that Address of the Commons can rationally be suppos'd to relate : From which notable Discovery, two things would have infallibly follow'd ; the Knowledge of the Difference of their Lordships Principles, from those sound ones of the Revolution in the Commons Sense ; and the Loss of the 5000 *l.* to the very Reverend the Provost and the Fellows ; and the Reason which the Lords assign for their Opinion in the following Words — *Since Adherence to the late Revolution, was a distinct Motive of it self*, is something perplex'd, and leaves us strangely in the Dark of their Meaning — *A distinct Motive of it self* ! Motive to what, if it were not to the Revolution ? And if it were, it is suppos'd to be to the sound Principles of that Revolution, as the Commons certainly intend it ; otherwise let 'em explain, if they please, what their *Adherence*, mention'd in the Address, is a Motive to ; for as their Lordships have left it expos'd to the wide World, there is something in this Period and Reason of theirs, which favours strongly of what we, in our Language, distinguish by a Name I am very unwilling to mention, coming from so very learned, judicious and enlighten'd a Body, tho' we are sure it is something not a little unintelligible. 'Tis most certain, that when Men of Parts and Learning perfectly understand the Subject they are treating of, especially if it relates to matter of Fact and Practice, (for those of pure Speculation, as they mostly consist in Vision, are out of the Question), they can never want clear and distinct Words to express their Ideas ; but when Men either understand not the Fund of their Subject, or have undertaken to defend an Error, it is observable, that they are always puzzled themselves, and puzzle others whilst they pretend to explain their Meaning ; and the utmost Effort of a wrack'd and constrain'd Imagination, is, by forc'd Glosses and abstruse and dubious Constructions, to arrive at a feint Resemblance, and at most but a bare and plausible Appearance of Truth and Reasoning.

The Commons, whom most other People were apt to think were in their Senses at that time, and in the opinion of great numbers of understanding Persons, in very good ones too, have as plain as Men cou'd speak, affirm'd, that their Reason for applying to Her Majesty for 5000 *l.* for the College, was for the remarkable Behaviour of the Provost, and Fellows of it, in relation to *Forbus*, who had impudently traduc'd and vilify'd the glorious Memory of King *William*, and for their steady Adherence to the Revolution ; by which no other thing can be rationally imply'd, than that the Provost and Fellows approv'd of, and acquiesc'd in the Principles of that Revolution which had re-instated 'em in their Possessions, and left 'em in full and peaceable Enjoyment of their ancient Honours, Emoluments, and Privileges, and were willing to have the World believe, at least, that they had Gratitude enough to defend the Memory of their Great Deliverer in the exemplary Punishment of an ingrateful and infamous Scoundrel ; the subsequent Motive the Commons

mons assign for this Application, being for the Encouragement of good Literature, and sound Revolution Principles for the future; of the nature of which we have more largely spoken in the former part of this Discourse, and shall only repeat here, that the chiefest of 'em is; that in case of a Tyrannical Prince, who shall endeavour to subvert the Fundamental Laws, Religion and Liberties of an Establish'd Government, it is not only lawful, but necessary for a free People so oppress'd, to rise up with their Arms in their Hands, to defend and preserve 'em from the Violences of so Wicked and Unjust an Oppression. This Right and Power of the People, their Lordships very well know, or I'm sure ought to know is no new thing; and to rise no higher than the Charter of King *John*, one of their Lordship's High-church Lord's Anointed, by which it is expressly provided, That in case the King should infringe, or contravene, the Stipulations mention'd, and agreed on betwixt him and the People, that then it should be lawful for the People to take up Arms to compel him, which was after recogniz'd, and acknowledg'd by the great Charter to have been inherent in 'em from Time immemorial, has been since confirm'd by Forty Acts of Parliament: and in a more particular and eminent manner, Establish'd as a Fundamental Law by the Declaration of Rights, and the Acts Establishing the Succession of the Crown. Whether an Authority of this kind be of sufficient Weight with their Lordships, to acknowledge such a Right in the People, or no, I by no means presume to determine; but there is great reason to believe, that they, who in Opposition to the Sense of the Commons, without declaring their own, maintain, that Her Majesty did not confer Her Royal Favour to the College, to promote in general Revolution Principles, have no good Opinion, either of the Revolution it self, or the immortal Finisher of it; and the Reason which they assign for that Assertion in their Address, is very remarkable, and confirms what I have advanc'd, because they are Principles publicly avow'd, and celebrated by Men of Factious and Seditious Tempers, which in some measure maintain the execrable Murder of King *Charles*, and on which any Rebellion against Her Majesty, or any of her Successors may be founded. Nor can I forbear taking notice here of another fair Intimation they give the World of the Opinion they have of the late Revolution, when in the latter end of their Address, amongst other plausible Expressions, they assure Her Majesty, they will defend, and stand by Her against all who design Revolutions, either in Church or State. Now, as every honest *Englishman* hopes as heartily as the warmest and sincerest of their Lordships, that the Nation by the Wickedness of another Prince, (tho' their Doctrines have laid a fair Seed in the Ground for it) shall never again be reduc'd to the unhappy Necessity of another Revolution; yet both we, and the generous Commons of that Kingdom, who understand, and know how to reduce our Principles into Practice, do most solemnly, upon the Faith and Honour of honest *Whigs*, assure their Lordships, that if ever the same Occasion shall again be offer'd, we will not fail to make use of the very same individual Means to defend our Lives, Liberties, Estates, and Religion,



or think we shall deserve to be esteem'd a parcel of contemptible Scoundrels and Slaves if we don't; for since we have so lately Exerted 'em in a like Instance, and have those Principles upon which the Nation acted in their Defence, in a more solemn manner acknowledged, and ratify'd to us as our Right, the Justice and Equity of which their Lordships have own'd; we shall in Complaisance to their own Rule of Principles, being the Rule and Guide of future, as well as past Actions, (upon that, and the much better Authority just mention'd) not fail, upon the like Occasions to justify our Natural and Legal Rights, at the hazard of ten thousand Lives, as we hope our Posterity after us shall do theirs; without the least fear of deserving the Character of Seditious, or Rebellious, or of incurring their High-church Lordships Displeasure, for I mean none else, or that of those who may succeed 'em of the Anti-revolution Principles and Opinions; and tho' we love Revolutions as little as their Lordships, till we have seen the Nation settled upon a Foot of Safety and Security, that shall put it out of Apprehensions for ever, either of the Encroachments of Tyrannical Princes, or Insolence of Tyrannical High-church Priests to disturb; we assure their Lordships, that we will have Revolutions at furthest, one every Moon. Every body knows what a Ferment an Address so highly Injurious to the Honour of the House put 'em into, and which wou'd questionless have drawn on Resolutions of a higher Strain than their former, if they had been permitted to have sat but a few Hours longer; but the Lord Chancellor, who was the principal Engine of this great Movement, had the Address, and Credit with the Lord Lieutenant to Prorogue 'em at a Point; or, I think, no body doubted, but that the Injur'd and Exasperated Commons wou'd have given him an Instance of their Power and Resentments, by an immediate Impeachment.

Upon a just Reflection upon this famous Dispute between the Lords and Commons upon this important Subject, I think the Judicious Reader will not have the least reason to doubt, but that the Commons of that Kingdom, to shew a Mark of Favour to all those who gratefully acknowledg'd the Necessity and Justice of the Revolution, and the great Finisher of it, apply'd to the Queen for a Bounty of 5000*l.* for the Use mention'd; both to reward the Provost and Fellows for their commendable Behaviour to *Forbus*, and to encourage 'em to continue firm to the Principles of that Revolution, which had once more plac'd 'em in the Way of being both secure of what *Englishmen* call their Birthrights, and happy in the Possession of 'em for the future; the Sentiments of the Lords with their Quaint of Distinction, of heartily thanking God for the Revolution, but Disapproving and Condemning the Principles of it; we have already seen in their own formal and express Terms: I shall with the same Freedom lay before my honest Countrymen, those of the Provost and Fellows, in a very rare and eminent Address of theirs to Her Majesty, deliver'd to Her by my Lord *Dartmouth*, then one of the Principal Secretaries of State, the 20th of *December, 1712.* which for its extraordinary Style and Purport, deserves exceedingly

to be had in Remembrance for the perpetual Honour and Probity of the Men, and is as follows.

To the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.

*The Humble Address of the Vice Chancellor, Doctors, and Masters of the University of Dublin, in Congregation Assembled.*

**W**ITH Humble Duty, and Gratitude, we presume to acknowledge Your Majesty's most Gracibus Condescension, in Communicating to Your People, the Terms upon which a General Peace may be made; a Peace which so well provides for a Ballance of Power to Europe, the Happiness of Your own Subjects, and the Security of Your Allies.

We admire Your Majesty's Great Wisdom, and Steadiness, and the Faithfulness of Your Ministers, in Surmounting the many Difficulties attending this Important Affair; and we cannot, without just Resentment, observe by what Malicious Artifices, and Fallacious Endeavours, some, who are to share in the Blessings, have labour'd to obstruct it.

Such Designing, and Disaffected Men, seem either to envy Your Majesty the Glory of Accomplishing so Great a Work, or to prefer a Foreign Interest to that of Your own Kingdoms; or out of a Conscientiousness of Guilt, desire a Continuation of the War, lest they should be call'd to an Account in Time of Peace.

We are so deeply sensible of the many Blessings of Your Majesty's Auspicious Reign, and Your Sacred Life is so dear to us, that we are unwilling to put Your Majesty in mind of the Succession, which to our great Satisfaction is so well assur'd by Your Majesty's Care, to all who are in Earnest for the House of Hanover, that there is no need of other Guarantees to support it.

The Dignity which Your Majesty has been pleas'd to Confer on his Grace the Duke of Ormond, our Chancellor, by the Command of Your Armies, is an Instance of Your Wisdom, in discerning true Merit, and of Your Goodness, in Rewarding Disinterested Loyalty, and we beg leave to esteem it an Honour done to our University.

We gratefully acknowledge Your Majesty's Bounty for Building a new Library in the College of Dublin, and shall endeavour in our several Capacities to answer the End of your Royal Grant, by Educating the Youth, and Instructing the People committed to our Care, in Principles of inviolable Fidelity to the Crown, by discouraging Revolution Principles, which have been of late industriously Propagated, being inconsistent with true Religion and Loyalty, and tending to shake the very Foundations of our Constitutions, both in Church in State.

We shall offer up our Daily Prayers to God to prolong Your Sacred Life, till You have compleated all the Good Intentions of Your Royal Mind, and at length to Crown You with Glory and Immortality.

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I leave every Reader to make what Reflections he pleases upon every single Paragraph of this Right Loyal, and Noble Address, which will furnish abundant Matter of Speculation to every Thinking *Englishman*, and shall only desire him to throw away a few Minutes, a little more particularly upon the Villainous Duplicity, and Prevarication of the Men, in relation to Revolution Principles; who, while they were in expectation of the Queen's Bounty for the 5000 *l.* were desirous to be esteem'd the strenuous Assertors of 'em; but had no sooner obtain'd it, and a favourable Juncture to declare their Natural and Genuine Sentiments, publicly gave those generous Commons, and their own Supple, Mercenary Consciences the Lye; by declaring to Her Majesty in this Address, that they would Endeavour, in their several Capacities, to answer the End of Her Royal Grant, by Educating the Youth, and Instructing of the People committed to their Care, in Principles of Inviolable Fidelity, that is, in other Words, in Principles of Passive Obedience, and Arbitrary Power; by discouraging Revolution Principles, which have been of late so industriously propagated, being inconsistent with true Religion and Loyalty, and tending to shake the very Foundations of our Constitution, both in Church and State. Good God! What is all this Ribaldry but so many pitiful Reflections upon the late faithful Ministry, and Renown'd General, but so much fulsome, hypocritical Flattery to the new? But Reproach to the last Degree of Impudence, and Gratitude to the Memory of that Glorious, and Immortal Prince that accomplish'd this Revolution, by which the Wretches enjoy what they have? What else is to be understood by their maintaining, that the Principles of that Revolution are inconsistent with true Religion, and Loyalty, but that they intend, and believe 'em to be better supported by their detestable Doctrines of Passive Obedience, and Arbitrary Power? Or shall the Foundations of our ancient Constitution be shook by the Principles of a Revolution, which have re-establish'd it on the original Basis of Liberty, and limited Prerogative, and a circumscrib'd Power in our Kings, and supported by such, as by their Doctrines make our Kings Tyrants, and their Subjects Slaves? Infamous Prevarication! Scandalous Hypocrisy! Wretched Ingratitude!

I have the more amply, and with the greater Freedom insisted upon this Subject, to convince my honest Countrymen, that there are no Degrees of Clergymen exempt from the Contagion of our Modern High-church Principles and Doctrines; which every one of 'em have been prov'd to be, not only inconsistent with the Nature of our ancient Establish'd Government, both in State and Church, but directly calculated, solely to the Ruin and Subversion of 'em both. Every body is sensible that all Men are not equally, and alike infected; but there are some few of both Orders in that Kingdom, who have preserv'd their Integrity, who have bravely and resolutely declar'd and approv'd themselves sincere and hearty Friends, and as generously defended the Revolution, and its Principles, tho' they have had the Misfortune to be overpower'd, and compell'd to yield to Numbers. Amongst the rest of the Spiritual Order, I cannot

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but with Honour mention his Grace, the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*, a Person of most excellent Parts, and universal Learning, who with a noble Constancy has ever oppos'd, and endeavour'd to moderate the Violences and Fury of the Bigots, and has been, according to their laudable Custom, without regard to his Merit, his Character, or high Station in their Church, as rudely handled by 'em for his Pains. 'Tis in a great measure to his eminent Prudence and Courage, the Metropolis of that Kingdom, in Concert with their Learned and Worthy Recorder, and Aldermen, owes principally the Defence and Preservation of their ancient Liberties; and it is to the same Virtue, Resolution, and indefatigable Application they owe the Defeatment of all the pernicious Designs of the Chancellor at the Head of the Faction, by the vigorous Opposition they ever met with from him in the House of Peers, the Court, the Council-Table, and every where else, to his own perpetual Honour and Service of the Nation. I know not whether his Grace will take, (what a Stranger, who honours Merit wherever he finds it, says, as a Tribute due to his excellent Character, both as a noble Patriot, in the Defence of the true Interests of his Country, and a learn'd and venerable Prelate, a strenuous Defender of those of the National Church) in good part, especially at a time when it is dangerous to have too much Merit of that sort, which exposes him so much to the Ribaldry of a licentious Faction, void of Manners, and Sentiments of Generosity; but as he has always shown a great and commendable Disinterestedness in his whole Conduct and Behaviour; the Justice of his Cause, his Courage, and uncommon Steadiness in the Pursuit of it, secure the Repose of his Conscience, and the high Station he is in the Church, places him above the reach of the Malice and Resentments of his and his Countrys paltry Enemies. This was the unhappy Situation of Affairs in that poor Kingdom, fermented by the indefatigable Application of the High church Clergy there; these the fatal Effects of the pernicious Doctrines they have so industriously propagated thro' the whole extent of these Nations, where the prevailing Spirit of Discord stalks Triumphant.

It would not have been much surprizing, if such Doctrines, all Irrational, and Absurd as they are, and so destructive of the publick Good and Tranquillity, both of the State and Church, had been broach'd and publish'd in Times of Darkneis and Ignorance, when what little Learning there was in the World was ingross'd by the Clergy, and that confin'd within the narrow compass of Cloysters and Monasteries, whence it was sent abroad into the World to impose on an ignorant and superstitious Laity, in what Proportion, and in what Dress and Manner they thought most fit for their Purpose; and even in those Times the best of their Learning, if it deserve that name, was no more than a crude and indigested Sophistry; a pompous Medley of Speculations divis'd by crafty knavish Monks and Fryars to carry on the Work of Delusion, and aggrandize the Power and Authority of the Popes, and Church of *Rome*; a new Jargon of Questions of Religion, intricate, abstruse, unintelligible, of no use or benefit to Mankind, erected upon the Foundation of the

Metaphysics of *Aristotle*, and the ancient *Ethnick* Philosophy, which they celebrated under the magnificent Title of School-divinity; and which I will maintain has produc'd greater Mischiefs to all civil Governments where it has obtain'd, and more irreparable Damages to true Religion, than all the Heresies sprung up in the Church for the first six hundred Years. But that the Visions of these wretched Impostors shou'd find Credit, and succeed in an Age enlighten'd and refin'd as ours; wherein particularly in our own Country, all useful, necessary, and curious Arts and Sciences, are in a much higher Degree and Perfection than ever was known in former Ages; where Men are illumin'd by the glorious Light of Divine Revelations, and left to the free Use and Exercise of their Reason, and where, I will justify, that amongst the Nobility, Gentry, and all Degrees of People, there are fifty to one who are more eminently knowing in all manner of valuable, and commendable Learning, than amongst the Clergy; I am as far as any Man in *England* from derogating from the Merit and Honour that is justly due to the deserving of that Character and Profession: I very well know that there are good numbers amongst 'em of Men excellent for their Parts, Piety, Knowledge and Learning, but I am sorry that there are not more; and I will defend what I have advanc'd, that there is no manner of Proportion in their Numbers; the Generality of 'em being either scandalously Ignorant, or but very meanly Learn'd; and what is worse, corrupt enough to misapply what they have of it, in any Degree of Eminence, to the base and servile Purposes of Self-interest and Ambition. I say, that in such an Age, so qualify'd and embellish'd, Doctrines so lewdly absurd, and so certainly destructive of Religion, civil Policy, and of whatsoever else has been reputed Great, Noble, Virtuous, or any way commendable amongst Men, shou'd be swallow'd down, and so easily digested, is what will questionless exceed the Belief and Wonder of all succeeding Generations, as much as it has puzzl'd all the sober, rational part of Mankind of the present, and can be look'd upon no other than as an Infatuation from above, as a just Judgment in the Punishment of our Sins, and more particularly that of our Ingratitude.

Ignorance is ever reproachful in a Gentleman of any Profession, but more eminently so in those of the Clergy, who are suppos'd to qualify themselves with a Stock of Learning and Knowledge necessary for the great and important Duties of their Function, and whose Business it is to instruct others; yet the Abuse is infinitely worse than the Want of 'em in either, but more especially in the latter, upon whom the Welfare of so many Souls in a great measure depends: For in the first it may be an Effect either of Negligence, Inapplication, or a libertine Education, which is but too frequently their Misfortune; but in the other it is either Stupidity or Corruption. The former renders 'em altogether unfit for so laborious and venerable a Character and Profession, and the latter unworthy the Honour of it; since they can prevail with themselves, with an opprobrious Hypocrisy, to abuse and stifle the Lights of natural Reason, which

they may have improv'd by Study and a good degree of Literature, to the low and wicked Ends either of their own or the Interests of a Faction. We have but a too melancholy Instance before our Eyes, how much more and greater Mischiefs may arise to a Nation, from either an ignorant, or a corrupt and mercenary Clergy, who have the Power of doing Evil, when they want the Will of doing Good, which to our Sorrow as well as Prejudice we find the much greater Number; than the Advantages that redound to it from the Labours and Virtue of the truly pious and learn'd, who are ever the lesser: And the Reason of it is plain, because the Generality of the People are more easily prevail'd with to content themselves with what is appearing and plausible, which gives 'em but little or no Trouble, having seldom the Capacity, and but rarely the Inclination to busy themselves in the Researches of Truth and the Reason of Things, which are ever attended with Labour and great Difficulties; and therefore they are apt greedily to swallow every thing as Oracle that is deliver'd to 'em by the Priest, of whom they may have entertain'd a much more advantageous Opinion than he may commonly deserve, though it may be attended with the grossest Absurdity, Falseness or Contradiction in it self; for the Opinion they have conceived is with them in the place of Persuasion. Ask any of 'em who has any Modesty or Ingenuity left, what other tolerable Reason can be assign'd, why such great Numbers of honest well-meaning *Englishmen*, who are born free, and know they are so, can be prevail'd upon so easily to embrace and digest, for Instance, the Doctrines of Absolute and Arbitrary Power in the Prince, and an unconditional Passive Obedience in the Subject, in a Monarchy mix'd and limited as ours; which have been demonstrated to have no Foundation upon Reason, Nature, or the Word of God, and which only and unavoidably tend to deprive them of their precious native Liberties, and involve both themselves and their Posterity in the Miseries of a perpetual Slavery. Hence it is, that what I have advanc'd of the Power and Influence of the Clergy over the Common People, who are the Numbers and Strength of a Nation, manifestly appears; since wanting Judgment and Penetration of their own to distinguish and determine of the Nature of Things, they seem necessitated to rely upon the Opinion they have conceiv'd of the Capacity and Integrity of their Priests, and to pay an implicate Belief and Obedience to whatever they shall think fit to command 'em to believe and obey: So that in such Cases 'tis neither Strength of Reasoning, nor Conviction of the Truth, that prevail with so great Numbers to assent and act as they do, but a blind Notion and Opinion they have of the Sufficiency and Probity of their Pastors, whom they are unwilling, thro' Ignorance or Prejudice of Education, to believe wicked enough to abuse and deceive 'em. I will not pretend here to enquire, much less to determine, what Esteem or Measure of Reputation such Impostors and Deceivers of the poor ignorant and credulous People, can reasonably expect to meet with in this World, or what Punishment in the next, for a studied Wickedness so very foreign



foreign and unbecoming their Office and Character, but leave it to the Reflection of their own Conscience and the Decision of the just Judge in the last great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be known, and Men shall receive the proper Rewards or Punishments of good or evil Actions; but this I shall with Confidence advance, that when a Nation is so far infatuated, as to give into all the fantastick Dreams of implicate Belief of what any Clergy soever shall dictate or command 'em, without making the natural Use of their Reason, or the more infallible Lights and Authority of the holy Scriptures; either the final Ruin of that Nation; or some notable Revolution in it, is not far off; and as such a miserable Abandonment and Blindness are the infallible Symptoms and Forerunners, either of approaching Dissolution or of extraordinary Changes, which are ever accompanied with proportionable Dangers, so are they of the most terrible Servitude and Slavery that Men can groan under on this side the Grave; inasmuch as the Tyranny over Men's Reason and Consciences is much more insupportable, than any that can be exercis'd over their Estates and Persons; this being at worst only a short and temporary Misfortune, but the other may follow 'em into the other World, and affect 'em to all Eternity.

To justify and prove the Truth of this Assertion, how rigid soever it may be esteem'd, let any Man who pleases, without Prejudice or Passion reflect only on the Measures and Conduct of these reverend Deceivers, in the Instance (amongst ten thousand others too tedious to be here particularly insisted on) of the Danger of the Church; and then make the most favourable Conclusion with Reason and Justice, as Well of the Candour and Sincerity of the Intentions of these Men, as of the Utility and Seasonableness of their Doctrines. Let him but candidly compare the shameless Noise and Uproar they made from the Beginnings of her Majesty's Reign, with their profound and more scandalous Silence upon that important Article at this Day, and he will without the least Difficulty discover the Reason and Design both of the one and the other. I have already observ'd, that in regard of these Men's Sentiments and Opinions upon this Head, there is a great and real Distinction to be made between their notional High-Church, founded only upon the Fumes of their perverted Brains, and the true national Church as establish'd by our Laws. The one is a chaste and amiable Virgin that maintains and glories in her Primitive Purity, and Excellence in the Profession of the genuine divine Doctrines of Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles; the other a lewd and profligate Harlot, who places her Glory in the abominable Superstitions and Impurities of her prostitute Mother, the Church of Rome. The former, which is that for which all honest *Englishmen* ought solely to be concern'd, was never in the least Appearance of real Danger during the Reign of our late glorious Deliverer, King *William*, his Ministry, his Council, his Parliaments of Revolution Principles, all born and educated in the Bosom and Profession of it; but was fenc'd in and secur'd during their whole Administration, with all her legitimate Honours, Dignities

nities and Immunities, upon the Foot of its Constitution at the happy Reformation, by Laws as binding and design'd perpetual as human Wisdom could devise. It has been made evident to a Demonstration, that she never had just Reason to be apprehensive of any real Dangers from the Designs of Dissenters, and particularly the Presbyterians, who, as they are restrain'd within the Compass of a legal Toleration in respect of their own Manner of Worship, are by other Laws depriv'd of all Capacity to do any Prejudice to the Establish'd Church, if by an ingrateful Abuse of the Indulgence has been shown 'em, they were imprudent or wicked enough to attempt it; that during the first ten Years of her Majesty's Reign, and the Administration of a faithful and incorruptible Ministry, (who by their Virtue and Affection supported and raised the Honour of it to a Pitch that by far surpass'd the most famous of her Predecessors, and shall rarely be equall'd, nor to say, exceeded by any who shall have the Honour to succeed her) the Church has all along enjoy'd the same uninterrupted Tranquillity; that it was absolutely impossible that any real Dangers should accrue to her from Princes of such distinguish'd Piety, Wisdom, and Justice, whose principal Interest it eternally was, to preserve her in Peace and Exemption from Peril, are Truths so evident, and so much every honest sensible *Englishman's* Belief as not to stand in need of any further Proof; yet through the whole Course of these two glorious and auspicious Reigns, from the Beginning of the Revolution till the fatal Year of 1710, there has nothing been thunder'd from the Pulpits of these High-Church Zealots, and the malicious and scandalous Pamphleteers of the Faction, (who together carry on a private Interest and Design, distinct from that of the publick,) but, The Temple of the Lord! The Temple of the Lord! The Danger of the Church! Our glorious King the Love and Admiration of all the honest virtuous part of Mankind, because born and bred up in the Reformation of *Calvin*, (though a more constant and religious Frequenter of our Church, than the warmest of his Pharisaical Enemies,) eternally reproach'd as no real and sincere Friend to her; the Presbyterians in the same exalted Strain of Christian Charity, her mortal Enemies; the whole noble Set of the late Ministry, Traitors and Underminers of her very Foundations; and even our excellent Queen, so renown'd for her Piety and Devotion (whilst making Use of the Advice and Counsels of that able and faithful Ministry) in the same laudable Design of conspiring the Ruin of the Church; yet since that disastrous Period just mention'd, that incomparable Princess has suffer'd her self to be surpriz'd by the crafty Insinuations and Cajoleries of a Faction, that have visibly no other Regard for any Interest but their own; that she is in the Hands and Possession of the Leaders of it, who aim at nothing more but the Establishment of their Power and private Fortunes upon the Ruines of their Sovereign's Honour, and Liberties of their native Country; that they have trepann'd her into the Measures of a dishonourable separate Peace, which has blasted all the blooming

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Glories of her former Reign; that they have violated the sacred Bands of publick Faith; prostituted the Honour of the Nation; quarell'd with, expos'd, insulted, and deserted their Protestant Confederates; entred into Alliances with two faithless Popish Princes, who by Principles of Religion and those of their more powerful Interest, are our most mortal and implacable Enemies, the unavoidable Consequences of all which, are the Introduction of the Pretender with the inseparable Appendages of *French* Politicks, *French* Religion and *French* Slavery; and lastly, that these venerable High-Church Hypocrites and Impostors, assembled in their Convocation, have had the Impudence to avow and publickly advance Doctrines, which are demonstrably the same with those of the Church of *Rome*; yet at this forlorn and disastrous Time and Circumstances of Affairs, when every Step that has been, and is still made, tends directly to the Subversion of the Ancient Constitution by the Establishment of Tyranny, and every Measure of those mercenary interested Enthusiasts hastens the Extirpation of the Establish'd Protestant Religion, by the Introduction of Popery in the Person and Domination of their desecrated and abjur'd Pretender; we don't hear one Syllable of the Danger of the Church, as if there was no such Thing that had a Being amongst us, but all as hush'd and silent as in the Grave.

Good God! my honest Countrymen, as many of us as are yet in our Senses, what can these Wretches mean by so lewd and insolent a Conduct? What Opinion must they have conceiv'd of their own Parts and Abilities, who think themselves capable of finishing a Design, which they know can never be effected, but upon the certain Ruin of our Religion and Liberties? And what despicable Sentiments must they as necessarily have entertain'd of us, who can so tamely suffer our selves to be so scandalously abus'd and impos'd on by 'em? How long shall we continue the Sots and Drudges to contribute to the Exaltation of a Power, which we are certain shall infallibly be abus'd, to ride us into a miserable Subjection to their spiritual Tyranny in this World, and Damnation in the next? How long shall we be the contemptible Dupes and Cullies of a corrupt and mercenary Priesthood, and elevate those by our Folly or Madness, into imperious and merciless Masters, who now are redoubtable to the Laws, and us for the Bread they eat? Shall we sit still, like crouching worthless Slaves with our Hands in our Bosoms, till they reduce us again into that cursed Servitude, our wiser and more generous Ancestors had the Virtue and Courage, with so much Glory, to free both themselves and us from? Can we sink into so vile a State of Degeneracy, as to see the Honour of our Beds and Families polluted? Abandon our Wives and Daughters to the lewd Lusts of brawny pamper'd Priests, which we but too well know, from our own and foreign History, was eternally the shameless Practice of their impure abominable Churchmen, when they were in that exalted independent Condition, their worthy High-Church Successors are again endeavouring to establish themselves? We know no Bu-



finess we have with a commanding, insolent and domineering Clergy, tho' we are willing to shew all Respect and Favour to a ministring, pacifick and obedient one, who conform themselves to the Laws of the Government that protects 'em, and busy themselves only in the Exercise and religious Discharge of the Duties of their holy Function: But are we grown weary of our divine Religion, that we shall quietly suffer these Impostors to change the Face and Purity of it into an Excess of Power, that will soon give Countenance and Authority to all the Pollutions and Lewdness that human Nature can be capable of? Or are our precious Liberties become a Burthen, or so odious to us, as tamely to permit these Traitors to attempt the bare-fac'd Violation of 'em in the Introduction of their Popish Pretender, which can never be accomplish'd, but by an Exclusion of the most illustrious Protestant House of *Hanover* for ever? That *Englishman* who does not see this to be the manifest and sole End and Design, both of the High-Church Politician, and the High-Church Priest, must either be a stupid Drivler, like the many amongst us, or an infamous Traytor like them. We are not at all ignorant, that these Impostors raise the same Clamours, and already insinuate the same Dangers to the Establish'd Church, from the Reign of that illustrious Protestant Family of the Communion of *Luther*, that they alarm'd the Nation with, from the Administration of the last immortal Protestant Prince of the Perswasion of *Calvin*, and just with the same Reason, Justice, good Manners and Charity: And shall we suffer the audacious and ridiculous Cant of the Unalienableness and Indefeasibleness of an Hereditary Right of an abjur'd Popish Pretender, carry it over the sacred Sanction of an Act of the Legislature, indisputably the sole supream, independent Power of the Nation, from which there can be no Appeal, and which has settled the Succession upon 'em, from whom no wise or honest *Englishman* can form the least Apprehensions of any real Danger, either to the Establish'd Government or the Establish'd Church? What, on the other Hand, can we reasonably expect from a Person exasperated with all the pretended Rigours shown to his Family, in the Abdication of his reputed Father and Abjuration of himself, bred up in the Popish Religion, and imbu'd with the Poison of Maxims of *French* Policy? Are not these Men asham'd to Confusion, to dare to abuse a noble and generous Nation, jealous of their Monour, Religion and Liberties, with the execrable Jargon of a Convert Pretender, instructed in the Principles of the Protestant Religion; for this is now the absurd and ridiculous Cant both of High-Church and her Faction? Do we not yet know, that Ambition and the Desire of a Crown will readily prevail with him to make the most specious and solemn Professions, and at the same time have a Dispensation from his Father the Pope, the visible Head of their Church, to break 'em all the same Moment he gave 'em Birth? What Security shall we have for the Performance of Articles and Promises, when we are Fools or Madmen enough to admit him to the Throne upon any Terms? High-Church, the Caution is excellent of a Church Bankrupt of Credit,

dit, Honour and Conscience, for I will not name Religion: What then? Why even the sacred and inviolable Guaranty of our new singular good Friend and Ally *Louis* the Fourteenth; admirable and unquestionable Security of a Prince, who has never been ty'd to the Observation of any Contracts to which he has solemnly ingag'd himself by all that is or ought to be most binding and sacred amongst Men: High-Church! Popery! Faction! Slavery! Frenzy! Treason! *Englishmen*! Do we want yet to be instructed what all this insupportable sanctify'd Villany means?

Our wise and honest Directors, a little while ago, were pleas'd to refuse the Guaranty of our Protestant Allies, for the Security of the Succession of our Crown in the illustrious Protestant Family of *Hanover*, and we are now to sit down contented with the Guaranty of a faithless Popish Prince, for the Security both of that, a Protestant Government, and the Protestant Religion: Admirable Politics! and admirable Divinity! Yet that which encreases the Wonder, is, that a wise, judicious, free and valiant People, can tamely suffer themselves to be abus'd and impos'd on in an Affair, where all that can be dear to Men is concern'd, by such wretched Politicians, and such miserable Divines. If a High-Church Priest should advise me to throw my self into a Goal, as the only Means to preserve my Liberty, or to turn the Somerset headlong over a Precipice, as the only Means to prevent breaking my Neck; I should certainly be mighty apt to imagine him either a Fool, a Madman, or a Knave, with some villanous Design, or that he as certainly believ'd me to be one of the former at least, and should humbly request him to be pleas'd to make the Experiments himself, to convince me of the Truth of his Prescriptions; for I cannot prevail with my self for my Life, to believe one Syllable of it from the Strength of his Reasoning, or the Opinion of the Sincerity of his Intentions of meaning me any Good; yet this is just the same thing, as to preserve a Protestant Government and Protestant Church in Peace and Security, under the Influence and Administration of a Popish Pretender. What Opinion can we rationally conceive of the Integrity, Honour, or Conscience of such Men, (who from the highest to the lowest, enjoy the Posts they are in, by the Vertue of their Oath of Abjuration of this Pretender), who yet at the same time are labouring hard to place and establish him upon the Throne, tho' they are sure it can never be done but upon the final Subversion both of the State and Church? Of what Weight, Merit or Obligation, are the most sacred and solemn Oaths, (and yet they have hitherto been esteem'd the most indissoluble Bands of Human Societies), if these supple legerdemain Divines reserve to themselves a Power to dissolve and invalidate 'em, whenever they find it necessary for their Purpose to do so? We are not yet convinc'd out of what School all this detestable Policy and Divinity are deriv'd? Do not the Heads of the Faction exactly imitate a certain new Master of theirs, the King of *France*; and the infamous Tools of it, our High-Church Priests, with the same Probability and Exactness, copy after their dear Brethren the Jesuits, and  
their

their dear Father the Pope? What are Religion, Honour, Conscience, in the Hands of such profligate Wretches, but meer State Engines to amuse and deceive a weak, credulous and unthinking People, with the more Facility, and something a better Grace? Whatever Silence these interested Bigots, in the Situation they have reduc'd us to, keep, in relation to their Church, there is not a wise or honest *Englishman* in the Kingdom, who does not foresee, not only a manifest and imminent Danger, but the utter Extirpation of the Protestant Religion, as the unavoidable Consequence of his Establishment upon the Throne of these Nations; and if these Men were not lost to all Sense of Shame or Modesty, they would not, at this time of Day, have had the Impudence to have impos'd so gross and infamous a Sham upon a whole People of some Reputation in the World, for their good Sense and Wisdom, as well as for their Virtue and Valour.

We many of us still very well remember the time, when it was esteem'd no less than Treason to affirm, that a certain Duke of York was a Papist, tho' every Man in his Senses was well enough convinc'd that he was so: And in a very little time after, when, for our Sins, (thanks to our venerable High-Church Bishops for it), he was mounted on the Throne, he not only publicly avow'd himself of that Religion, but gave both the State and the Church such Instances of a tyrannical and arbitrary Power, inseparable from it, as we of the Church of *England* shall ever remember, tho' those of the High may think it their Business or Interest not to do so. Have they so soon forgot how near to Ruin he brought the establish'd Protestant Religion, by the Effects of their cursed Absolute Power, and Absolute Passive Obedience, to which the very Nature of his own indispensibly render'd him a merciless and irreconcilable Enemy, that they are so fond of relying upon the fraudulent Appearances, and trusting to the specious Promises of the Son, when they have prov'd him such, who, under the insidious Disguise of a Convert Protestant, we are as sure will make both them and us feel all the terrible Effects of Popery and Slavery in the veritable Papist? What in the Name of Wonder are we doing all this while? Where are our Senses? What is become of that Virtue and Valour that have formerly render'd us so renowned and formidable amongst the Nations? Or is it not rather Infatuation, Forerunner of what we deserve, Slavery? Something that surpasses Wonder, that a great, free and generous People, should thus long suffer themselves to be abus'd and deceiv'd into Ruin, by a miserable Faction, supported by a handful of miserable profligate Priests, and not make such Traitors feel the Justice and Weight of their Resentments in a rigorous Exemplarity of their Punishment? What a woful Scene of Wickedness, Prostitution and Treachery? A supposititious Popish Pretender, abdicated, banish'd, abjur'd by a whole Nation, by a few perjur'd Conspirators, to be introduc'd and establish'd on the Throne of *Great-Britain*, in Exclusion of the Protestant House of *Hanover* design'd to it by the Legislature! By whom? Even by the Apostate *Renegado* Priests of the



the High-Church of *England*? No: But of her debauch'd Phar-  
tom, the spurious Offspring of their lewd Mother the Church of  
*Rome*. For what? Why even by the Maxims and Policy of his sin-  
gular good Friend and Patron, *Louis* the Fourteenth, of *France*, of  
execrable Mention, to rule and govern his Protestant Kingdoms of  
*Great-Britain* and *Ireland*; and by the most Christian Influence of  
the most pure and undefiled Religion of the Church of *Rome*, to  
preserve and perpetuate the Peace, Union and Happiness of our Pro-  
testant Churches of these Nations. *Jesu!* is there no Thunder in  
Reserve, to confound the Men and the Impiety that thus audaciously  
prophane both thy Holy Name and Divine Religion (thou diedst to  
propagate? What a Medley of Frenzy, Treachery, Cowardice,  
and consummate Wickedness, is all this? In an *Englishman* of any  
Profession, that is, a Man born and educated in the most pure and  
excellent of all Religions, and in the Blessing of the most distinguish'd  
Liberty under the Sun, to entertain so much as a Thought of calling  
in a Popish Pretender, under any Disguise or Pretext whatsoever,  
(whose Establishment must unavoidably be follow'd with the utter  
Ruin and Dissolution of 'em both), is a Treason and Sin without  
any manner of Defence or Excuse: But in Clergymen, who are more  
particularly oblig'd, by their Character and Function, to oppose all  
Advances to Popery, and watch, to the Conservation of their own,  
if that be the Establish'd Religion: 'Tis such a Complication of  
Fool, of Villain, of Traitor, and of Madman, as our Language wants  
Words to express, or honest *Englishmen* Zeal, equal to the Wicked-  
ness, sufficiently to resent and punish.

What do we wait for? Is there a Man of Sense in *England*,  
who, by every Step has been made since the Change of the Ministry,  
is not convinc'd, that the Design of the Faction, both in the State  
and Church, is solely to bring in this abjur'd Pretender? Or if  
some few have hitherto doubted it, as not supposing *Englishmen* ca-  
pable of so unaccountable a Treason, do they not see the Mask at  
length thrown off, and the Design publicly avow'd, in their Ac-  
knowledgment of him as Duke of *Glocester*? This is not a bare  
gilding over, but owning and justifying their Crime by a sort of  
publick Approbation; yet if any Man is still weak enough to doubt,  
or wicked enough to go into such Measures, and asks the Question  
to what End, or in what Views they pretend to introduce him? The  
Answer is short and ready: The Politicians, to establish and perpe-  
tuate their ill-got Power, Fortunes and Offices in the State; and  
the High-Church Priesthood, to increase and augment theirs in their  
Church; and what both the one and the other may deserve for the  
Reward of so infamous a Treachery, every *Englishman* will have Lei-  
sure to consider, and I hope will do so before it is too late; that is,  
before he sees him at the Head of a *French* Army, to demand the  
Possession of a Throne, to which such Traitors have so fairly pav'd  
the way. Content the former with the Establishment of their unjust  
Acquisitions, and satisfy the Ambition and Avarice of the latter,  
with the Restitution of Church Lands, and a Power independent of  
the

the State, and all is well : So their Church flourishes, no matter if the Nation be ruin'd and enslav'd ; and it is in this that they plainly show, what it is that they constantly mean by their Church, whilst they have all along alarm'd an establish'd Government with the Noise and Clamours of the chimerical Dangers of it : Even Pomp, Power, Authority, Splendour and Magnificence, which, as we have been inform'd, are Vanities these Men have formerly renounc'd in their Baptism ; and which, if they were influenc'd by the pure Spirit of their Holy Religion, they are under greater Obligations, from the Nature of their Character and their Profession, to disclaim, than any other sort of Men amongst us ; but renverse the fundamental Laws of the Nation in their Favour ; strip the Nobility and Gentry of the sacrilegious Usurpations of their Church Lands, and restore 'em to their dearly beloved Church ; put 'em again in Possession of Tyrannizing over your Consciencies, and of insulting the Honour of your Families ; and it may be confess'd indeed, that you will have plac'd their Church in a very splendid and flourishing Situation, to the endless Scandal of Christianity ; but your poor unhappy Country in the most miserable Condition of the worst of all Slaveryes, to the eternal Reproach of your *English* Freedom, good Sense, Virtue and Valour.

It is impossible to assign any other End or Intention to all their Licentious Wishes and Indeavours, after such an exorbitant Degree of Power, than to see themselves once again in a Capacity to commit all sorts of Insults and Impieties, according to the laudable manner of their Pious Predecessors, with Impunity ; nor are there any sort of Men upon the Earth more inclinable to stretch their Power into all the scandalous and pernicious Abuses of it than they, when there is no superior Law to restrain their Excesses. We have like tame Suffering Slaves permitted 'em to lead us already to the very Brink of the Precipice, and shall we be the Sots too, to Suffer 'em to throw us headlong over it, triumph in our Spoils and laugh at us, as we shall richly deserve, for Ideots, when they have done ? How can we my honest Countrymen, answer it to God, for Suffering the Pollution of our holy Religion ? How can we answer it to ourselves, that by a wretched Stupidity and infatuation, so unworthy Gentlemen and Freemen, we give 'em Occasion even to think that they may dare to insult and abuse us without Resentment, and Punishment of their Insolence ? Or, how can we answer it to our Posterity, if we basely betray 'em into the ignoble Chains and Slavery of these Wretches and forfeit a noble generous Freedom, our gallant Forefathers had purchas'd for us and them at the Expence of their Blood and Fortunes, by rescuing us out of the Hands of their insolent and merciless Predecessors ? If Impunity has render'd 'em audacious, a just and rigorous Execution of the Laws in their Punishment will make 'em the most subtle and servile amongst Men ? Guilt naturally makes Men Cowards, and that Audacity they make a Parade of in a prosperous Fortune, dwindles into a scandalous and despicable Pusillanimity, at the sight and Danger of Punishments in an adverse

one; because it is not founded upon Virtue, Innocence and Liberty, which are the genuine Fountains of true and undaunted Courage. An Opinion that has been Suffered to grow amongst 'em, that such Men are exempt from the Vigour and Punishment of the Laws, may contribute to make 'em saucy, to make 'em presumptuous; but it will never make 'em either truly Virtuous, or truly Courageous; nor is there any sort of Men so apt as they, to flatter and arrogate to themselves a Notion of being too formidable a Body, for the civil Power to meddle with; and this is but too evident in the Instance of the most notorious Incendiary the Nation has ever been curs'd with, by abusing the Clemency of his Judges into a Fear and Apprehension, of we know not what danger from the Punishing him with that severity his Wickedness and Insolence deserv'd; yet is this an Opinion founded upon as little Reason as all the rest of their absurd and Traiterous Doctrines. Men without Modesty are generally without Honour; and if they had the least Tincture of the former, they would have distinguished a noble Virtue, from a servile Passion; and thee too much Indulgence and Unwillingness in the Judges to Punish, from the Fear of Punishing; but we very well know that as they are to the last degree audacious and insolent, when no Danger or Fear of Punishment hang over their Heads, there's no Men sink to so low a Degree, I say not that deserves Compassion, but Contempt, under the Travesses of an adverse Fortune; and tho' those too merciful and indulgent Judges of that insolent, committed a Fault, for which the Nation has since too dearly Suffered; it is to be hop'd by the Experience of what is past, we shall for the future be more severely Wise, and undeceive those Gentlemen of the Opinion they may have conceived of themselves; and that when by their Unworthiness they shall have forfeited that Respect and Deference may be due to their Character, the Justice of the Nation is neither to be bully'd or frightn'd from the Execution of the Rigour of the Laws for their Delinquencies either as private Men, or as a Body, which they are willing to Esteem or punish as they shall find 'em deserve; and peremptorily maintain that the Time is not very far off, when they shall be convinc'd of the certainty of this Truth by an Experiment, that shall be made to their Confusion.

Wickedness may for a while by the Sufferance of Heaven be permitted to be prosperous and Successful, but a just and good God can never suffer it to be Crown'd and be Triumphant; every Body sees, but he who is wilfully Blind or harden'd to Destruction, that Providence is preparing new Wonders for the Deliverance of a great and noble free People, from the Slavery a few mercenary Conspirators have been so industriously preparing for 'em; and whatever Opinion they may flatter and entertain themselves with of their Strength and Credit to accomplish 'em; they cannot but know that there is a wide Distance betwixt the Design and the End; and they must be something more than such Men as we have to deal with, who shall be able with all the Artifice of Hell and High-church to renverse an ancient Establish'd Government, as strongly built and vigorous as ours; I call that a renversing an ancient Government which being founded upon a limited Power in the Prince



Prince, and a legal Subjection in the Subject, any Number of Traitors shall conspire to establish an Absolute Arbitray Power in that Prince, and an unconditional Passive Obedience in the Subject, by which the former must necessarily become Tyrants, and the latter Slaves; which has been prov'd shall be the unavoidable Consequences of the Introduction and Establishment of a Pretender bred up in the Popish Religion and Maxims of French Policy. Men set out merrily in the Beginning of such Designs, when they have surpriz'd the Credulity of the Prince and gain'd great Numbers of the People; but they may do well to remember, that it is not impossible, to corrupt the whole Matter of a great Wise and generous Nation accustomed to Freedom; for in such Cases there will be ever found a numerous and uncorrupted Party, whose Virtue will be more than sufficient, to baffle and confound the Impotence of Faction; because the Justice and Righteousness of so glorious a Cause, will animate and invigorate the one, and the Wickedness and Infamy of theirs, will dispirit and deconcert the Measures of the other; for Fear and Cowardice are inseparable from Guilt; Ambition first blinds 'em, and the Opinion of Success, flatters 'em into the Ruin they were preparing for others; every step they make is a fresh Incouragement in a Nation of People, who are taught and oblig'd by their Religion to suffer a great deal; and from this Disposition of Suffering, they are apt to flatter themselves with an Opinion of fear, in the body of the People of opposing or resisting 'em; the first Scenes of Ambition and Hope offer nothing to their view but godly Objects gay, and pleasant which agreeably flatter their Imagination, with a Prospect of Perpetuity; hence they only flatter and fawn upon the Prince, and cringe like Slaves to those they have debauch'd into their Interests because their support is necessary, but treat with Haughtiness and Contempt, all those who have Virtue enough to oppose 'em, and ever insolent to their equals and betters; for Insolence is inseparable from a feeble Virtue, when elated into a Condition above its Standard and Sufficiency; but when things of this Nature grow ripe and near Execution, Men begin to envisage the end with other views than they did the Commencements; Fear magnifies Objects as well as Joy; and those Dangers which at a distance they despis'd as puny, as they draw nearer, appear as Mountains ready to fall upon their Heads, and crush them in the Ruin; they reflect upon what is past with Astonishment, upon their present Situation with Trembling, and on the future with Terror; Axes and Halters are eternally before their Eyes, because they know they deserve 'em; the Infamy of the Design of Betraying their Country grinds 'em sore, and Guilt inseparable from Wickedness exaggerates the Anguish; ten thousand terrible Reflections upon the Pillow, and in the Cabiner, racking Cares, Anxieties, and Fear of Punishment, infinitely over-balance all the pleasing gilded Images, with which they had flatter'd themselves in the beginning; hence Confusions and Distractions in Counsels, Divisions, Quarrelling, Reproaches and Revilings of each other, as the Authors of the general Calamity, the first and certain Steps to their Ruin, their

Virtue

Virtue is too feeble to support 'em ; the Eyes of the Deluded are open'd, and they desert 'em ; the Prince seldom fails to Sacrifice 'em to the Rage of an exasperated People, Confounded, Forsaken, Expos'd ; from the Haughty, the Insolent and the Imperious, they dwindle into the most Slavish, Abject, and Contemptible of Mankind ; the Genius, the inexorable Genius of a noble free Nation, which they were labouring to Betray and Inslave, hunts 'em hard, and compels 'em into all the miserable Shifts and Doublings of Wretches near their End, and as they liv'd despis'd and hated, dye unpity'd.

This in all Ages has been the Condition, and End of all Traytors, and I hope shall be so of ours ; for they may reflect and tremble, that there is many a hundred thousand gallant *Englishmen*, whom neither their Insolence has terrify'd, nor their Villain High-church Priests been able to corrupt, who will chearfully spend the last drop of their Blood and Fortunes in the Defence of their Country's Honour, Liberties, and the Conservation of the establish'd Religion. Let 'em remember, that Swords were given to Men for their Defence, and they know very well that we understand the Use of 'em ; and they shall, upon the same Occasions, ever find us in the same Dispositions, to their Confusion ; for that *Englishman* who wears one by his side, and wants either an Arm, or Courage to draw it in so glorious a Cause, deserves to dye the worst of all, a High-church Slave ; no Man can be compell'd to Suffer, but he who knows not how to Dye ; and he that will not freely Sacrifice ten Thousand Lives, if he had 'em for his Country, does not deserve the worthless one he has : Let 'em not forget, that with all their servile Doctrines in the Father's Time, they cou'd not fool the Nation into the Ruin and Slavery they design'd, tho' they brought us very near it ; and they may believe, and rest assur'd, if they please, without coming to the Experiment, that as we have a more fresh and lively Taste, and Sense of the value of our Religion and Liberty, from the Dangers they have been once already brought into by 'em, we have still the same old *English* Virtue and Courage to defend and preserve 'em in their entire, from all the Attempts of Popish Pretenders, *French* Tyrants, and Domestick High-church Traytors ; and it may be very well worth their while, before it be too late, to consider what may be the End and Reward of a Treachery, that is, a second time involving their Country in Blood, and new Confusions, before the Wounds of the former are well heal'd up. Let every honest *Englishman* but seriously reflect upon the happy glorious Situation his Country was in, during the whole Administration of the last incomparable Ministry, and compare it with the Infancy and Disreputation it has been brought under within these four Years past by the present one, and their perfidious Implements of the High-church Clergy, and make such Judgment upon it, as Reason, Honour, Conscience, and Interest shall direct him. The Sum of all in short is this ; a few ambitious Men have form'd the Design of Raising and Establishing their private Fortunes at the Expence of the Honour of their  
Queen,

Queen, their Country, and their Religion, which it was impossible for 'em ever to hope to effect, but by introducing the Pretender; from whom, in Gratitude they flatter themselves, at least they might expect the Confirmation of 'em; and a few corrupted mercenary High-church Priests have been employ'd as the execrable Toolsto do the vile Drudgery, of Cajoling and Debauching the Minds of a poor credulous People, into the proper Dispositions for the Execution of so Noble and Commendable a Design; 'tis to these Men thus combin'd, we solely owe all the Confusions and Disgraces that at present Oppress and Dishonour the Nation. Far indeed have they gone in to detestable a Conspiracy, yet with all their fawning, flattering Hopes of Triumph, further are they yet than they imagine from their End. God is Just, and Good, and hates a Tyranny, and all the wicked Means and Instruments that lead to its Establishment; and all Praises be to him, the Nation are not all Stark-mad; the virtuous valiant Few, if they are the Few, which remain in their Integrity, shall be, we hope, sufficient to atone for the Sins of all the rest, and save the perishing State and Church from Ruin, or bravely perish with 'em, and not survive their Country's Honour, or their own. Tell me, gallant *Britains*, of what value is wretched Life with Infamy? Tell me, Noble, Free-born *Englishmen*, you that by a distinguish'd Freedom, not to be met with in the Universe, have ever been the Envy and Admiration of all your Neighbouring Friends, and Terror of all your Neighbouring Enemies; shall we exchange the Glories of our Birth and Country, for the inglorious Chains of Slavery preparing for us by faithless Traytors, and despicable Priests? Good Heaven forbid! it cannot, shall not be; we neither ought to fear for our selves, or for the present, because we know the Justice, and the Glory of our Cause; and if we cannot live, I hope we are not now to learn how to dye free; but we ought to be solicitous for the future: Ten Thousand, Thousand Reasons oblige us not to give our Children a Caution to Curse us for our Cowardice, or Treachery, for basely betraying 'em into the miserable Bondage of Popish Superstition, High-church Tyranny, or Slavery, inseparable from them, and absolute Arbitrary Power in our Princes.

To conclude, As the Time of our Deliverance or Dissolution is drawing nigh, I will humbly take leave to offer my Opinion in a Word of Advice; which, if the former happen, as I do not in the least question, may be of use for the future Good and Happiness of our common Country. Though our Case is dangerous, Heaven be prais'd it is not yet desperate; the Disease, 'tis true, is strong and violent, we have known the Progress and Ravages it has formerly made; nor have we forgot the proper specifick Remedies, and the same wholesome Physick seasonably apply'd by the same skillful Artists, shall not fail, by the Blessing of God, to banish the Distemper for the present, and re-establish the sickly Body of the State in perfect Health and Vigour to long succeeding Generations; the first Step to the Cure of any Disease, is to enquire, and find out the

true



true Cause of it ; and we are so far in the Way of Recovery, as to be certain of that of ours ; for there can be nothing in nature more demonstrable, than that all the terrible Effects that we have so long, and still feel of it, are deriv'd immediately from the Poison the High-Church Clergy have industriously diffus'd thro' the whole Mass of the Body-politick, of which, whilst they are permitted to continue the Infusion, it is absolutely impossible by human Means ever to hope for a perfect Cure. I am the furthest of any Gentleman in *England* from the Presumption of Prescribing, or even giving my Advice to my Superiors before it be ask'd ; but as an honest weak Man, who is not a natural Fool, may sometimes chop upon the Hint of an Expedient, that may either escape the Penetration of a wiser Man, or be neglected thro' the Inadvertency, or malicious Design of a Knaveish one ; I will venture, without pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy to foretel, that, if at the time of our next happy approaching Deliverance, the Legislature shall not think fit to make these Men sensible of the Superiority of their own Power, and the Subordination and Dependency of theirs, by framing such Laws as may for ever restrain, and deprive 'em of the Capacity, (for they can never want the Will) of committing the like Crimes for the future, and that under such Penalties as shall seem to their Wisdom sufficient, and necessary for so great and important a Purpose ; it is in vain for us ever to expect an Exemption from the same Confusions and Disorders that have so long, and that at present Discompose and Imbroil us. Indulgence will but increase their Audacity, and Impunity confirm it, and light or trifling Punishments will restrain 'em no longer than whilst the Fear of 'em hangs over their Heads. It is left to the Legislature, to consider and determine what sort and degrees of Penalty, and in what manner the Laws they shall contrive, shall be executed effectually, which can never be too severe against such ingrateful Traytors and Disturbers of the publick Peace of their Country ; for as they who meditate a Change in an established Government, in the private Views of Faction, and in order thereto, introduce the worst of all Distractions and Divisions that can disturb the publick Happiness and Tranquillity of their Fellow-Subjects, are guilty of the highest Treason that Men can be guilty of in the Eye of our Laws ; there are no Punishments, how rigid and severe soever, that are not justly their due ; both as they cannot be ignorant either of the Malignity, or Enormity of their Transgression, they are left without any manner of Excuse, and because the Peace and Good of the Commonwealth, are of infinite more Weight and Consideration, than any Man, Number, or Body of Men, who may live under it whatsoever. 'Tis true, that no Power under Heaven, nor any Laws, how Terrible and Severe soever, can hinder Men from entertaining what private Sentiments and Opinions they please, however dangerous they may be in their Nature to the State ; whilst they are choop'd up in their own Bosoms, let 'em be what they will, they only affect and hurt themselves, the Danger lies in the Publication ; and therefore it will easily lye in the Power of the Legislature, to annex such Punishments to their Laws, ei-

ther of Infamy or Pain, as may hinder 'em from rendering such Opinions Publick, either from the Pulpit, or the Press, or in their publick Conversation, if they shall dare to contravene 'em; 'tis true, that to Gentlemen of Birth and Family, and ingenuous Qualities, (if such can possibly be so far debauch'd, as to engage in such villain Designs) a Punishment of Infamy, is certainly more terrible than Death it self; but to Men of mean, or ignoble Extraction, who are generally without a true Taste of Virtue and Honour, a Penalty of Rigour, questionless, makes much deeper Impressions than the former; and therefore, in such Cases the Justice of the Legislature, as it ought to be inflexible, can never be too severe; for they only are the Guardians and Protectors of the publick Good and Happiness, and are under indispensable Obligations to watch for their Defence and Conservation; and it is the only supreme Power in a Nation that can be allow'd to be Arbitrary, the Exercise of it is Unlimited and Uncontroulable, because it is impossible to suppose the three Estates that compose ours, to conspire together, or to be so far corrupted, as justly to intend any thing prejudicial to the publick Good of the Community, in which their own Private is eternally included; it implying the highest Absurdity imaginable, to conceive the whole Body and Power of a Nation, acting in Concert for their own Ruin; and if the Means they may think proper to make use of to punish such Delinquents, in order to preserve the Peace of their Country, may to some appear too rigorous and severe, the Importance of the End, and the Justice and Necessity of the Expedients, will more than sufficiently both exercise and justify 'em.

In a word, we have no manner of Business with Convocations, since it is apparent, that there never was an Assembly of Ecclesiastics since the Apostles time, who have not done more Mischief to the State than ever they did Good to Religion; their Design having been in all Ages manifestly to Aggrandize the Power, Authority, and Magnificence of what they abusively call their Church, to the visible Detriment of the Civil Government. If with us at any time it appears, that the National Establish'd Church is in want of any Laws for her Peace or Security; as the Legislature are the only and proper Judges in such a Case, it is impossible they can ever be wanting in their Care and Vigilance to preserve so inestimable a Blessing as their Religion, which contributes so much to their Happiness, both in this World, and the next, without the Advice or Consent of Men, who have nothing more to do than to watch over their Flocks, and to see to the Execution of those Laws their Superiors, I mean the Legislature, shall think fit to enact for that Purpose, as far only as may concern the Policy and Discipline of the National Church, of which there are no more than the Pastors and Ministers, (whilst they keep themselves within the Limits of their Character; Men set apart for the Dispensing and Ministration of the necessary Duties and Offices of our holy Religion) but by no means the Guardians, or Conservators of it; our Laws have lodg'd that important Charge in much better Hands, who, it is to be suppos'd, will ever act with another Zeal, Vigilance, and truly Christian Moderation  
for

for the Security of it, than Men who have more than sufficiently convinc'd the World, that they ever act more upon Principles of private Interest, and the Aggrandization of their Church, than the Advantage and Propagation of true Religion; and as this latter is, doubtless, when in its Purity the most valuable of all the Blessings of this World, the Wisdom of our Fore-fathers has sufficiently provided for its Security; and that it shou'd never be left without Patrons, by the honourable Share they have left the Lords, the Bishops in the Legislature by their Stations in the most Honourable *House of Lords*, which every honest *Englishman* heartily hopes they will for ever take care by their Virtue, Courage, Learning and Piety to merit; which Provision renders all other Ecclesiastical Assemblies absolutely unnecessary, especially since a dear bought Experience has taught us, that much more Detriment than Utility have resulted from 'em both to the State and National Church; and therefore, if such corrupt and insidious High-church Incendiaries are not confin'd to act solely within the Compass of their proper Sphere; if they are not limited only to the Exercise and Discharge of the genuine Duties of their Profession and Character, which are more than enough to engage and employ the whole Time of the ablest of 'em; if they are not forbidden to intermeddle with Affairs of State, with which they have nothing at all to do, further than as they are permitted and allow'd by the Laws of our Constitution; if they are not strictly prohibited to concern themselves in the Election of Members of Parliament, otherwise than by their single Vote as Freemen; if the Doctrines we have so often mention'd of the Divine Right of our Kings, of absolute Arbitrary Power in a mix'd and limited Monarchy, of a slavish, unlimited, and unconditional Passive Obedience in the Subject, of Hereditary and Indefeasible Right, and the Denying of the Legislature a Power in certain Cases and Occasions, to Settle and Dispose of the Succession of our Crown be not, not only Exploded as Infamous, Unreasonable, Antiscriptural, and to the last degree dangerous to the State and Church, but severely punish'd as Crimes against both; if such as presume to receive 'em in the present, or future Ages, or shall dare to broach any new Doctrines of the same Nature and Tendency, shall not be made liable to the Penalty of Deprivation, and Incapacity of Restitution, upon a fair and legal Conviction, or even of being esteemed guilty of capital Crimes upon certain Occasions; if the Core of the Ulcer be not quite cut out, if the Universities of the three Nations, where our Youth are unhappily Poison'd in the first Rudiments and Principles of their Education, are not thoroughly purg'd of all this cur'd Leaven that sours the whole Mass; if all Degrees and Orders of Churchmen, without distinction, are not laid under the Reach and Influence of such Laws and Penalties; if a Test be not made to Administer to all such, who of any Profession, and especially Ecclesiasticks, who may pretend to the Possession and Enjoyment of Employments, Offices, and Benefices, either in State or Church, that shall oblige 'em Respectively, and Solemnly to Disclaim and Renounce all such Doctrines and Principles as may be thought fit to specify in it; let us



never hope or expect any lasting Peace, Security, or Settlement, either in the State or Church, whilst this World lasts; but when this shall be done, and done effectually, as it very well may, and with all honest *Englishmen* I heartily hope will be; we may then be certain to see our ancient Government perpetuated in Safety and Tranquillity upon the solid Foundation and Principles of its original Constitution, to the end of Time; we shall then see our most holy Protestant Religion of the National Church, shine out and flourish in all its native Purity, Honours, Dignities and Immunities of her legal Establishment, and pretend to, or demand no more; we shall then see our precious Liberties and Properties confirm'd in our own hands, and transmitted intire to our latest Posterity; and fear neither *French* Popery to Corrupt and Debauch the one, or *French* Pretenders to Disturb or Inslave the other; we shall again with pleasure see our legitimate Princes Respected, Honour'd, and Belov'd at home, and Courted, or Dreaded abroad; we shall again see Trade and Commerce augment and flourish, the Reputation of our Arms, which has been so scandalously prostituted, recover'd to its primitive Glory; Union, Peace, Concord, Friendship amongst all sorts and Professions of Men, as Fellow-subjects and Fellow-christians, cultivated by all the honest mutual Offices of a benevolent Humanity, and the diviner Duties of a Charity truly Christian and Apostolical; no more scandalous Desertion of our Protestant Friends to favour and encourage our Popish Enemies; no more betraying the noble glorious Cause of *Europe's* Liberty, and our own, and Sacrificing all to the Ambition and Avarice of a vile and profligate High-church, and her perfidious Faction; but our dear Country once again in a Situation of Honour, and a universal Happiness, which shall render her once more what she was a few Years ago, and we hope ever shall continue, the Arbitress of the Fate of *Europe*, the Dread of her Enemies, and Love of all her Friends; but till that happy, happy time, we never shall.

F I N I S.